

Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy

Elena Isayev



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Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy challenges prevailing conceptions of a natural tie to the land and a demographically settled world. It argues that much human mobility in the last millennium BC was ongoing and cyclical. In particular, outside the military context 'the foreigner in our midst' was not regarded as a problem. Boundaries of status rather than of geopolitics were difficult to cross. The book discusses the stories of individuals and migrant groups, traders, refugees, expulsions, the founding and demolition of sites, and the political processes that could both encourage and discourage the transfer of people from one place to another. In so doing it highlights moments of change in the concepts of mobility and the definitions of those on the move. By providing the long view from history, it exposes how fleeting are the conventions that take shape here and now.

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For
Cleo, Ezra, Sama and Tala

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Map 1 Ancient Mediterranean with sites noted in text.



Map 2 Ancient East Mediterranean with sites noted in text.



Map 3 Ancient Italy with sites noted in text.



Map 3 (Cont.)



Map 4a North Italy with sites noted in text.



Map 4b South Italy with sites noted in text.

PART I

1 | Introduction

*iam uer egelidos refert tepores,
iam caeli furor aequinoctialis
iucundis Zephyri silescit aureis.
linquantur Phrygii, Catulle, campi
Nicaeaeque ager uber aestuosae:
ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes.
iam mens praetrepidans auet uagari,
iam laeti studio pedes uigescunt.
o dulces comitum ualete coetus,
longe quos simul a domo profectos
diuersae uarie uiae reportant.*

Now spring brings back mild breezes without cold,
now heaven's equinoctial fury
falls silent at Zephyr's pleasant breezes.
Let the Phrygian meadows be left behind, Catullus,
and the teeming fields of sun-scorched Nicaea:
let us fly to the glorious cities of Asia.
Now my mind trembling in anticipation longs to roam,
now happy in their zeal my feet grow strong.
O sweet band of comrades, fare you well,
whom having set out all at once, far from home,
diverse routes bear back in varied ways.¹

Catullus, *Carmines* 46

With the mild spring breeze, Catullus sweeps us along in the excitement of adventure, emotions of separation, anticipated reunion and return. We find ourselves in the mobile world of the young poet, at the end of the first millennium BC, caught between two pauses on a journey, in a place both distant and familiar (Fig. 1, Plate 1). It is interlaced with sensations of joy and the ache of nostalgia, characteristic of an environment where movement is omnipresent. This setting, fleetingly sketched by Catullus, introduces the argument of this book: that a high level of human mobility was not

¹ Catullus, *Carmines* 46. Translation adapted from Smithers 1894, with suggestions by Sharon Marshall.



Fig. 1 Fresco from the villa 'Grotte di Catullo', Sirmione (BS), Italy. End first century BC – beginning of first century AD. Showing merchant galley approaching a coast under sail and oars. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

exceptional among ancient Mediterranean communities. Indeed, it was built into the way that society functioned; it was necessary for successful business ventures, military recruitment and deployment, establishment of a work force, and cultural vitality. It was anticipated in legal rights and restrictions, and a prerequisite for the practice of war and the acquisition of wealth.

In recognising that Italy was part of this dynamic landscape well before the Imperial period, we are faced with a paradox. At the end of the Republic, there is mounting evidence for multiple forms of movement crisscrossing the peninsula and stretching beyond it, but there is also a rapid growth of pronouncements about the fixity of people, the importance of sustaining traditions and the naturalness of ethnic boundaries.² These

² Autochthony – meaning emerging from the soil – an extreme claim of traditions of indigeneity – ascribed to by the Athenians among others, only makes sense in a context of mobility not predominating stasis.

are projected onto the past. As actual movement increases, voices proclaim the desirability of the opposite. It could be that we are faced with just such a situation in the early twenty-first century. An emphasis on locality and homeland, while living in an age of intense mobility, is not an uncommon paradox. It does not disprove the mobility thesis, and may even confirm it – we cannot get away from the immense impact of the movement of people in our evidence. Yet, it is a response that gives prominence to stasis rather than motion as the basis for understanding ancient Italy historically. This view has affected how we interpret societal forms, the creation of institutions, and modes of cultural interaction and belonging. If, on the other hand, we accept the fact of a mobile rather than a stable society, our understanding of the dynamics of change alters. Migration becomes a constitutive presence and not a challenge to an otherwise naturally static state. The historical paradigms explored here – through the case of ancient Italy – provide a long-term perspective on contemporary concerns by locating them in rival contexts. In these dynamic situations, human mobility is sometimes thought acceptable, and sometimes perceived as anathema.

In the chapters that follow, it will be argued that the extent of human mobility was much greater than is suggested even by attention-grabbing figures for colonisation and state-sponsored incentives. These calculations discount the rate of individual, independent or private mobility which, although largely shielded from view like the invisible mass of an iceberg below the waterline, are far greater. Furthermore, the cyclical nature of human mobility, sometimes over several generations, makes statistical measurements difficult to establish. Rather than a completed movement from location A to destination B, we have an iterated serial movement of peoples in which A and B are staging posts. It is an open question whether the figures for those on the move, which become more readily available from the second century BC onwards, represent a significant alteration from the preceding period. But the evidence allows us to trace both continuity and transformation in the modes of mobility, the approaches to migration, and to those on the move. It indicates that although there were changing trends in the nature of movement there was a familiarity with, and expectation of, mobility, opportunistic or coerced, and that its levels were high.

The focus of this book is the nature of human mobility and attitudes to it over the last millennium BC in Italy ([Map 3](#)). It is organised into four parts in order to foreground distinct approaches. Following an overview of the book, the remainder of this introduction will consider the conceptualisation of mobility, then and now. The [next chapter](#) focuses on the role of

demographic data, and the wide range of evidence available in the last two centuries BC, to ascertain the proportion of the population on the move. It shows how studies of ancient statistics, which depend on recorded figures for mass movements, bring their own difficulties and opportunities. The [second part](#) of the book moves beyond the numbers, to consider mobility in earlier centuries for which numerical data is lacking. It draws on mytho-historical narratives and archaeological material which have been the foundation for investigating culture-contact, settlement patterns and colonisation. The way that these phenomena inform our understanding of mobility, and provide an alternative perspective to the formation and dissolution of communities through migratory practices, constitutes the focus of [Chapters 3–5](#).

The [third part](#) of the book tests the extent to which mobility was anticipated and expected. In gauging whether a highly mobile environment was the norm, [Chapters 6–8](#) consider the prevalent attitudes to migrant groups and individuals, by using two of the key earliest witnesses in Italy: Plautus and Polybius. While these authors represent very different viewpoints – one being an Italian comic playwright, the other a historian and senior Greek diplomat – both depict a world that seems perpetually on the move. It is difficult to identify static communities in their narratives. On the contrary, the trouble for authorities was how to keep people in one place. Their accounts reveal that the boundaries that were difficult to cross were not those inscribed on the land but those of social and civic status. Outside the military context, the physical presence of foreigners was not in itself a problem. It became an issue if they had pretensions to act as free-born citizens when they were not. These chapters demonstrate that attitudes to certain types of mobile groups, and to those responsible for moving people, are context-specific. But although there is clear evidence of cultural stereotyping, as well as constructions of the ‘other’, actual xenophobia is more difficult to find.

By looking at narratives of migration, especially in [Parts II and III](#), this book considers the way that socio-political structures influence and constrain migratory behaviour. It takes into account the impact of the life cycle on decision-making, whether that of an individual or a community. In arguing that migration is common in antiquity, it builds on emerging research that regards human mobility as an integral part of societal existence and not external to it. In historical studies, high levels of mobility tend to be identified either through a focus on communities that are explicitly presented as non-sedentary,³ or by integrating migratory

³ For example: Batty [2007](#).

episodes into narratives of socio-political change.⁴ More recently, the nature of the flows themselves has become the object of historical inquiry.⁵ For the ancient Mediterranean, archaeological and geo-historical approaches, spurred on by Braudel, Horden and Purcell,⁶ have moved on from concentrating on the effects of mobility in colonial contexts at the interface of the meeting of cultures. They now incorporate models of connectivity⁷ and apply tools such as network theory to investigate the vitality of interactions across the sea-centred micro-regions.⁸ These studies have demonstrated that the role of any site, including Rome, can only be understood in the context of networks that existed around it, both in its immediate environment, such as Italy, and the wider Mediterranean (Map 2).⁹ Cosmopolitanism has provided a complimentary framework to investigate the nodes on these networks more closely.¹⁰

If high rates of human mobility are persistent, and there is no essential relationship between people and territory, then how does any place function as a site for belonging and identity? The final aim of this book is to consider how constructions of place are formed and which of them are specially privileged. In the [fourth part](#), two moments in time are taken as a basis for examining the way that the concept of place, and Rome, were transformed in the last century BC. The first moment is the Social War, which is the topic of [Chapter 9](#). The conflict culminated in the extension of Roman citizenship to all Italian communities south of the river Po and in so doing re-centred allegiance. The concept of a capital city was crystallized as its position became more fixed. Two generations later, the process of re-centring continued and required new forms of expression to understand the meaning of Rome for its new citizens. The second moment, explored in the last two chapters, engages the context of Livy's Camillus speech, written just as Augustus came to power. Livy's arguments against moving Rome attempt to establish the meaning of Rome spatially and materially. What these two episodes show is that notions of belonging appear to have altered and become more homogenised in the last century BC. Part of this

⁴ For example: Kleinschmidt 2000; Wickham 2005; Heather 2006.

⁵ For example: Hoerder 2002; Magee and Thompson 2010; Amrith 2013.

⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000, esp. 382–92; with continuing debates: Harris 2005.

⁷ Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010.

⁸ The application of network theory aims to map *nodes* and their connecting *vectors*. The exchanges which flow along the vectors can be material but also function on the level of ideas, institutions and technologies, bringing the definition and stability of the *node* into question. Knappett 2011; Malkin 2005; Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009, 4–5.

⁹ Morley 2008: 122.

¹⁰ For the Imperial period especially: Moatti and Kaiser 2007a; Edwards and Woolf 2003.

transformation is notable in the increasing interest in mapping. Although regional maps drawn to scale did not exist for another millennium, an exploration of cartographic practices enables analysis of the way people in the Late Republic increasingly understood their relationship to the political and territorial spaces around them. A shift occurred as a more absolute conception of space came to the fore, privileging fixedness to particular sites. It vied with the more fluid, relational approach. This was uninterested in defining place spatially, but preferred to see it as a site of convergence of life-pathways conducted through time and space.¹¹

This study focuses on ancient Italy, not because it was exceptional, but because it opens up general dynamics in seemingly more relational and less rigid terms than what we know, for example, from the Greek world of the polis. Italy and Rome's shift to becoming a hegemon in the last centuries BC allows for an exploration of the way that such an imperial moment coincided with an increasing commitment to specific sites. Despite renewed opportunities for mobility, the conception of fixity was one response to a changed understanding of one's origin and *patria* – fatherland – at the end of the Republic. It is this moment which this work tries to capture. It constitutes the foundation for subsequent developments in the Imperial period and is the source of ideas which have tended to dominate scholarly thinking on mobility in the Roman Empire.¹²

Mobility and Migration – Then and Now

In presenting the ways that mobility and place were conceptualised in the ancient world I hope that this investigation illuminates the extent to which the modern outlook – prevalent in migration studies – is dependent on the creation of the nation-state, and with it a very particular categorisation of the migrant. Recognising the constructed and volatile nature of such a perspective will help better understand the ancient context of mobility and associated topics such as citizenship and identity. Too often these have been constrained by contemporary understanding of migration as (i) bad, except when it is elite, (ii) based entirely on the modern concept of the nation-state, (iii) a process which should be subject to state bureaucratic control, (iv) either unnecessary (because globalisation has eliminated difference) or dangerously unfair (because it involves the illegitimate

¹¹ This draws on contemporary geographers: Massey 2004; Massey 2005; Harvey 2009; Ingold 2011. See discussion in Chapter 10, pp. 390–94.

¹² For example: Moatti 2004.

appropriation of resources by the migrant). So, paradoxically, migration is only acceptable when it does not involve change of economic or social status.

The poet Catullus from Verona did not see himself as a foreigner in Rome, although his home region of Cisalpine Gaul had only just become part of the Roman enterprise. It did not gain the right to full Roman citizenship until 49 BC, after the poet's death.¹³ Catullus may not have been born in Rome but he was as much part of that city, and perhaps even more so, than many of his friends. Through his activities and imaginings he was one of the many who paused there and made it the place that it was. His father and Caesar were part of the same elite network headed by Rome, and they would have used each other's resources, knowledge and contacts to fulfil their goals, even if Caesar may not have regarded him as his equal. The Roman general visited the poet's North Italian home as a *hospes* – guest – and was close enough to the family to have forgiven the young Catullus for insulting Caesar in his poetry.¹⁴ Catullus did not emigrate to Rome any more than the Corinthian Demaratus (whom we will meet in [Chapter 3](#)) emigrated to Tarquinii some six centuries previously. The modern concept has little meaning in the ancient world. The terminology itself was present, but was used by ancient authors quite differently.

The Latin term *migrare* and its derivatives may lie at the root of our current terminology but, as will be shown, the meaning of the Latin term is more fluid.¹⁵ It is not used, for example, to discriminate between a move to a house down the road or a journey to a foreign land; nor is such a move necessarily in one direction and completed. There is no generic term for 'migrant' in the Republican period. Terms do exist for the friendly outsider – *hospes* – and the one who is much less so, an enemy – *hostis*. Neither of these expresses the same sentiment as the modern usage of 'migrant'. Instead they focus on the specific relationship of the individual to the host community.¹⁶ The closest equivalent to a migrant is *transitor* – literally, he who goes over or is a passer-by – which only appears in Late Antiquity.¹⁷ In this later period, concepts of immobility became part of the repertoire of virtue.¹⁸ The new terminology is an expression of shifting

¹³ Although citizenship was given in 49 BC the region was only incorporated into Italy in 42 BC: Williams 2001: 16.

¹⁴ Catullus 11, 54, 57, 93. Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 73. ¹⁵ Chapter 6, pp. 215–16.

¹⁶ Cicero *de Officiis* 1.12.37; Varro *LL* 5.3, with discussion in Chapters 2, p. 39 and 6, pp. 216–17.

¹⁷ *transitor* – one who goes over, a passer-by (Ammianus 15.2.4): Lewis and Short 1900. While there are specific terms related to travelling tradesmen for example (Holleran 2012), there is no general term for 'migrant' until Late Antiquity.

¹⁸ Horden and Purcell 2000: 384. See also note in Chapter 2, p. 22.

attitudes to mobility, to the status of individuals and methods of control. Fluctuating definitions of the mobile require that our own terminology, when applied to historical contexts, is sensitive to these changes.

By using ‘migration’ to describe a historical process we implement an explanatory framework that brings with it assumptions about the nature of human mobility. Implicit within migration studies of current global trends is that people move either within a state boundary or across it. Mobility tends to be defined by the status of groups and individuals in relation to a specific nation-state. While approaches to migration are discussed in intricate detail in such studies, it is rare to find a definition of the concept itself. It does not appear in the key study by Stephen and Castles, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*, (2003, 3rd edn.). In a more recent volume edited by Brettel and Hollifield, *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines* (2008), the following definition appears in a footnote:

Normally a conceptual distinction is drawn between migration and immigration, the former referring to movement that occurs within national borders (internal migration) and the latter to movement across national borders (emigration or immigration). We use the term *migration* somewhat loosely here to refer to international migration . . . However, from a theoretical perspective it is worth noting that economic theories of migration can often apply to either internal flows or international flows . . . and some sociologists and human geographers (Smith and Favell 2006) may prefer the more general term ‘mobility’ to migration.¹⁹

Within Migration Theory, the idea of trans-nationalism and a post-nation world is considered an extreme scenario. The definitions with which these studies operate raise issues for historical periods prior to the creation of the seventeenth-century nation-state, and the territorially bounded membership assigned to it.

The preferred use of the term ‘mobility’ by scholars such as Smith and Favell indicates concern with the uncritical use of the concept of migration which can inhibit cross-period insight. Favell states this directly in his contribution to the Brettel and Hollifield volume: ‘Nearly all the chapters assume that we know what migration is, and that we can accept the units – from which people move to which they move – given by the political world we live in. But these are only conventions that happen to be the case here and now.’²⁰ Underlying his concern is that the use of the label ‘migration’ is

¹⁹ Brettel and Hollifield 2008: 2, note 1. The note is attached to the following sentence: ‘Whether and where there might be a migration crisis remains an open question. But clearly we are living in an age of migration (Castles and Miller 2003).’ Favell, A. and Smith, M.P. (eds) 2006 *The Human Face of Global Mobility*, New Brunswick NJ.

²⁰ Favell 2008: 269–70.

not neutral; it privileges certain narratives and interpretations over others. Terms such as ‘mobility’ or ‘flows’, on the other hand, encompass a wider range of processes and their definition is not limited to those with a single direction, end point or purpose. More neutral terms make it easier to gain a long-term perspective. They allow us to gauge whether the era we currently live in is uniquely an *Age of Migration*, as suggested by Stephen and Castles,²¹ or part of a longer historical trajectory where mobility is the norm. How this issue is resolved depends in part on whether we believe that communities were largely sedentary and that the choice to leave one’s place of origin was exceptional, or the other way around. Anthropologists have noted that sedentism is relative and relational, ‘no society is sedentary not even our own, people simply move in different ways.’²² Sedentism is an assumption, often presented by an outsider who writes from a unitary-state perspective, and views territorial displacement as aberrant.²³ A more pertinent question is whether this perception exists in other periods of history, and what kind of conditions encourage such a view? But first we need to understand better how the contemporary view of migration was formed, as it effects how we analyse the evidence from earlier periods of history.

Our own current usage of ‘migrate’ and its derivatives – meaning to move across an international border or boundary, in a ‘permanent’ way with the purpose of ‘residence’ – is very recent, with roots in the eighteenth-century context of North America. The novelty of its use was noted at the time by the philologist John Pickering who included – to immigrate, immigration and immigrant – as neologisms in his work: *A Vocabulary or Collection of Words and Phrases Which Have Been Supposed to be Peculiar to the United States of America*.²⁴ By 1828, the new definition appeared in Webster’s *An American Dictionary of the English Language*.²⁵ As Shumsky points out, it made ‘space, time, and purpose fundamental characteristics of migration’.²⁶ The power of such a social construction probably was not apparent to Webster whose work appeared before the major migratory waves of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the new construction of migration, with a focus on permanent residence, encouraged a fear of displacement and overcrowding by new arrivals.²⁷ With it came the institution of the passport that became a mechanism for criminalising unauthorized movement, and creating a

²¹ Castles and Miller 2003. ²² Kelly 1992: 60. ²³ Malkki 1992: 31.

²⁴ Pickering 1816: 108; *The Oxford English Dictionary*. See: Shumsky 2008: 132; Thompson 2003: 195, note 21.

²⁵ Webster 1828. ²⁶ Shumsky 2008: 131. ²⁷ Shumsky 2008: 134.

new entity: the stateless person.²⁸ It fuelled a particular view of the foreigner and, hence, also a protectionist migration policy by autonomous states. This perspective, which arose out of a specific historical context, has only gained in strength over the centuries and has been projected back into history as the norm.²⁹ Such a definition would not have been possible in a world prior to the 1648 *Treaty of Peace of Westphalia*. It created sovereign states with territorial integrity and the notion of an international border that could – or could no longer – be easily crossed.³⁰ It is only with the advent of the nation-state in sixteenth to seventeenth-century Europe that the notion of legally tying populations to territorial units, and to specific forms of government, became commonplace.³¹ The institution of citizenship which developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was closely connected to warfare, conscription and taxation, which were part of state building in Europe. It entailed consolidating territory, centralizing authority and controlling mobility.

In this Early Modern period, the mechanisms used to achieve imperialistic aims appear similar to those used by the Roman state in the last centuries BC. As Roman power expanded, in its wake came substantial changes to citizenship and policies of mass enfranchisement. These were accompanied by developments in the instruments of fixity and new conceptions of origin and belonging. It would be wrong, however, to take this comparison too far. Both the idea of a territorial state border – as opposed to a particular status or state membership – and also the sense of a permanent residential relocation – as distinct from one's birthplace – are not appropriate to the ancient context. Borders in the ancient Mediterranean were differently conceived, and were not a mechanism for controlling movement.³² Individual border crossings, such as they were, most tangibly at coastal sites and toll gates along routes, were not in themselves notable events. Restrictions did exist for traders entering ports, and there would have been control of military

²⁸ Torpey 2000. For an early twentieth-century reaction to passports and visas as one of the evil heritages of the Great War: Fink 1921.

²⁹ The recent UK protectionist and exclusionary immigration policy is just one example of this, fuelled by the kind of stereotypical image of the immigrant that is challenged by more liberal journalists such as those of the *The Guardian* Newspaper: 25 September 2010. As a key in political debate: the tactics of the UK Leave campaign in the EU referendum 23 June 2016.

³⁰ Brenner, Jessop, Jones and Macleod 2003: 2. ³¹ Hollifield 2008: 187.

³² Purcell notes that despite the use of mountains and rivers as markers of political boundaries the idea of a natural frontier was not developed in antiquity: Purcell 2005b: 15. Crawford notes that mountains need to be seen more as resources than barriers: Crawford 2003. Montesanti 2014.

and official state personnel.³³ But Mediterranean society, prior to the Imperial period at least, was more concerned with controlling access to its membership status, such as citizenship, rather than physically keeping civilian foreigners out.³⁴ Even during the Roman Empire, Whittaker observed that its frontiers ‘were not political barriers but social, cultural and moral definitions of community and alterity – the very opposite of the fixed frontiers of ethnicity and territoriality created by the rise of the nation-state.’³⁵

In the ancient world there was a different approach to human mobility. This is because there is not the same clarity about the physical entity which is being moved into and out of. There are no bordering practices as there are between nation-states, where the relationship between citizenship, state, territory and allegiance are perceived as natural and superimposed onto each other.³⁶ Passport and border controls were mostly unknown even 200 years ago and, as Harvey emphasises, it is through such mundane and banal practices that the state is manufactured, with the physical frontier as one of its chief characteristics.³⁷ Commitment to such enclosed territoriality and fixity impacted not only on the position of individuals and definitions of communities but on Imperial systems. The profound change that the new national framework engendered may be traced in the downfall of one of history’s most extensive empires: that of the Ottomans. Kasaba’s work *Moving Empire* tracks the development of the Ottoman imperial machine and its transformation as nation-states appeared in the seventeenth century.³⁸ In the preceding period, the mobile nature of the groups which the Ottomans controlled – especially nomadic and non-territorial tribal entities – were one of the strengths of the empire that allowed for extension of its influence and power. This human resource was flexible. The imperial subjects were used to moving and they were easily moveable, by force if necessary, and could be rapidly redeployed to areas which needed coercion, support or populating. But by the end of the 1600s, this lack of fixity became a liability. As borders hemmed in people and territories, Ottoman authorities issued decrees dealing with the sedentarisation of tribes, and mobility was progressively seen as a weakness to be contained.³⁹

³³ Lefèvre 2004; Bresson 2007.

³⁴ On Roman citizenship and its permeability: Sherwin-White 1973; Dench 2005: Chapter 2; Bradley 2006: 165–6.

³⁵ Whittaker 2004: 149. ³⁶ On the ‘national habit’: Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 11.

³⁷ Harvey 2009: 264–5. ³⁸ Kasaba 2009. ³⁹ Kasaba 2009: 19, 39, 52–5, 82–3.

In entering the Early Modern age there had to be an adjustment to life lived in enclosed pockets of territory, with their protective and constraining cordons. Since then, our society has become so accustomed to the highly developed border controls of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and conservative policies aimed at keeping migrants out, that it views such protectionist behaviour as the norm through history. This is perpetuated by the media, and opportunistically used by politicians. Already in 2009 in Italy, where immigrants account for an estimated 7 per cent of the population, the Prime Minister, Silvio Berlusconi, ‘... defended his government’s decision to return migrants found off its shores to Libya by declaring that his party rejected the idea of a “multi-ethnic” Italy ...’⁴⁰ A year later, the British Labour party’s election manifesto included the heading *Strong borders and immigration controls*.⁴¹ It was fuelled by the media’s campaign to vilify the migrant, presenting a vivid image of the itinerant outsider damaging the fixed local communities, threatening to take away jobs and compromise the values of Britishness. However defined, this Britishness is connected to a citizenship that is coterminous with the territory of the nation-state, whose existence is premised on the idea of cultural and political unity. Despite its constructed nature, this has sustained powerful national myths, which are challenged by immigration and ethnic diversity because they dilute a perceived common origin.⁴² Immigration law is not a means to preserve some original cultural map, but is a further method to keep the disempowered away by engendering the link between political space and otherness.⁴³ These policies conceive of immigration as aberrant, and to be prevented if possible. In these last years, since the book has been in press, the situation has become so extreme that daily there are new policies of exclusion, closure and xenophobia, reaching levels which seemed unfathomable since the shock of World War II.

Despite scholars such as Favell, who argue that mobility is the norm in human history, in contrast to the abnormal need for borders to prevent it,⁴⁴ our current condition has been labelled *The Age of Migration*.⁴⁵ Accompanying this state is an anxiety about the destabilising effects of

⁴⁰ Hooper 2009.

⁴¹ *Labour Party Manifesto 2010 Strengthening our communities, securing our borders*, posted on 12 April 2010: www.general-election-2010.co.uk/labour-party-manifesto-2010-general-election/labour-party-manifesto-2010-strengthening-our-communities-securing-our-borders.

⁴² For a discussion of immigration’s perceived effect on the cohesion of a national group, and the idea that pluralism and multiculturalism acknowledge the permanent diversity of settlers: Castles and Miller 2003: 15 and 40–46.

⁴³ Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 17. ⁴⁴ Favell 2001; Favell 2008: 271.

⁴⁵ The hallmarks of the ‘age of migration’: Castles and Miller 2003: 1–5.

high levels of human mobility. These have been identified as the result of conflict, but also as its cause. It is believed that as long as inequality endures so will the age of migration.⁴⁶ Weiner's work *Global Migration Crisis* presents immigration and the rise of multiculturalism as an existential threat to society; they jointly pose a threat to international stability and security.⁴⁷ Such views are hardly new, however. The most influential theories of society, whether Smithian liberalism, neo-Malthusian or those of Marx and Durkheim, present migration as an exceptional and negative condition for both the migrant and the host community.⁴⁸ Such a perception has allowed cross-border population movements to take centre stage in domestic and international politics with the result that the very fact of migration, or more precisely in-migration, has been blamed for socio-economic instability, leading to further strengthening of national borders. At the same time, current arguments within migration theory, especially among political scientists and sociologists, highlight transnationalism's growing impact on sovereignty and citizenship, forcing a recognition of post-nation-state alternatives.⁴⁹

Migration is not a neutral label, as Favell among others have argued. Using it to classify movement is one way that states constitute power and invent a fixed population envisaged as a nation, 'but historically and in the modern world there is a range of possible social orders other than the modern nation-state society'.⁵⁰ The ancient Mediterranean provides some of the alternative paradigms engendered in an environment where there is an expectation of motion of the kind longed for in Catullus's poem 46 with which we began this chapter.⁵¹ Such movement – as it continues to be today – was a result of necessity and opportunism, fuelled by adventure, work, love, curiosity and trade, or alternatively driven by poverty, natural disaster, conquest, war, brigandage and slavery. Despite the large number of groups and individuals on the move, perceptions of the mobile in ancient texts were often negative, and the image of a fixed homogeneous sedentary community eventually prevailed. One of the underlying questions of this book is why this should be.

⁴⁶ Castles and Miller 2003: 2–4. ⁴⁷ Weiner 1995. ⁴⁸ For a summary: Hollifield 2008: 213–19.

⁴⁹ See, for example, Harvey 2009; Brettell and Hollifield 2008, especially entries by Schmitter–Heisler: 91–8; and for a critical analysis of transnationalism: Hardwick: 162, 169–73; Castles and Miller 2003: 29–30, 45.

⁵⁰ Favell 2008: 273.

⁵¹ For Catullus's interests in Bythnia and the likelihood of a family business as tax-collectors and distributors of *garum* – fish sauce: Wiseman 1985: chapter 4; Wiseman 1987: 307–70; Cairns 2003. For the Valerii Catulli of Verona: Wiseman 2007.

Mobility in the Mediterranean

The extent of mobility in the ancient world, whether individually or *en masse*, is surprising considering the relatively slow methods of travel, and the substantial distances crossed by land and sea. In part, this has been attributed to the nature of the Mediterranean: as a composite of multiple micro-regions it is an environment which we would expect to stimulate the movement of people and goods (Map 1). A highly mobile culture is what Horden and Purcell show to be the norm for the ancient communities that surrounded the *Corrupting Sea*, and Broodbank's *The Making of the Middle Sea* takes the connectivity deeper into prehistory.⁵² Already in the second millennium BC there is evidence of well-established networks of connectivity. Pottery produced in one location, such as the distinctively painted ceramics of Mycenae, appear at sites hundreds of miles away, including Italy.⁵³ Equally, Italian material could end up on distant shores. It was present in the mixed cargos found on shipwrecks such as the fourteenth century BC, Bronze Age, Ulu Burun, which sunk off the coast of modern Turkey. Along with Italian wares it carried goods from far off destinations, including Bulgaria, Spain, Cyprus, Egypt and the Levant.⁵⁴ The vessel was probably piloted by those of Phoenician and Greek cultural background,⁵⁵ who were the main distributors of resources in this period.⁵⁶ These groups are also the most visible in the material record; responsible for fuelling the creation and growth of trading hubs well into the first millennium BC.

Neither distance nor physical barriers, such as mountains, were a hindrance to population movement, whether it was the ships that plied their trade to towns up rivers, or a monthly jaunt from Rome to a coastal villa that could have taken several days along bumpy roads. The uncertainties of sea travel did not prevent parents in Italy sending their sons to study abroad.⁵⁷ At times, groups of families chose, or were coerced, to relocate to sites

⁵² Horden and Purcell 2000: 385. The norm of mobility and the implausibility of fixity: Purcell 2004; Broodbank 2013. Mobility in the maritime context of the Indian Ocean: Bose 2006.

⁵³ Harding 1984: 229, noting that the presence of Mycenaean material does not equal Mycenaean settlers.

⁵⁴ Vagnetti and Lo Schiavo 1989; Lo Schiavo 2006; Yalçın, Pulak and Slotta 2005. Phoenicians as the main operators of networks between the Levant and the Mediterranean from the third millennium BC: Sommer 2009; Broodbank 2013.

⁵⁵ Using labels such as Phoenicians or Greeks is not to imply they were homogeneous groups. Phoenician heterogeneity: Vives-Ferrándiz 2010: 193–5; Sommer 2010.

⁵⁶ For example, they were third party distributors of Corinthian pottery: Osborne 2009: 89.

⁵⁷ Cicero's *De Officiis*, composed in 44 BC as a letter to his son Marcus, studying in Athens, was a substitute for a visit he was unable to make due to the politics in Rome: Griffin and Atkins 1990: xvi.

hundreds of miles away. Movement was the prerogative of all levels of ancient society, which depended on it for survival and growth. We may wonder to what extent any 'community' can be viewed as a physically stable group of people. Would it be better instead to see it as an intersection or a meshwork⁵⁸ that at any one time has a quicker turnover rate in its populace than of the societal and cultural frameworks which are supported and maintained by it? One of the challenges is how to write a history using movement as the starting point. The material covered in the chapters that follow includes the stories of individuals and migrant groups, itinerant soldiers, slaves, traders, wives, hostages, settlements, expulsions, the founding and demolition of sites and the political processes that could both encourage and discourage the transfer of peoples from one place to another. This is the story of people as well as states and the pauses – places – on their journeys.

⁵⁸ As articulated by Massey and Ingold 2011: part II, 'The Meshwork', 63–94. A *meshwork* – shifts the perception of our world from that of a network of connected points to a *meshwork* of interwoven lines. See above, p. 8 and Chapter 10, pp. 393–94.

2 | Statistical Uncertainties: Mobility in the Last 250 Years BC

Introduction

So how many people moved? Was the Italian figure five million or forty million during the last 200 years BC? Such estimates, seemingly impossible to reconcile, have both their supporters and detractors. They are underpinned by the few figures which ancient authors have chosen to record. Rarely, however, are these explicit references to those on the move. More often, the number of the mobile is deduced by inference from census data, military recruitment or other mass population figures, with more or less plausible scenarios. The fate of the 80,000 who lived in Asia Minor is a case in point. On a pre-determined day in 88 BC the residents of several cities in Asia Minor responded to Mithridates' command and murdered the Romans and Italians who lived among them. According to some reports, the number of those killed was 80,000.¹ No doubt the figure was intended to shock and capture the brutality of the action. It is probably an exaggeration. Yet, even if reduced to 8000 it is still substantial in terms of how many individuals we might expect to be living overseas, not to mention as a death toll of civilians in a single operation. We may wonder who these people were, what they were doing in Asia Minor and how recently they, or otherwise their ancestors, had left Italy. They were not colonists, and there is no suggestion that they came *en masse*. They were individuals who filtered into the region, some with their households, over decades, if not centuries. It is the kind of movement that leaves little trace in our records, whether archaeological or literary. If it were not for the massacre we would not be aware that any more than a handful of families with an Italian background were resident in this corner of Asia at the start of the first century BC.

The three main challenges to knowing how many people migrated in and out of Italy in the Republican period are (1) the paucity of statistical data for ancient Italy, especially prior to the second century BC, which leads to weighting the data towards the last two centuries BC; (2) the inability to ascertain the proportional balance between independent and state-driven

¹ Valerius Maximus 9.2.3 (ext.); Memnon of Heraclea Pontica 31.9 (= FGH III B, p352, lines 16–21). Discussion below pp. 29, 49–56.

mobility,² which is exacerbated by the focus on large-scale mobility in our sources; and (3) the sheer difficulty of measuring migration in the ancient world. This is, in part, because movement tends to be cyclical or meandering, rather than on a single trajectory, or through a controlled border from one permanent settlement to another. In the study of demography, the components of mortality and fertility are more predictable in the ancient context than that of migration,³ since there is much less reliable empirical data for migration than for fertility and mortality.⁴ Once people move they are much more difficult to track in the records. Disagreement about population size and the trustworthiness of statistics, which will be considered in the [first section](#) of this chapter, are only part of the issue.⁵ The other is determining the scale of individual or private mobility. To ascertain its possible extent, the second part of the chapter will focus on several key studies and episodes, in particular, the epigraphic evidence from the Eastern Mediterranean and the 88 BC massacre in Asia Minor. The aim is not to create a numerical model of migration flows. Even if we had the sort of evidence that can enable us to produce exact numbers for year-on-year migration, the problems of sourcing and interpreting such data, even in the twenty-first century, raise the question of whether such information could ever be obtained or relied upon. Instead, evidence which is available will be used to show the potential magnitude of mobility and demonstrate that there is no basis to assume low mobility in this historical context.

The Three Challenges to Counting Those on the Move

Certain demographic trends in ancient Italy lend themselves to being measured more readily than mobility, yet few predate the watershed of

² Independent mobility refers to what is also sometimes called individual, personal or private mobility.

³ For a discussion of data and methodology: Brettell and Hollifield 2008: 12.

⁴ Although demography is made up of three components – mortality, fertility and migration – only the first two receive significant attention in ancient world studies: Erdkamp 2008: 417; Hin 2013: 32.

⁵ Summaries of demographic debates: Hin 2008; Hin 2013; De Ligt 2012; Bowman and Wilson 2011. Surveys by Attema and de Haas 2011, focusing on the area south of Rome around Antium, show a population growth in the fourth to first century AD, which began to dip in the Imperial period. Demographic overviews for the ancient Mediterranean: Parkin 1992; Holleran and Pudsey 2011; De Ligt and Northwood 2008, including Erdkamp 2008: 419–20, testing the higher theoretical figures, and summaries of Scheidel's influential demographic studies; Scheidel 2008; Scheidel 2004; Scheidel 2005. These studies continue to work in dialogue with the milestone demographic work: Brunt 1971.

the third century BC when data becomes more prevalent. One of the earliest and most used records for demographic calculations, if not specifically for mobility, is Polybius's summary of men under arms recruited for the Roman campaign against the Gauls in 225 BC.⁶ The total force which the Italian *socii* (allies) could provide numbered some 730,000 infantry and 72,700 cavalry. Prior to this record we have few figures for Italy from the ancient sources reliable enough to make meaningful calculations. Later figures become more abundant and are prominent in the narratives of the Hannibalic War. It is this period, from the second century 1 BC onwards, that shapes Wilson's seminal work on *Emigration from Italy*, in which he charts the wide-spread mobility and settlement of those with Roman and Italian origins around the Mediterranean.⁷ One of the consequences of this chronological distribution is that the second century BC is spotlighted as the key moment of change, neatly coinciding with Polybius's 'global moment', which we will come to in [Chapter 7](#). One of the aims here will be to step over this threshold into the earlier periods.

Despite the lack of statistics to calculate the rate of migration for ancient Italy, there is enough data to allow for quantitatively credible proposals for certain types of mobility, especially *en masse* mobility orchestrated by the state. What is more difficult to determine is whether the figures represent the majority of human movement across, into and out of Italy at any one time, or only a smaller fraction, with the greater part consisting of scattered independent movements by individuals with their families. Literary sources tend to privilege large-scale phenomena involving tens or hundreds of thousands. These include instances of colonisation, veteran and viritane settlement, repatriation of prisoners of war, military recruitment, enslavements and other coerced dislocations such as the 40,000 Ligurians transferred by Rome into the Ager Taurasinus in the 180s BC.⁸ We might expect that the Punic Wars must have substantially influenced these state-initiated, large-scale movements. By then, Rome had the opportunity and powerbase to distribute its population more widely and provide its veterans with new settlements. As hegemon, it became the key agent in directing the dispersal, agglomeration and displacement of people, whether through enslavement, conquest or treaties with other communities. It is also reasonable to assume changes for

⁶ Polybius 2.23–24. This key figure underpins Brunt's 1971 study. For the impact of archaeological surveys on these figures: Yntema 2008.

⁷ Wilson 1966: 9–10.

⁸ Livy 40.38. Large figures are always questionable, and in his cautionary note Patterson 2013, 64–5, suggests it was another way of saying 'very many'.

individual movement as a consequence of new opportunities in the imperial hinterland, and that the elevation of the status of being a Roman or Italian citizen would have eased mobility by access to a wider range of destinations.⁹ It would make anyone with such status more visible in communities and hence more prominent in the sources. The extent to which the rate of mobility, as distinct from the nature of that mobility, was substantially altered at this time remains questionable and it will be one of the underlying issues addressed here and in following chapters. But a different approach is necessary to gauge the extent of independent movement of the kind that brought thousands to Asia Minor from Italy. This is quantitatively much more challenging. One way to address this and gain some sense of the fluctuations in the rates of ancient mobility is through the findings of bioarchaeology, especially chemical techniques such as isotope and DNA analyses. These can track an individual's migration history.¹⁰ The approach, although still in an embryonic state for ancient Italy, holds considerable promise as more samples that have good preservation are examined.

Whether moving *en masse* or individually, these human flows were not a series of singular events but a continuous, mobile trajectory. Mass migration 'episodes' tend to be presented by ancient authors as closed and linear, particularly colonial establishments, and coerced population transfers resulting from war. Yet from a *longue durée* perspective, mobility appears as a continuing process either across an individual's lifetime or extending over generations. It is recognisable in the ceaseless travel of characters in the Plautine comedies, or the less fictional protagonists of Polybius's *Histories*.¹¹ Families such as the Castricii and the Cossutii are known from epigraphic evidence to have been dispersed around the Mediterranean for several generations.¹² Ancient human mobility, while it included large migratory 'episodes', was recognised by contemporaries as more ephemeral, cyclical and meandering in its nature. The use of the descriptor cyclical here is distinct from the 'circular' type of migration that

⁹ The extension of citizenship to all of Italy south of the Po: [Chapter 9](#). For an evaluation of opportunities and constraints of movement during the Imperial period: Moatti 2000; Moatti, Kaiser and Pébarthe 2009; Moatti 2006; Moatti and Kaiser 2007a.

¹⁰ For use in ancient Italy: Prowse et al. 2007; Prowse et al. 2010; Killgrove 2010a; Killgrove 2010b. In relation to demography and mobility through Rome: Hin 2013: 219, 234–37. For its use in Roman times beyond the Mediterranean: Chenery et al. 2010; Chenery et al. 2011; Muldner et al. 2011. For a summary of methodological developments, discussed in the context of Neolithic communities: Bentley 2013. See [Chapter 4](#), pp. 119–20.

¹¹ The focus of [Chapters 6](#) and [7](#).

¹² See discussion below pp. 62–63. For the Cossutii, including D. Cossutius who was in the employ of Antiochus IV working on the Olympeion in Athens in the 170s/160s BC: Rawson 1975.

is a possibility in transnational theory.¹³ This envisages a departure from a place of origin and a return, even if not a permanent one, as a result of new technologies enabling fast, cheap travel and communication. In the ancient context, trying to establish the average distances of relocation and the duration of resettlement is problematic because what is envisioned is a move from A to B, and not one that may be cyclical or meandering without a clear end point or a sense of return.¹⁴ In its extreme form, as we will see in the [third part](#) of the book, such ceaseless wandering was feared and perceived as undesirable.¹⁵ In Late Antiquity, when many ended up in this condition, which became criminalised by the state, the ability to stay in one place and not move was seen as a virtue, seemingly a privileged state of being.¹⁶

Mobile trends, whether perceived positively or negatively, are also affected by the different phases of the life cycle that correspond to different mobile rhythms, whether slow or fast, temporary or permanent, that hold true across varied cultures and historical periods. The freedom and urge to move, sought-after in the early stages of one's life, is balanced by the desire to be more sedentary in old age. The different rhythms of mobility may also be related to different experiences of space over one's life cycle, whether, child, adolescent or adult.¹⁷ From this perspective, mobility appears less as a series of migratory events that are an interruption of an otherwise sedentary state, and more as a way of life that includes extended periods of being stationary.

Demography and Mobility Statistics

The difficulties in obtaining and understanding migration statistics become evident when comparing those from better documented ancient contexts, let alone equally challenging data sets from the twenty-first century. Relative scales of migration between different periods are hard to assess, but what they do reveal is that we need to be cautious in characterising the present environment as the most interconnected and

¹³ It is distinct from the circulatory or repeated mobility that has resulted from new technologies, which forms part of transnational theory, fuelled by the work of Basch et al. 1994, arguing for the emergence of deterritorialised nation-states. What it has in common with the notion of the contemporarily framed transnational community is the emphasis on human agency: Basch et al. (1994).

¹⁴ Taylor came to a similar conclusion for migration within Attica, which he considers to have been non-permanent and 'circular': Taylor 2011: 123–5, 129.

¹⁵ See Chapters 6, pp. 222–23 and 8, pp. 290, 301.

¹⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000: 384; Pottier 2009. ¹⁷ Lefebvre [1974] 1991: 50.

mobile in recorded history.¹⁸ If we consider, for example, the well-documented census data of the Augustan period at the end of the first century BC, Scheidel estimates that some 40 per cent of male Romans over 45 would have been born in a different location to their current place of residence.¹⁹ On the face of it, that figure sounds fantastically high, but in making these estimates Scheidel is working with a very low count for the overall population of Italy – some 4 million. Many, however, believe that figures of the free population should be at least twice that high, between 7–8 million and possibly rising to 12–16 million by the time of Augustus.²⁰ Hence, if we were to double Scheidel's estimate of the population size the percentage of those born outside of their place of residence would drop by half, to about 20 per cent. Yet even this figure appears high by comparison with those produced by the international bodies that monitor inter-state migratory flows today. The UN estimated that by 2002 some 185 million people lived outside of their country of birth for at least 12 months, which is just over 2 per cent of the world's population.²¹ These twenty-first-century statistics are derived by pooling information from inter-state border crossing data. They do not incorporate any migration within state borders, nor do they include illegal migrants or refugees, which number in the tens of millions. For these reasons the comparability of the ancient and modern trends may be questionable. The twenty-first-century figures do not represent the full extent of mobility, but only those who move along specific routes and through official check points.²² Nevertheless, these statistics are often used as the starting point for the study of international

¹⁸ Whether the ancient world may be defined as globalised: Pitts and Versluys 2014; Chapter 7, pp. 232–3, 236.

¹⁹ Scheidel 2004: 13–20; Scheidel 2006: 223–4. He concludes that, even if his figures need tweaking, there is no arguing about the massive demographic effect of the different movements and especially the relocation programmes of the period. The extent of that impact may be demonstrated in terms of how relocation would have reshaped the Roman kinship context. For a critique of his method and the reliability of the census data: De Ligt 2012: 120–8.

²⁰ For the diverse positions on the Italian population: De Ligt 2012: 1–39; Morley 2001.

²¹ Castles and Miller 2003: 4 (the figure does not take into account illegal movement). Brettell and Hollifield 2008: 185, note that at end of the twentieth century 125 million lived outside of their country of birth, according to estimates by the International Organization for Migration.

²² The sociologist Favell stresses that sociology is deeply embedded in the nation-state view of the world. This is not least because the statistics and demographic data that it uses are generated by nation-states classifying territorially fixed populations in relation to collectivities imagined as national societies. He goes on to state that geography and anthropology reify a culturalist view of the world which then often falls in line with the idea of a world divided up into national 'ethnic' cultures, languages and institutions: Favell 2008: 271.

migrations, giving the impression that the vast majority of the world's current population is sedentary.²³

As outlined in the first chapter, our understanding of mobile trends is constrained by the way that we frame our questions and apply the concept of migration, the current meaning of which has its roots in the eighteenth century.²⁴ This is often predicated on the assumption that migration is an isolated, identifiable and, ideally, one-directional phenomenon which has a beginning and an end. It also requires an official border to be crossed for quantification to be possible. These factors, which allow for the proliferation of control mechanisms, are absent from the ancient world, making any calculation mere guesswork. However, migration figures produced by international bodies today are not comparable as they measure different phenomena. More useful may be the data sets for internal movement between parishes and villages, as for example those of Early Modern England, collected by Laslett and the *Cambridge Group on the History of Population and Social Structure*.²⁵ These show significantly higher rates of mobility and are used to underpin the possible figure of 40 million movements through ancient Italy in the last two centuries BC. Although the comparison is controversial, as we will see, it does indicate that the higher estimates are possible in the ancient context.

The rate of mobility for ancient Italy is directly linked to models for its overall population figures, as exemplified by Scheidel's estimates noted above.²⁶ These are determined by combining available census data (mainly from the Late Republic), military recruitment records and the estimates of Italy's ability to feed and sustain a certain size of population. The latter is in part dependent on climate, which effects the growing season, and the amount of land possible to have under cultivation. For the Mediterranean as a whole, the onset of a cooler and wetter climate around the eighth century BC provided initially better conditions for agriculture and appears to have led to a demographic boom.²⁷ There may have been a slight shift in the fourth century BC, which saw a rise of average

²³ Hollifield does, however, point out that even this movement of individuals across national boundaries challenges many of the assumptions that scientists make about human behaviour: that individuals tend to be risk averse, they are always in need of communities and that if individuals move long distances, leaving family, community, crossing national, cultural ethnic boundaries, there must be extraordinary forces compelling them to do so. As we will see the ancient evidence challenges these assumptions: Hollifield 2008: 185.

²⁴ Chapter 1, pp. 11–12. ²⁵ Laslett 1977. See discussion below, pp. 29–30.

²⁶ For summaries of the debate: De Ligt 2012; Hin 2013.

²⁷ Broodbank 2013: 506; Campbell 2012: 13; Delano-Smith 1979: 314; Sallares 2007: 19. See Chapter 5, pp. 151ff, 183–84.

temperature by 1 degree Celsius,²⁸ and possibly enhanced the potential for growth and settlement into areas which may have been too cold or too wet. Italy's 'carrying capacity' (as it is called) was also affected by Rome's expansion and its ability to import food and other goods from the provinces.

The long-term study of Italy carried out by Lo Cascio and Malanima suggests that for two millennia the peninsula sustained a free population fluctuating between 7 and 16 million until the Industrial period, with a long-term average of about 10 million.²⁹ Even if this 'high count' is questionable their studies have shown that the resource base, adapted to accommodate increased densities, had the capability to sustain the estimates they propose.³⁰ Others disagree, most notably Scheidel, who still prefers a lower estimate for the free population, although perhaps not as low as his initial estimate of 4 million.³¹ This 'low count' would require enormously high emigration and low immigration, with a significant net outflow for which evidence is lacking. What the records do show is the fluctuations in the pattern of flow between different types of mobilities as a result of Roman hegemony. Hin proposes that in the period between the Second Punic War and Caesar's reign, with a substantially increased inflow of slaves and other foreigners into Italy, there was more potential for population growth.³² This may have been reversed somewhat under Caesarian and Augustan colonisation programmes in the provinces

²⁸ De Ligt 2012: 27–30. See Chapter 5, pp. 183–84. ²⁹ Lo Cascio and Malanima 2005: 208, 227.

³⁰ Lo Cascio and Malanima's estimates are based on the assumption that the availability of natural resources is stable but the extent of cultivable land changes over time with possible expansion due to trade specialisation. Additional resources could be imported. Increasing Roman hegemony and regional integration promoted long distance exchange of staples and market integration, hence supplementing the production in Italy: Lo Cascio and Malanima 2005: 217–19, 222–3. In part their position is a response to such studies as Morley's 2001: 55–9.

Scheidel concludes that in the early Imperial period, for which a high population has been presumed, the high living standards do not square with population pressure. He also notes that the political instability in late Republican Rome cannot be easily accounted for by population pressures: Scheidel 2008: 45–7. Such conclusions have support from archaeological evidence. Foxhall's studies indicate that the shortage of land in any absolute sense is unlikely to have been a problem for farmers in the Archaic period. There is no sign of population pressure on local resources: Foxhall 2005: 77.

³¹ For the figure of 4 million: Scheidel 2006: 209. Scheidel now has reservations about this low population count, but sees the high count of 14–20 million as flawed: Scheidel 2008. For debates of what constituted the census figures, and how that effects the overall population count: Lo Cascio 2008 (arguing that the census figures only represent a minimum number of adult male citizens at any given time); and Northwood 2008 (arguing that the figure of those unregistered on the census is lower than envisaged by Lo Cascio). For evaluation of census figures: Morley 2001; Hin 2013.

³² Hin 2013: 256–7.

(48–8 BC), which led to greater outflow at a time when the influx of slaves stabilised. These programmes, according to Scheidel's estimate, resulted in 210,000 'new' adult male Italians in the Western provinces alone.³³ Yet, as Hin emphasises, rather than seeing an overall population decline at the end of the Republic, we need to recognise that the period after the Second Punic War offered opportunities for non-natural growth, suggesting that over the last two centuries BC there would have been a moderate population rise. She presents a set of probabilities, based around the 28 BC census figure of 4,063,000, and proposes a 'middling' figure of 8.2 million for the total population of Italy at the time of Augustus, including a free population of 6.7 million and 1.5 million slaves.³⁴ There may be concerns as to whether this figure is any more plausible than those proposed by others. Still, it is worth noting that if we apply this population size to Scheidel's estimates for the number of male Romans over 45 born in a different location to their place of residence, it would mean that about 30 per cent of them lived outside of their place of birth.³⁵ This percentage represents about one third of the population. Although still high when compared to official statistics for modern migration, it will appear again when we come to look at other forms of evidence from ancient Italy.³⁶

A key factor that altered the demography of Italy from the second century BC is the increasingly large number of slaves brought into the peninsula as a result of Romano-Italian overseas victories. The extent of enslavement in this period by Rome is derived from cautiously using such figures as the 150,000 enslaved in Epirus in a single campaign led by Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC, recorded by Polybius.³⁷ Unresolved problems include the impact of these rising slave imports and also what the need for such large numbers of slaves may tell us about the free-population densities in Italy. Did they swell the population to such an extent that the pressure led to social upheaval, and in turn provided the platform for Gracchan social policies? Such an image of Roman soldier-peasants fighting for their own replacement by slaves was initially put forward by Hopkins.³⁸ It continues to be supported by Lo Cascio, among others, who argue that the influx of slaves did put pressure on the free-population, particularly in the countryside, which was alleviated by migration to urban centres or the

³³ Scheidel 2004: 11. ³⁴ Hin 2013: 292–6. ³⁵ Scheidel 2004: 13–20; Scheidel 2006: 223–4.

³⁶ Chapter 4, pp. 119–20.

³⁷ Polybius 30.15 (cited by Strabo 7.7.3) records that after the destruction of Perseus and the Macedonians, Aemilius Paullus captured seventy cities in Epirus (most of which belonged to the Molossians), and that 150,000 were enslaved. Scheidel 2005: 78.

³⁸ Hopkins 1978.

provinces, especially Cisalpine Gaul.³⁹ By contrast, Scheidel sees the influx of slaves into Italy as an indication of the need for labour, where slaves filled the gap left by the shortage of free workers, making it more difficult to attribute late Republican political instability to population pressures.⁴⁰ Likewise, Purcell's investigations of Italian demography challenge scenarios in which overpopulation triggers social consequences.⁴¹ He shows that while there would have been increased numbers of people in certain periods, this does not guarantee overpopulation. Horizontal, cross-regional, population movement was part of a wider long-term pattern throughout Mediterranean agrarian history which left little room for demographic determinism.⁴² The Italian peninsula was most likely underpopulated not over-populated and any 'migration crisis' would probably have been the result of emigration or out-migration. The difficulty was keeping people from moving away. What changes we do see as a result of the Second Punic War is in the distribution of the population *across* the peninsula, which led to increased densities in some settlements, especially Rome, and higher proportions of servile labour. This, coupled with a higher population turnover rate, may have created tensions for the authorities relying on stability for taxation and recruitment. As we will see below, some of these tensions surfaced as complaints from Italian communities who struggled to meet their military quotas. Notably, overpopulation was not the reason given for complaint, nor was it the motive for any of the expulsions recorded in the extant literature.

Flourishing hubs such as cosmopolitan Rome were ever hungry for people to sustain their appetites for building, commodities, entertainment, and other services required at such busy junctions.⁴³ Furthermore, an ongoing stream of people into and through such centres would have been necessary, some argue, to compensate for a low birth rate that would not have been high enough to offset mortality in the urban environment.⁴⁴ Morley argues that Rome needed a steady flow of migrants, which it absorbed from the population growth of Italy and other parts of

³⁹ Lo Cascio 2008: 253. Those who support the low count also advance this theory but they see population pressure as resulting from increasingly strong economic inequality and concentration of wealth in the hands of elites. For the extent of this concentration in land: Roselaar 2012a: 194–200.

⁴⁰ Scheidel 2008: 42–5. ⁴¹ Purcell 1990. ⁴² Horden and Purcell: 266; Purcell. 2005a: 116.

⁴³ For Rome as one such cosmopolis in the Late Republican and Imperial periods: Morley 2008: 126; Edwards 2003.

⁴⁴ As demonstrated already by Hopkins 1978: chapter 1; Hopkins [1995/6] 2002. Also Scheidel 1996; Morley 1996: 39–44. That the low fertility rate would have been too low to offset the rate of mortality: Erdkamp 2008: 438–44.

the empire.⁴⁵ A variety of push and pull factors drew individuals to the cities, but it is debatable whether population pressure in the countryside was a motivation for such centripetal mobility in the second century BC, and does not explain cross-community mobility.⁴⁶ In considering push-pull factors there is no intention here to support neo-classical economic theories that neglect historical causes of movements and downplay the role of the state. It is rather to recognise that, although the individual was not always the agent of his or her mobility, it took place on an individual level alongside the *en masse* state-initiated schemes.⁴⁷ How many people would have moved to Rome every year through private or independent choice remains debatable.⁴⁸ Is it the figure of 7000 per year coming from the rest of Italy as proposed by Morley, or that of 9600 suggested by Hin?⁴⁹ Or is it Scheidel's more conservative estimate which, for the whole of the last two centuries BC, envisages some 1 million migrants transferring to Rome and to other cities in Italy.⁵⁰ One problem with Scheidel's calculation, as pointed out by Erdkamp, is that his focus on 'permanent transfer' obscures other forms of movement.⁵¹ These are better captured in Morley and Hin's evaluations.

Moving beyond Rome, Scheidel estimates that the total number of individual movements in the last two centuries BC was in the range of 2–2.5 million.⁵² This estimate is partly based on known numbers in the colonies, and also those leaving Italy to reside abroad as veterans.⁵³ This does not include slaves imported into Italy, which he estimates at an additional 3–4 million.⁵⁴ However, within such calculations there remains the wild card, acknowledged by Scheidel, of the inestimable number of independent movements made by individuals. His premise is that private or independent mobility outside of state-sponsored relocations would have formed only a small percentage of those on the move.⁵⁵ But can we be sure?

Hin 2013: 222–8, is more tentative, arguing that such assumptions are based too heavily on comparisons with Early Modern London, which are not applicable to the Roman case, and reassesses the 'graveyard' model for Rome.

⁴⁵ Morley 1996, with discussion by: Erdkamp 2008: 439–40. For a summary of the debate and what drew migrants to Rome: Holleran 2011: 158–65.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Morley 1997: 49–51. For cross-community mobility: Broadhead 2001; Broadhead 2004; and below, pp. 43–45. For push-pull factors: Hin 2013: 212–17.

⁴⁷ For a critical overview of economic theories of migration: Castles and Miller 2003: 21–6; Brettell 2008: 119.

⁴⁸ Hin 2013: 210–57. ⁴⁹ Morley 1996: 46; Hin 2013: 219. ⁵⁰ Scheidel 2004: 19.

⁵¹ Erdkamp 2008: 440–1.

⁵² The figure is made up of an estimated 1–1.25 million individuals settled in colonies or *viritate* settlements in the last two centuries BC, and added to it a similar number of centripetal movements from the countryside into urban centres: Scheidel 2004.

⁵³ Scheidel 2004: 11. ⁵⁴ Scheidel 2005: 77–8. ⁵⁵ Scheidel 2006: 223.

On rare occasions we get a glimpse of the potential size of this group, made up of individual movements: such as the 12,000 Latins thrown out of Rome who had arrived there individually,⁵⁶ or the thousands (possibly up to 80,000) of Romans and Italians massacred in Asia Minor in 88 BC.⁵⁷ These are just two of the episodes that will be explored below. Such independent mobility, which is difficult to trace, means that Scheidel's figures, based primarily on data for state-driven migration, may seriously under-estimate private migration and hence the total of those on the move. Nonetheless, his calculations for the rate of mobility in the Augustan Age, even if adjusted for a greater population size than his own low estimate, indicate that a third of the population could have been mobile, which is a significant proportion.

The Possibility of High Mobility and Its Classification

Increasingly, the re-examination of the ancient evidence compels a different understanding of migration. For Republican Italy it shows that ongoing mobility needs to be seen as part of normal societal processes and that it was not just a response to state programmes. The studies of Erdkamp and Broadhead, in particular, have explored the possibility that the free population of Italy was more mobile than usually supposed. Erdkamp's analysis focuses on the importance of migration for the growth of Rome in the last two centuries BC and the motivational economic factors that drew people to the metropolis.⁵⁸ Broadhead's study is a re-assessment of several key migratory episodes that challenge long-standing assumptions about ancient Roman attitudes to migration, to which we will return in more detail below.⁵⁹ In different ways they support the fact that the rate of mobility in the Republican period is much higher than commonly believed. But how much higher? Using comparative data from Early Modern England, particularly the demographic studies by Laslett of seventeenth-century populations in the villages of Clayworth and Cogenhoe,⁶⁰ Osborne offered supporting evidence from Classical Greece to show that

⁵⁶ Livy 39.3.4–6. See discussion below, pp. 43–44.

⁵⁷ Valerius Maximus 9.2.3 (ext.); Memnon of Heraclea Pontica 31.9 (= FGH III B, p352, lines 16–21). See discussion below, pp. 49–56. For a list of massacres of Romans abroad: Balsdon 1979: 73. One example is the massacre of Roman traders in Jugurtha's Numidia in 112 BC, preceding the war of 111–105 BC (Sallust *BJ* 26; 67), Morstein-Marx 2000, however, doubts that it was a massacre at all. See also discussion by Roselaar 2012c: 150–1.

⁵⁸ Erdkamp 2008. ⁵⁹ Broadhead 2001; Broadhead 2002; Broadhead 2004; Broadhead 2008.

⁶⁰ Laslett 1977.

high rates of individual mobility were plausible.⁶¹ The annual population turnover in the English villages could be as high as 5 per cent.⁶² If we were to take this rate and project it onto the population of Republican Italy, as experimentally done by Erdkamp using the average ‘low count’ population figure of 4 million at any one time, the total number of individual migratory movements over the last two centuries BC would be 40 million.⁶³ Whether such high numbers are plausible depends on whether what is being measured is like for like. While Erdkamp fully agrees that the population of second-century BC Italy was far from immobile, he stresses the dangers of trying to project seventeenth-century calculations into the ancient world, not least because of slavery. This probably constrained employment opportunities and affected the extent of mobility, especially for women.⁶⁴ He also points out that the data from the Early Modern period included many short movements from parish to parish and that there is no discrimination between mobile categories, whether individual, household, permanent, temporary or seasonal. However, such stringent categories may not exist in reality which, as Erdkamp recognises, is an issue also raised by scholars of the Early Modern period.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, he believes that such categories are important historical tools and proposes a model for the Republican context.⁶⁶ In particular, he is interested in the degree to which mobility in Italy in the second century BC was quotidian, rather than motivated by military or political events.

In his classification of mobility, Erdkamp first differentiates travel as a separate activity and cites three types that exemplify the high frequency with which men from all levels of society travelled through Italy, crossing both cultural and political boundaries. These are: festivals and assemblies, which attracted unquantifiable numbers of people who at times travelled long distances to participate in such events;⁶⁷ transactions by small-holders to sell produce and buy commodities;⁶⁸ and the movement of livestock

⁶¹ Osborne 1991. ⁶² Osborne 1991: 233–4. ⁶³ Erdkamp 2008: 419. ⁶⁴ Erdkamp 2008: 420.

⁶⁵ For example: Moch 2003: 16. Hin also comments on the artificiality of distinguishing between temporary and permanent migration: Hin 2013: 217–18.

⁶⁶ Some of Erdkamp’s classifications have roots in the six categories of migration outlined by Tilly 1978: local, circular, chain, career, colonising and forced.

⁶⁷ Exemplified in passing comments by: Julius Obsequens (35) relating the return journey of Publius Helvius in 114 BC to his Apulian home after attending the *Ludi Romani*, his daughter was struck by lightning near Cales while en route; Cicero (*Verr.* 1.54) notes that people from all over Italy gathered in Rome for games, elections and the census in 70/69 BC.

⁶⁸ Within Cato’s *de Agri Cultura*, movement is implicit – masters going to their villas, to acquire goods with their vilicus, or to track down labourers. Varro *RR* 1.16, stresses the importance of the farm location in terms of access and positioning.

through transhumance.⁶⁹ Migration is then distinguished from these kinds of travel on the basis that it implies a change of livelihood. In turn, it may be categorised as seasonal, temporary or permanent. Seasonal migration, motivated by the fluctuation of income-earning opportunities, distinguishes between the urbanised areas and the mountainous districts. Erdkamp envisages that there would have been opportunities for seasonal migration as a result of urban growth and the villa infrastructure, along with the shipping industry and building trade.⁷⁰ Temporary migration, at times referred to as circular, denotes the absence of individuals for several seasons, over a year or more, perhaps as many as 15, if compared with examples from the Early Modern period.⁷¹ As with seasonal mobility, temporary migration is a response to the labour requirements and composition of households. The problem for Republican Italy is that we have no real evidence for labour mobility aside from the numerous references to military service that may be classed as temporary. While it is true that the ancient data is scarce, there is some evidence for rapid assembly of labour when opportunities presented themselves. This gives us a glimpse of what we are missing in our sources. One example that we will come to in [Chapter 7](#) is that of the gold mines of the Taurisci in North Italy which attracted so many workers that many had to be sent away.⁷² It suggests that there were motivations which were capable of directing large groups of labourers in relatively short periods of time.

The final category Erdkamp identifies is that of permanent migration. This category is not explicitly defined, perhaps because it appears as self-evident and needs no explanation. However, we simply have no concrete evidence as to the percentage of people who stayed in the place they moved to for sustained periods of time or the remainder of their lives. This is not to say that people did not end up settling permanently. But following how many preceding moves, and for what percentage of their lives, is unclear. We assume that colonial and veteran settlements can be classed as permanent, but even that was not always the case.⁷³ Permanent migration may not have been the goal at the outset of a single move but the result of

Erdkamp 2008: 422, indicates that the catchment area for a peasant's daily transactions was some 10–15km, with further travel to markets for tools and supplies, basing this data on studies by: Bintliff 2002; De Ligt 1993.

⁶⁹ Horden, Purcell and Garnsey argue that *long-distance* transhumance was the result of a political rather than natural landscape: Horden and Purcell 2000: 198; Garnsey 1998.

The integrative landscape owes much to the road system that gave it an artificial unity: Laurence 1999: 1–2, 148–53.

⁷⁰ Erdkamp 2008: 424–33. ⁷¹ Erdkamp 2008: 433–7.

⁷² Polybius 34.10.10 (cited in Strabo 4.6.12): See Chapter 7, p. 239.

⁷³ See below, pp. 61ff and Chapter 5, pp. 181–82.

seasonal or temporary movement. Taking into account that some individuals had multiple residences which they moved between, and that these were not necessarily in the same ‘state region’, complicates the situation further. We will return to these issues in the following chapters, especially the discussion of the *origo* in [Chapter 9](#), in the context of citizenship laws enacted during the Social War.

Such concerns make the idea of permanent settlement a cumbersome category for the Republican period, and arguably any period. Rather, the volatility of the categories suggests that Osborne’s lack of discrimination between various kinds of mobility in his comparison of ancient Greek figures with those of seventeenth-century England are less problematic than they first appear. Even if the evidence from antiquity is not sufficient to sustain or deny the figure of 40 million movements projected by Erdkamp from Osborne’s proposal, still there is enough to test whether mobility rates at the higher end are possible. Another figure implicit in Osborne’s study of ancient Greece is that 25–30 per cent of the members of a particular community’s population were living abroad.⁷⁴ Taken together, these observations mean that the large-scale migration events on which many statistics for ancient mobility are based are only a fraction of a much greater phenomenon.⁷⁵ Laslett’s figures need not be accepted as an exact parallel for the ancient world, but they are enough to suggest that the possibility is not completely out of the question for Roman Italy. The implication is an environment which primarily consists of individual movements not directly connected with state initiatives, although perhaps supported by them. The second half of this chapter, following a brief reflection on mobile women, will consider the strength of the evidence that would support such a hypothesis.

Women at the Limits of Classification

Erdkamp presents migration and seasonal labour largely as individual male mobility. Little is said about the mobility of households of the kind demonstrated by the choice of some 4000 families to move to Fregellae in the early second century BC.⁷⁶ There is only passing mention of women, who in demographic studies are noted primarily in terms of their child-bearing potential. It is argued that employment possibilities outside the

⁷⁴ This is best demonstrated in his example of the Greek deme of Rhamonous in the Hellenistic period: Osborne 1991: 241, 244.

⁷⁵ Osborne 1991; Erdkamp 2008: 419–20. ⁷⁶ Livy 41.8.6–12: see discussion below, pp. 44–45.

household were limited, especially with the influx of slaves who performed domestic tasks which may have previously been carried out by mobile women.⁷⁷ One problem with this scenario is that suggesting that slaves replaced female labour gives the impression of excluding female slaves, and that their mobility does not matter. Furthermore, there were varied mobile trajectories available to women beyond domestic labour.⁷⁸ Their presence in the public sphere may be noted: in the retail trade, running their own shops, and appearing as street sellers and hawkers.⁷⁹ At the lower end of the social spectrum, Varro, for example, makes reference to girls who tend flocks and notes that there are women accompanying herdsmen to take care of cooking and other domestic tasks on the move.⁸⁰ Even if his discussion of the latter is in many ways dehumanising and not too different from his comments on sturdy cattle, it is still a record of human mobility. At the more elite end, Varro writes about his travelling aunt from the Sabine region, describing her route as she pauses at favourite sites along the journey.⁸¹ Labour opportunities need not have been a precondition for women to move. In ancient Italy, these are likely to have played only a small role in female migratory patterns as many would have moved with husbands and families.⁸²

The bigger question concerning women is whether we are right to assume that they were largely static. The evidence for women on the move as individuals is scarce, yet comparative studies, as used by Hin, suggest that women potentially might have moved at least as much as men.⁸³ In reference to Rome, some have claimed that migration was confined to young adult men, yet Lo Cascio has argued that we need to see women forming a substantial percentage of the total number of migrants coming into the city, necessary for the purpose of reproduction. A small number would have meant that Rome could not have developed into a mega-city.⁸⁴ A production-line of babies raised in the peripheries to supply the ever hungry metropolis is unlikely. We should not presume that those men who moved, whether on a temporary or seasonal basis, travelled without their families. Hin has examined the possibilities of such units

⁷⁷ Erdkamp 2008: 436–7, 444.

⁷⁸ As Neville Morley pointed out to me, this is unlike in the Early Modern period, when migration into domestic service would have been numerically the most important form of female migration, arguably more significant than male migration, let alone family migration.

⁷⁹ Holleran 2012: 206–7; Holleran 2013. ⁸⁰ Varro *RR* 2.10; 2.10.6–7.

⁸¹ Varro *RR* 3.2.15–16. ⁸² Hin 2013: 230–3.

⁸³ For female mobility and its under-representation in the epigraphic record, particularly in Rome: Hin 2013: 228–33, 238–43.

⁸⁴ Lo Cascio 2001: 118. With discussion in Erdkamp 2008: 442.

moving. She suggests that the number of mobile families who made up the population inflow into Rome would have been considerable and that we need to imagine a more interconnected marriage market between the city of Rome and the countryside.⁸⁵ Yet, she also observes that while the figure of 2.3–4 men for every woman in Rome may be an exaggeration, there is still a significant contrast between the high sex ratios on inscriptions from Rome versus those in all other regions of Italy, which suggests a predominance of migrant men in Rome.⁸⁶ In the wider context of Italy and the Mediterranean, as will be shown in the discussion of Polybius's *Histories* in [Chapter 8](#), there is evidence that the mercenaries and other military troops often had women with them, whether as wives or courtesans, and that these may have been accompanied by children. While it may appear that the majority of women on the move were not entirely free agents, especially in the military context, we will consider a number of episodes which reveal that they have more agency than may appear. However, until such time as there is new evidence to help better understand female mobility, perhaps in the form of stable isotope analysis in the skeletal record, conclusions about its true extent remain speculative.⁸⁷ But that does not mean that they were largely static as a group.

Independent and Private Mobility – Its Extent and the Role of the State

There are a number of ways that we can gauge the extent of individual movement which was private or independent of state initiatives – whether it was with the family, as part of a work gang, or in pursuit of a business venture. The aim here is not to produce specific figures but to consider a number of case studies that point to its extensive and quotidian nature. It is also to ascertain the attitude to mobility to determine whether there was an underlying expectation that it existed at a high level. One way is to look at what those witnessing the period have to say about it, which is the primary purpose of the [third part](#) of the book, focusing on the works of Plautus and Polybius. In the remainder of this chapter the issue will be addressed in the

⁸⁵ Hin 213: 245–54. ⁸⁶ Hin 2013: table 6.3, pp. 241, 244.

⁸⁷ Isotopic analysis from the Neolithic period shows the diverse patterns of female mobility, representing either matrilineal or patrilineal communities. The former is characterised by shorter distance mobility by females than the latter. Strontium isotope analysis reveals that early Neolithic women were more likely than men to have originated from areas outside those where their bodies were found. This is a strong indication of patrilocality, a male-centred kinship system where females move to reside in the location of the males when they marry: Bentley et al. 2012; Bentley 2013. For isotopic studies in Italy see above, p. 21.

following three ways: (1) by outlining general attitudes to foreign incomers, especially through incidents of expulsion, which will be built on throughout the book; (2) by highlighting socio-political systems in which mobility was implicit, and noting state mechanisms that were geared to pause movement; (3) by considering historic episodes that provide direct evidence of high individual mobility, in particular that of the Latins to Rome, the circumstances of the 80,000 in Asia Minor and the case of Delos in the context of epigraphic evidence from the Eastern Mediterranean.

Attitudes to Foreigners in Ancient Italy in the Last Two Centuries BC

We have very little data for the number of foreigners in ancient Italy. Ancient authors who write about their own contemporary periods seem to have little interest in this kind of information. As we will see throughout [Chapters 5–8](#), rarely are those who come from abroad classified as a single group. The fact of being from elsewhere was less important than other categories such as those of status or occupation. There would have been fewer motives, therefore, for authorities to control and count someone simply because of their foreignness. For the Roman state, the problem was not keeping people out, but rather trying to reconcile the highly mobile nature of Italy's free population with the increasing need for steadfastness. It was necessary both to regulate and enhance the human-resource potential.⁸⁸ The problem for any ruling power was keeping its own people in one place, and in some cases to lure potential new residents.⁸⁹ We have no evidence to suggest that civilian in-migration was a central political concern for the period. Nevertheless, when discussing events in the distant past, ancient authors of the Late Republican and early Imperial periods did present migration as the cause of conflict (as distinct from conquest by an external power). It was only used to explain events within their lifetimes or the near past, when the perpetrators were 'barbaric' groups who overran 'civilised' urban communities. In fact, though, the actions of such groups were indistinguishable from the destruction caused by fellow 'civilised' enemies.

⁸⁸ For an example of such tensions: Broadhead 2008.

⁸⁹ This attitude prevails throughout our sources as we will see in [Chapters 3–5](#). For example: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.18.3 notes how when Rome suffered internal struggles some of their populace took refuge in the surrounding cities, which took the opportunity, in some cases successfully, to lure them in with offers of citizenship and other incentives. Livy 6.4.4–6 describes how in the wake of the Gallic Sack, Rome had to induce its citizens, by threat of punishment, to return from Veientine territory.

The assumption that throughout history states would have wanted to prevent in-migration has on occasion skewed our interpretation of the ancient sources. We have no evidence in the Republican period of any general measures that were implemented to prevent foreigners from coming to Rome in the way that several centuries later, by the time of Justinian, migrants were vetted in Constantinople.⁹⁰ Livy's record of expulsions from Rome in the early second century BC, as will be discussed below, does not depend on making a case for keeping foreigners out, and neither is the so-called *ius migrandi* an allegedly exclusive law of free mobility put in place for privileged communities.⁹¹ What references there are for expulsions of outsiders are presented as isolated events and perceived negatively by commentators and contemporaries.⁹² Cicero had only scathing remarks for the laws that expelled *peregrini* – foreigners – from Rome, which he saw as inhuman:

They do wrong, those who would debar foreigners from our cities and would drive them out, as was done by Pennus in the time of our fathers, and recently by Papius. Of course it is right not to permit the rights of citizenship to one who is not a citizen, on which point a law was secured by two of our wisest consuls, Crassus and Scaevola. Still, to debar foreigners from using the city is clearly inhuman.⁹³

Expulsions were rare and tended to be temporary, which is how the actions of Pennus in 126 BC and the *lex Papia* of 65 BC are perceived by most scholars. Balsdon even doubts that such mass expulsions were ever carried out, and we are hard pressed to find evidence for it.⁹⁴ That such acts should be directed at an ethnically or geographically defined group of foreign civilians by the host community is virtually unheard of.⁹⁵ Both of the legislations noted above were political not xenophobic acts, which is reflected in the lack of a specifically targeted ethnic group. The events were generated in the context of rival politicians trying to pass enfranchisement laws to isolate certain sectors of the Italic community, distinguished by civic status.⁹⁶ The legislation

⁹⁰ Special officers responsible for controlling incomers: Feissel 1995: 366.

⁹¹ See discussion below, pp. 40–41.

⁹² For a legalistic approach to the issues concerned with the acquisition of citizenship more than the actual presence of foreigners see: Coşkun 2009a.

⁹³ Cicero *De Officiis* 3.11.47: *Male etiam, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent eosque exterminant, ut Pennus apud patres nostros, Papius nuper. Nam esse pro cive, qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere, quam legem tulerunt sapientissimi consules Crassus et Scaevola. Usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos, sane inhumanum est.*

⁹⁴ Balsdon 1979: 100. For further discussion: Broadhead 2008: 466–7; Noy 2000: 37–44; Lintott 1994: 76; Purcell 1994: 652–3; Wiseman 1994a: 344–5. For the expulsion of Macedonians in 171 BC see Chapter 7, pp. 243–44.

⁹⁵ Balsdon lists the expulsions, concluding that in Republican history there is little evidence of hostility to foreigners or any wish to prevent them from living in Rome: Balsdon 1979: 98–111.

⁹⁶ Gruen 1974; Wiseman 1994a: 344–5.

brought in by Pennus, despite much opposition, was put forward during the time of the Gracchi, preceding Flaccus's proposal to extend citizenship to Italic communities. In a similar vein, the *lex Papia* was introduced during Caesar's attempts to enfranchise Cisalpine Gaul. In both cases, extensions of citizenship were being used by these aspiring individuals as a strategy to increase their political power base. It is not surprising that their opponents, Pennus and Papius, would have been keen to curtail any such enfranchisement. By throwing out the 'foreigners', these legislators were ensuring that they did not interfere in voting for the bills. By implication, these episodes show that the Gracchi and Caesar were quite happy to welcome the same foreigners and make them part of the community through the extension of citizenship.

One of the challenges for the authorities was to maintain a balance between the influx of outsiders and the stability of the state, ensuring that institutions adapted accordingly. As its power grew, Rome needed a constant inflow of people to sustain itself, and there is no question that the metropolis expanded in size dramatically in the last centuries BC. That there was an increasing number of foreigners in Rome may be ascertained from such measures as the addition of a *praetor peregrinus* in the mid-third century BC to complement the *praetor urbanus*. Although there is some debate as to the original role of this new office, we know that at least part of its remit was to oversee legal cases involving foreigners and Roman citizens, previously under the aegis of the *praetor urbanus*.⁹⁷ Even within the earliest surviving Roman Statutes, from the mid-second century BC, there are provisions both for foreigners within Rome and Italy, and for Roman citizens who were not domiciled in Rome but domiciled overseas or away on business.⁹⁸ Laws recognised and catered for the presence of those resident in a community

⁹⁷ The first praetorship in Rome was created in 367 BC to supervise civil litigation. From 241 BC the praetorship was split into the *praetor urbanus* and the *praetor peregrinus*. The establishment of the latter was in part due to the large number of cases, not simply because there were more individuals classified as foreigners: Brennan 2000: 86, 604; Daube 1951; Forsythe 2005: 211. See Chapter 6, pp. 209–10. Two further praetors were introduced in 227 BC, with Roman absorption of Sardinia and Sicily: Roselaar 2012d: 398.

⁹⁸ One example is the *Lex repetundarum* lines 12–18 = *Roman Statutes* Law 1 (Vol. I: 66–7, 86–7) concerning the annual selection of 450 jurors, and the essential criteria that they are domiciled in Rome or within 1 mile of it and that they are not overseas (for *domicilium* see Chapter 9, p. 349); lines 12–15 mention praetors who have jurisdiction in relation to foreigners; lines 76–8 describe the rights and procedures for those prosecuting who are not Roman citizens, and their ability to gain Roman citizenship on the completion of a successful prosecution (see comment in *Roman Statutes* Law 1, lines 76–8 (Vol. I: 110) – that there is nothing to warrant the view of Sherwin White that the benefits of this clause only applied to Latins and Italians: Sherwin-White 1982: 29–31).

The *Lex agraria*, line 29 = *Roman Statutes* Law 2 (Vol. I: 129–30, 144), develops the jurisdiction involving cases with Latins and foreigners – *peregrini*.

within which they were not citizens, and created mechanisms for dealing with a mobile and mixed population.⁹⁹ The kind of scenarios that are envisaged by the law makers already appear in the comedies of Plautus, as we will see in Chapter 6.¹⁰⁰ Such actions make it difficult to sustain an image of increasing exclusivity on the part of Rome in the second century BC, as would have been implicit in a *ius migrandi*, had it existed.

Cicero's remark on keeping foreigners out makes a clear distinction between their physical inclusion in a city and their inclusion as part of the citizen body.¹⁰¹ Controlling access to what by his time had become the most privileged status, Roman citizenship, was perfectly acceptable.¹⁰² But physically keeping them out was not. Equally, Athens, with its myth of autochthony and exclusive citizenship, also had an extensive metic population.¹⁰³ There is also substantial evidence that not only did Greek poleis host large numbers of foreigners, they also handed out citizenship rights when it suited them.¹⁰⁴ In contrast to Athens, other communities presented themselves as the product of migrations in their origin stories and foundation myths. Rome's beginnings, according to one legendary

⁹⁹ For example the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* ch. 98 = *Roman Statutes* Law 25 (Vol. I: 408, 427), setting up of the Caesarian colony at Urso in Spain, records that when it came to public building projects, decurions of the colony expected contribution from the colonists towards them and 'Whoever in that colony or within the boundaries of that colony shall have a domicile (*domicilium*) or estate and shall not be a colonist of that colony, he is to be liable to the same construction work as a colonist.' As Crawford observes in *Roman Statutes* (Vol. I: 444), the equivalent passage in the *Lex Flavia*, 'explicitly includes *municipes* and *incolae*, who live or hold any property in the community; the intention here is to catch others as well as *incolae*.' Also in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* ch. 126 = *Roman Statutes* Law 25 (Vol I: 414, 429–30), in outlining the procedure for staging public shows, it states that in assigning seats the magistrates are required to include those for colonists, *incolae*, guests and visitors.

The *Lex agraria* = *Roman Statutes* Law 2, lines 46–95 (Vol. I: 118–23, 146–52) made provisions for land distribution in Africa. According to Crawford *Roman Statutes* Law 2 (Vol. I, 173), the clause at lines 63–5, implies that 'sales of land in Africa had been going on for some time before 111 BC, leading to inheritance or resale as well as seizure by creditors.' Romans and Italians had been landowners in Africa for some time, at least from the third century BC, a subject that we will return to in Chapter 7, pp. 245–46.

¹⁰⁰ For legal issues concerning foreigners' abilities to prosecute in a city not their own: *Poenulus* 1403–4, *Pseudolus* 1232. For the introduction of the term *incolae*: *Aulularia* 3.406–7. See Chapter 6, pp. 219–20.

¹⁰¹ *De Officiis* 3.11.47.

¹⁰² *Lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BC, noted by Asconius 67–8C, was designed to prevent the illegal acquisition of Roman citizenship: Tweedie 2012.

¹⁰³ For autochthony: Purcell 1990b; Horden and Purcell 2000: 384; Wilson 2006: 32. See Chapter 3, p. 90.

¹⁰⁴ For examples see Chapter 8, pp. 287, 293. Osborne suggests that the nature of polis institutions in Attica implies high rates of mobility already in the Archaic period, especially with the introduction of such statuses as the metic: Osborne 1991. For incentives to attract elite foreigners to poleis: Oliver 2011.

strand, show how the city originated from the creation of an ‘asylum’ by Romulus who invited others to join him at the site, including vagrants and refugees.¹⁰⁵ Rome’s other mythical strand, vividly recounted by Vergil, also envisions refugees but specifically from Troy, as ancestors of the original populace of the city.¹⁰⁶ As Bonjour’s stimulating work has suggested, Romans recognised that their *patria* was an artificial creation – a human project.¹⁰⁷ Such links and connections, whether presented as exiles seeking shelter among distant friends and kind strangers, or the ambitious, strengthening networks to maximise opportunities, were at the heart of numerous Mediterranean imaginings about how new communities arose. As we will go on to explore in [Chapter 3](#), elites in particular devoted a lot of energy to cultivating long-ranging horizontal links that encouraged investment and the sharing of resources through systems of guest-friendship and patronage. It is these links that are succinctly exemplified by the Demaratus story and embodied in such objects as the *tessera hospitalis* and other tokens of gift exchange.¹⁰⁸ These networks operated despite conflicts between states, and other systems of power, and threats from outside forces. For all these reasons, foreigners and migrants were not simply grouped together and identified as such. What mattered more was the status of individuals from abroad, which meant that they were assigned to other categories that were more significant at the time, whether merchant, labourer, tax-collector, *hospes* (guest friend), *hostis* (enemy), mercenary, exile, hostage, slave or citizen. The slow development of the classification of foreigner – as expressed by the Latin term *peregrinus*¹⁰⁹ – also means that newcomers were less likely to be recorded and measured as such. This makes rates of private or individual mobility especially difficult to determine, but not impossible, as long as we are cautious with the figures we do have. But the underlying assumption must be that it was considerable.

Latins Leaving to Rome – Measures for Preventing Outflow

The expulsion of 12,000 Latins from Rome, recorded by Livy, is one of the more notorious domestic events that overshadowed the triumphant

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 10, pp. 369–70. For this and other Roman founding myths: Dench 2005.

¹⁰⁶ For migration as an integral part of the *Aeneid*: Dench 2005: 102.

¹⁰⁷ Bonjour 1975a: 11–12. For *patria*, Chapter 11, esp. p. 401ff.

¹⁰⁸ Chapter 3, pp. 101–03. For evidence of gift-giving in early Italy, especially Etruscan: Riva 2010b: 217–24.

¹⁰⁹ Chapter 6, pp. 216–17.

decades of the post-Hannibalic era in the early second century BC.¹¹⁰ Despite the rarity of expulsions of foreigners, and Cicero's scathing comments noted above, in this episode it seems we have the most direct evidence for the exclusionary migration policies of Rome, which may be comparable to those of the twenty-first-century Western World. On the surface, from the modern perspective, the situation seems familiar: a vibrant flourishing state becomes over-crowded with incomers which it repels, imposing strict laws on migration. But the episode is hardly straightforward, and the above interpretation has been challenged by Broadhead in his work on individual movements in mid-Republican Italy.¹¹¹ He explores in detail a number of examples, included in Livy's narrative of the second century BC, which point to the potentially large figures involved in private mobility. In particular, he is interested in the two episodes that took place in 187 and 177 BC, which led to the expulsions. Livy reports that on these occasions the Latins pleaded with the Romans to help them restore their citizens to their colonies by tracking them down. This they eventually did in 177 BC, resulting in 12,000 Latins being sent from Rome to return to their cities.¹¹² The measures to keep these individuals out, however, must have been short-lived, because there were continuing complaints, and additional legislation was enacted in 173 BC.¹¹³ Specifically, these laws restricted the acquisition of citizenship *per migrationem et censum* – through relocation and registration on the census – but not the act of migration itself.¹¹⁴

Until recently, these reports in Livy's narrative have been used to argue for the existence of a specific right, the so-called *ius migrandi*, granted by Rome to the Latins, allowing them the privilege of migrating to Rome, of registering in the census there and in so doing of becoming Roman citizens.¹¹⁵ But as Broadhead's investigations have shown, the Latin term *ius migrandi* or *ius migrationis*, which has been applied to the 'law' to which Livy refers, does not appear anywhere in the ancient sources.¹¹⁶ This privilege was seen by us as part of a package of Latin rights which also

¹¹⁰ Livy 39.3.4–6. ¹¹¹ Broadhead 2001; Broadhead 2002; Broadhead 2004; Broadhead 2008.

¹¹² Livy 41.8.6–12; 41.9.9–12. ¹¹³ Livy 42.10.3.

¹¹⁴ Broadhead 2002, chapter 6, 128; Broadhead 2004; Broadhead 2008: 459.

¹¹⁵ For the historiography of *ius migrandi*: Broadhead 2001. For alternative views: Coşkun 2009a: 107–10; Roselaar 2013: 110–15. Tarpin concludes that migration only emerged as a citizenship problem from the late second century BC at the earliest: Tarpin 2014: 164–76.

¹¹⁶ Livy 41.8.9: *Lex sociis nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat ut cives Romani fierent* – The law granted to any persons among the allies of the Latins, who should leave in their home towns offspring, the privilege of becoming Roman citizens. Broadhead 2004: 316.

included *conubium* – the right of legal marriage with a member from another Latin community – and *commercium* – the right to have commercial dealings with persons from other Latin communities and to make legally binding contracts.¹¹⁷ The laws concerning *commercium* have affinities with stipulations in the second Romano-Carthaginian treaty that allowed members of both communities to trade freely within each other's cities.¹¹⁸ These regulations indicate that there were socio-economic boundaries with a legal system that constrained but also allowed privilege, which was status-dependant. But they did not restrict physical mobility.

Livy's description of the exclusionary episodes of the second century BC has been interpreted as a restriction to a previous right of migration to Rome. It creates an image of Italy in which once-permeable boundaries were increasingly hardening, and closing off the relatively free movement of individuals. Such a scenario, however, is not consistent with what we know of attitudes in Republican Italy. Broadhead's reading of the events is more in line with the fluid, quotidian movement of people. He argues that the law was not a right of migrating to Rome, not a *ius migrandi*, but rather the result of the obligation placed on Latin communities to prevent their own citizens from leaving.¹¹⁹ These communities were desperate to prevent any further depletion of their manpower base which they were obliged to supply for the Roman army. The expulsions were not a xenophobic Roman reaction to migrants coming in, but a reluctant response to pressure from magistrates of Latin colonies to have their inhabitants returned. He emphasises that there is no evidence that Rome, or any other state in Italy, maintained that freedom of movement should be the privilege of defined groups of individuals alone.¹²⁰ The institution of a 'migration law' was a fabrication of modern scholarship. Although this view is not fully accepted,¹²¹ the suggestion that such a law does not fit the evidence is compelling, and institutional developments point to the free

¹¹⁷ Traditionally, such rights were seen as a privilege and their removal a punishment, and hence something that Romans felt they could impose on conquered territory, which they did in 167 BC. Following the defeat of Perseus, they divided Macedonia into four regions and did not allow *commercium* or *conubium* between them, along with other punitive measures: Livy 45.29.10. For the general history of these rights: Cornell 1995: 295–7; Roselaar 2012d; Roselaar 2013.

¹¹⁸ Polybius 3.24.12–13. Chapter 8, p. 272.

¹¹⁹ Broadhead 2001; Broadhead 2004: 316–18. Not everyone accepts this reading, particularly where mobility is perceived to be lower, more restricted and controlled: Coşkun 2009a: 70–200.

¹²⁰ Broadhead 2002: 145.

¹²¹ For an alternative view, which supports some aspects of its existence, while questioning whether it could be called *ius migrandi*: Coşkun 2009a; Roselaar 2013: 110–15.

and anticipated movement of individuals in ancient society. The liberty of moving was defined not as a natural right but as a positive fact.¹²²

It is this attitude which is reflected in Cicero's critical comments on the expulsion of foreigners from Rome in the 120s BC.¹²³ It may be the case that elements of xenophobia were rising to the surface in this period, to which Cicero's comment is a reaction, yet they would have been a minority perspective. His decision not to identify any specific ethnic or geographic group as the target of such legislation, and use of the more general term *peregrini* – foreigners – suggests that xenophobia would have been weak. As already noted above, expulsions were the result of specific circumstances, usually to do with political ambitions and claims of state security.¹²⁴ The Italian context was one where freedom of movement was the norm; this needed to be accommodated, the restriction of that freedom was the exception.

State Methods for Pausing Motion

Colonisation and viri-tane settlement in conquered territory allowed for a hegemonic regime not only to establish a powerbase for itself but also to provide land for its citizens and veterans, a presumably sought-after commodity, and as incentive for service. Yet, when such land was made available it was not always settled with the enthusiasm one might expect. We hear of trouble in finding recruits to go to colonies and a reluctance of those chosen as the new settlers to move to their assigned territories. Desertion of new settlements by the colonists was an annoyance for the Roman state, which in part is what prompted the complaints of the Latins reported by Livy. At times, its extent led to abandonment of sites such as Buxentum, and the need for *supplementa* – the replenishing of settlements with fresh recruits.¹²⁵ We would be wrong to assume that it was primordial

¹²² Moatti 2006: 119 observes that such 'liberty' of moving in the Imperial period was shaped by institutions and based on negotiation.

¹²³ Cicero *De Officiis* 3.11.47, and discussion above, p. 36.

¹²⁴ For the expulsion of Macedonians and Gauls/Gallic mercenaries, see Chapter 7, pp. 243–44 and Chapter 8, – arguing that they were political not xenophobic acts.

¹²⁵ Livy 39.23.3–4 records that the abandonment of Buxentum and Sipontum was discovered by chance. Livy 10.21.7–10 notes the difficulty which Roman authorities had of finding recruits for settlements, particularly in reference to Minturnae and Sinuessa, which had to keep permanent garrisons in hostile territory. Dionysius of Halicarnassus 13.7 records the difficulty of finding recruits for the colony at Velitrae and possibly Norba, who went there in the end under threat of punishment for non-compliance. For a list of *supplementa* to colonies: Broadhead 2002: 37–9.

rootedness to one's birthplace and homesickness that led to these. Reluctance to take up newly assigned territory by Roman citizens is addressed directly in Livy's narrative of the aftermath of the Gallic Sack in Book 5, where it is presented as one of the catalysts for the dilemma of whether the Romans should move to Veii. These circumstances led to the impassioned speech by Camillus to prevent such a move, which will be a focus in [Chapter 10](#). As Livy presents the situation in the fourth century BC, the refusal of the new colonial recruits to take up their settlements in the Volscian territory was more to do with the unappealing nature of the new site, perhaps its distance from other centres, hostile locals and the marshiness of the land, and not because they wanted to stay in Rome *per se*.¹²⁶ Following the decision that Rome should not be moved to Veii, these same recruits happily went on to take up the plots that were assigned to them in the recently captured territory of Veii, a much more appealing environment and landscape than the distant marshes of the Volsci.

When colonists took flight and disappeared from their settlements we do not hear that it is Rome they returned to necessarily, although we would expect some of them to have done so. Rarely does Livy provide the reason as to why colonists disappear in his record of site abandonment, or when reporting on the complaints of Latin colonies struggling to raise necessary manpower as a result of defecting citizens. The manpower requirements must have been significant. Velleius Paterculus believed it was one of the grievances of the allies that led to the Social War.¹²⁷ Even if it was not the main reason for the war, it was still a prominent enough issue for him to record it as a possibility. In the case of the largest such group we know about – the expelled 12,000 Latins – the reason given for their clandestine transfer to Rome was so that they could gain Roman citizenship and the privileges that it brought.¹²⁸ For some, the opportunities to be gained were substantial enough for them to take extreme measures. They used loopholes in the system to get onto the citizenship rolls in Rome, which included the risk of giving one's own children into slavery, to be manumitted on successful acquisition of citizenship. This was one way to get around the rule imposed by the home community that required offspring to be left behind for surety of return.¹²⁹ These were individuals on the lookout for opportunities, economic or otherwise, who found creative

¹²⁶ Persistent difficulties in colonising Volscian territory: Livy 5.24.5; 7.27.2. Bradley 2006: 167–8. In reference to Veii: Chapter 10, p. 366.

¹²⁷ Velleius Paterculus 2.15.2. ¹²⁸ Livy 39.3.4–6

¹²⁹ Livy 41.8.6–12; Broadhead 2004: 319–20.

ways to get what they wanted. These Latins came to be in the metropolis as a result of independent, and individually unique, decisions. They did not all arrive as part of some mass exodus, but filtered in over decades.

Rome was only one of the targeted urban hubs that drew populations to themselves. In 177 BC, an additional complaint was raised by the Samnites and Paelignians that some 4000 families had transferred to Fregellae.¹³⁰ This shows not only that Rome was not necessarily the most sought-after destination, but that getting onto its citizenship rolls was not a motivation for everyone.¹³¹ Those for whom it was an ambition found routes outside of Rome itself to achieve this. The colony of Narnia, already in 199 BC, complained about those coming to live there who pretended to be colonists.¹³² Despite the fact that in ancient communities one could only exercise political rights in one's place of origin, this did not deter mobility.¹³³ Political rights may not have been of much interest to the mass of the population. Status and disenfranchisement do not appear to have dissuaded at least some people from changing their place of residence, while it continued to incentivise others. We may recall that the Hernici, when offered Roman citizenship in 306 BC, refused to take it.¹³⁴ Economic reasons and good connections may have been the main driver for attracting substantial newcomers to such sites as the colony of Minturnae, which was on the via Appia.¹³⁵ Yet, in some instances economic and socio-political advantage are not enough to explain the choice of a site for a large group of incomers. While these explanations allow one to understand aspects of urbanization or centripetal migration, it does not explain cross-community movements between those with equal juridical status.

Fregellae, some 100 km distant from Rome on the Via Latina, is a case in point.¹³⁶ It was given Latin colony status in 328 BC, and by the early second century was the chosen destination for the 4000 families whose relocation resulted in complaints. The site clearly had attractions that were known beyond Italy, and Italians were not the only ones keen to make it their new abode, as we shall see in the discussion of Carthaginian hostages living in Norba, who also wanted to move to Fregellae.¹³⁷ It may have been its cosmopolitan nature and international links that made it so appealing. The Aesculapius sanctuary outside of the city was a testament to the site's

¹³⁰ Livy 41.8.6–8 ¹³¹ Broadhead 2002: 23–6. ¹³² Livy 32.2.6. ¹³³ Morley 1997: 49–51.

¹³⁴ Livy 9.43.23.

¹³⁵ Coarelli 1989; Guidobaldi 1988. Broadhead outlines the economic pull of Minturnae, stressing its rapid growth as a river port in the second century BC: Broadhead 2002: 47–63.

¹³⁶ Livy 41.8.6–12. Coarelli and Monti 1998. ¹³⁷ Nepos *Hann.* 7.2–3, and Chapter 7, p. 257.

wealth and dynamism in the period.¹³⁸ There is also evidence that Fregellans were active in the Mediterranean trade networks, as affirmed by an inscription recording their presence as benefactors on Delos, a further testament to the wealth of its inhabitants.¹³⁹ Its success may have given it the confidence to stand up to Rome in 125 BC, following the failure of Flaccus's enfranchisement bill, which led to the city's destruction and the forced transfer of its remaining population to a newly-created settlement of Fabrateria Nova, which would in turn rival its predecessor's appeal.¹⁴⁰

The difficulty of recruiting colonists and ensuring they stayed where they were assigned was not the outcome of a populace reluctant to move. It was its susceptibility for movement that was the problem. Certain towns went out of their way to entice inhabitants, even from Rome, to live among them.¹⁴¹ There appears to have been an assumption of unhindered mobility, and of liberty to decide where to move, and for how long to stay, even if the decision was tied into structures of obligation and status.¹⁴² Such behaviour would have been at odds with the statist practices in post-Hannibalic Italy that increasingly attempted to control populations by fixing them in one place in order that they could be counted, taxed and deployed on military campaigns. It may have been less of an issue in the earlier period, when a more flexible framework operated in the Mediterranean that was more dependent on mobile groups such as mercenaries, and this has shared features with the later Ottoman Empire.¹⁴³ Attempts for strategic placement of people could be subverted, as demonstrated in the desertion of colonies such as Sipontum and Buxentum in the 180s BC, which are just two of the better-known examples.¹⁴⁴ Numerous cases of such movement appear in the Imperial period. Veterans that were settled by Vespasian at Paestum in the late first century AD did not stay long. Judging by the find-spots of their *diplomata*, they moved either to other places in Italy, such as Pompeii, or much further afield to Dacia, Thrace or Corsica.¹⁴⁵ From the mid-Republican period, the Roman state implemented varying schemes to circumvent the notorious flightiness of colonists and veterans. The provision of land alone was not enough of an incentive to ensure that colonists remained in their new

¹³⁸ Coarelli 1986. ¹³⁹ IG XI 4, 757.

¹⁴⁰ Mouritsen 1998: 118–19; Conole 1986; Crawford et al. 1986; Beste et al. 2010.

¹⁴¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.18.3, on towns enticing Roman residents to join them with offers of citizenship.

¹⁴² Horden and Purcell 2000: 386. ¹⁴³ Kasaba 2009. For mercenaries: Chapter 8, esp. p. 296ff.

¹⁴⁴ Livy 39.23.3–4. ¹⁴⁵ Simelon 1992: 695–704; Keppie 1984: 101–2.

settlements.¹⁴⁶ As we have already seen, communities struggled to meet the required quotas of soldiers demanded by Rome. The Roman Republican recruitment system was based on the assumption that individuals could be tracked in the place where they were meant to be registered.¹⁴⁷ Any problems of recruitment in the second century BC were less to do with the number of available men than with the mechanism to track them and ensure they enrolled for service.¹⁴⁸ The systems of controlling and tracking populations, and ensuring they remained in one place, became much more efficient in the Later Empire.¹⁴⁹

Italian states relied on a variety of methods for demographic control. The census was one such tool, with the threat of punishment for non-registration.¹⁵⁰ In an attempt to ensure that colonists established residences they would be loath to leave, there were regulations for the minimum size of house they were required to build. It was measured in the number of tiles necessary to cover the roof, and differed depending on the status of the resident. The house of a decurion, responsible for founding the colony, was larger than that of the *coloni* themselves.¹⁵¹ It is possible that there were also incentives, such as exemption from military service, although much debate surrounds this as it appears to contradict one of the main reasons for ensuring that individuals stayed in colonies in the first place, namely, the need for manpower.¹⁵² If such exemptions did exist, they could be suspended in times of emergency and additional measures imposed. These measures could be the compulsory swearing of an oath curtailing movement, such as was required of the men of Antium and

¹⁴⁶ Plebeian reluctance to go to colonies in hostile territories and the creation of land grants to entice them: Bradley 2006: 170–1; Patterson 2006a: 199–201.

¹⁴⁷ Broadhead 2008: 453–8. ¹⁴⁸ Lo Cascio 2008: 253.

¹⁴⁹ Balsdon 1979: 112–13; Moatti 2000; Moatti 2007; Pottier 2009.

¹⁵⁰ Severe penalties are listed for non-registration, in the early first century BC, on the *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* lines 18–23 = *Roman Statutes* Law 13 (Vol. I, 277); For references to *incensi*, and punishment: Crawford's *Roman Statutes* Vol. 1: 289. For the development of the census by Caesar, Chapter 10, pp. 385–86. and Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 275–301.

¹⁵¹ The *Lex Tarentina*, lines 26–31 = *Roman Statutes* Law 15 (Vol. I, 304, 310), states that 'Whoever is or shall be a decurion of the *municipium* of Tarentum or whoever shall have spoken his opinion in the senate in the *municipium* of Tarentum, he is to have in the town of Tarentum or within the boundaries of that *municipium* a building which he roofed with no less than 1500 tiles, [without] wrongful deceit.' The final fragmentary line of the *lex*, line 43, gives provision for a *municip* who wishes to leave.

The *lex Coloniae Genetivae*, chapter 14, outlines the property size a decurion needs, and that a colonist was required to have a house in the colony within two years of its dedication: Caballos Rufino 2006: 208–23; Broadhead 2008: 455–6.

¹⁵² We know about exemptions from military service, *vacatio militiae*, due to instances of its suspension: Livy 27.38.1: Broadhead 2008: 453. For the relation of exemptions to landholdings: Roselaar 2009.

Ostia.¹⁵³ They were obliged to swear not to be absent from their colonies for more than thirty nights when the enemy was in Italy. This stipulation reveals an environment where absences of such duration or longer must have been the norm, even in a time of war, otherwise the oath would have been unnecessary. Moatti outlines how absence becomes an institution from the Late Republic.¹⁵⁴ It is most evident through penalties for absence during the census noted above,¹⁵⁵ and more generally expressed in Caesar's directive restricting movement to prevent depletion of cities, which stated that no one should be away from Italy for more than three years, except on military duty.¹⁵⁶ Similar intentions of trying to fix the population, as well as redistribute it more evenly, would have been behind the policies that stipulated the inalienability of Gracchan land allotments by sale,¹⁵⁷ a method not wholly successful as they were sold-up anyway. Property rights, of the kind that appear in the Roman statutes, are there to protect the individual but they are also a form of social control.¹⁵⁸ Such fixing mechanisms bring into question any explanatory model in which increasing population, and the need for additional land, is seen as the main catalyst for action.¹⁵⁹ What they show instead is that attempts by the state to create fixity were working against the odds, in an environment characterised by fluidity.

Tracing Mobility beyond Italy: Visibility in the East Mediterranean

We would expect that in the wake of the Second Punic War the rapid extent of Roman power in the second century BC would have significantly affected the mobility of groups and individuals, not just in Italy but also

¹⁵³ Livy 27.38.5. A much later source reports that following the defeat of armies at Arausio in 105 BC, the military crisis led to P. Rutilius Rufus, the consul, to issue an edict forbidding men over thirty-five from leaving Italy: Granius Licinianus *Reliquiae* 33.26–27Cr. For the context of recruitment: Rosenstein 2007: 80.

¹⁵⁴ Moatti 2009.

¹⁵⁵ *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* lines 18–23 = *Roman Statutes* Law 13 (Vol. I, 277).

¹⁵⁶ Suetonius *Div. Iul* 42.

¹⁵⁷ The process is laid in the 111 BC *lex Agraria* = *Roman Statutes* Law 2 (Vol. I, 113 – 23), with discussion by Bispham 2007a: 81, 127, 158, 161–4, 172–5, 201. For Gracchan incentives, such as peppercorn rent, and possible aims to redistribute manpower more evenly in a geographic sense: Rathbone 2008: 310; Broadhead 2008: 463.

¹⁵⁸ Property rights are a structure of social control and constrain mobility: Purcell 2004: 77, note 16. On property rights: Garnsey 2007.

¹⁵⁹ Rosenstein and Roselaar see the rise in population numbers in the second century BC as a catalyst for the Gracchan programmes of 133–88 BC, especially the attempts at redistribution of the remains of *ager publicus* in peripheral regions: Rosenstein 2008a; Rosenstein 2007; Roselaar 2008.

around the Mediterranean. What some of these impacts may have been will be the subject of [Chapters 7 and 8](#) focusing on Polybius's observations in the context of a growing empire. One of the challenges for contextualising the changes of the second century BC is to understand the nature of mobility trends in the preceding period. We will conduct this analysis by focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean for the period beginning just before the Second Punic War, and pursue it into Italy's early history in the following three chapters. The aim of the remainder of this section is to showcase the extent and different forms of the individual and private mobility of Italians beyond the peninsula. Did they become integrated or remain in coherent cultural groups, with affiliations centred on their place of origin? Key to addressing these issues are the epigraphic studies from the region which at times tell a different and more intricate story than the one we know from the textual evidence. But, as we will see, differences in the epigraphic habit between the East and West means that the visibility of particular mobile groups abroad is obscured in certain periods, which includes the Italians prior to the second century BC. I have chosen to use the episode in Asia Minor and Delos as examples, but an equally rich story could be told of the Western sphere, which we will touch on briefly first ([Maps 1 and 2](#)).

Wilson had already noted the importance of Spain and Gaul for considering mobility from Italy,¹⁶⁰ and numerous studies have expanded our understanding of the vibrant networks that ran through these regions, particularly in the last two centuries BC.¹⁶¹ The number of Romans settled in the Balearic Islands in 122 BC, when it was taken by Metellus Balearicus, was some 3000. By this point, there had already been a substantial population of Romans in Spain, dating at least to the creation of the provinces of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior in 206 BC.¹⁶² By the mid-first century BC, during the Roman civil wars, the number of those resident in Spain who had fought in the Pompeian army against Caesar numbered some 25,000.¹⁶³ Such divided allegiances among Romans abroad were also

¹⁶⁰ Wilson 1966: chapters 2 – 6.

¹⁶¹ Woolf 1998; Keay and Terrenato 2001; Antoniadou and Pace 2007; Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010.

¹⁶² Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior became provinces in 206 BC, following the defeat of Carthage. Livy 43.3.1–4 records that in 171 BC, 4000 *hybridae* – descendants of Roman men and non-Roman women – sent representatives from Spain to the Roman senate requesting they be given a place to live. Half a century later, some 3000 Romans and Italians from Spain were sent as colonists to the Balearic islands in 122 BC: Strabo 3.5 (168). For the creation of Spanish provinces: Richardson 1986.

¹⁶³ Caesar BC 1.39.1; 1.83.1. Among the Spanish clientelae were such figures as Caesar's general Balbus of Gades: Cicero, *Pro Balbo*. Wilson 1966: 10, 32–5.

present in other provinces, home to the populations and clients which Roman generals used to achieve their personal ambitions.¹⁶⁴ Aside from these large figures, the extensive presence of Romans in Gaul is highlighted in Cicero's speech of 75 BC, *Pro Fonteio*: 'All Gaul is filled with traders – is full of Roman citizens. No Gaul does any business without the aid of a Roman citizen; not a single sesterce in Gaul ever changes hands without being entered in the account-books of Roman citizens.'¹⁶⁵ The economic success of some of the enterprises in these provinces, so aptly depicted by Cicero, necessitated trade laws to prevent competition with industries in mainland Italy. For example, in order to keep up the value of produce in Italy there was a prohibition on the planting of olive groves and vineyards by transalpine *gentes*.¹⁶⁶ The large number of Italians and Roman citizens who lived in these regions allowed the rise of what Crawford calls alternative empires run by aspiring Roman generals.¹⁶⁷ These mini-dynasts had their own armies which provided the necessary support for them to conduct independent negotiations with foreign kings in the years between 88 and 49 BC: in Spain, Gaul and parts of the Eastern Mediterranean. As we will see in the [following chapter](#), there is good reason to believe that population flows between Italy and these Western regions, particularly Gaul, can be dated further back in time, laying the foundations for the movements that become visible from the second century BC onwards.

Asia Minor and Mithridates' Massacre

Against the backdrop of Roman victories and the success of Italians abroad, the set-back of the 88 BC massacre of the *Rhômaioi* in Asia Minor provides a striking contrast.¹⁶⁸ It is also one of our best pieces of

¹⁶⁴ The Romans in Africa, for example, especially from Utica in Numidia, formed an influential unified group in support of Marius's ambitions against Metellus in 108/7 BC: Sallust, *Jugurtha* 64.5–6; 65.4–5; Velleius Paterculus 2.11.2.

The anti-senatorial sentiments in the Gracchan colony of 122 BC in Junonia, near Carthage, came to a head after their loss of status in 121 BC: Wilson 1966. In Sicily, Sextus Pompeius was fighting his own war with supporters against the triumvirs in Rome in 42 BC: Appian 4.36 (149–54); 85 (355–7).

¹⁶⁵ Cicero, *Pro Fonteio* 11–12. For the Spanish context: Fear 1996.

¹⁶⁶ Cicero, *de Repub* 3.16. For the substantial increase of trade in the region: Diodorus Siculus 5.26.2.

¹⁶⁷ Crawford 2008.

¹⁶⁸ Amiotti states that other than Appian, who distinguishes the victims as Italians and Romans, all other sources speak of *cives romani*, but they are post-89 BC, after all Italians became Roman citizens and the distinction had little meaning: Amiotti 1980: 137–8. Hence, Appian may be reflecting sources contemporary to 88 BC, before the activation of citizenship laws.

evidence for the potentially high levels of independent private mobility from Italy. Appian provides a gruelling narrative of women and children being torn from their refuge at sacred statues only to be massacred with the rest on Mithridates' instructions.¹⁶⁹ The total number of those killed was substantial. Cicero implies that some communities executed all their *civium Romanorum*.¹⁷⁰ While this is powerful it is surely an exaggeration. Valerius Maximus and Memnon of Heraclea Pontica both record 80,000 deaths, and Plutarch almost doubles the figure to 150,000.¹⁷¹ Can we believe such high numbers?¹⁷² Wilson suggested that the figure of 80,000 may not have been contemporary with the events, and only appeared towards the end of the first century BC.¹⁷³ He argues that, if it existed earlier, Cicero would have used it in his speeches. Debates about the figures continue.

Were there even 80,000 individuals from Italy available for execution in the early first century BC in this part of the Eastern Mediterranean? The answer to this question largely rests on predictions of the population size in the cities of this region, but the demographic calculations are too uncertain either to support or deny such a figure. According to a recent estimate, Ephesus, for example, one of the best documented sites in Asia Minor, had some 15,000 citizens in the third century BC, and expanded to a civic population of a quarter of a million by the second century AD.¹⁷⁴ Figures for the middle of this period are more difficult to ascertain, and even with more reliable demographic data we would still not know, beyond speculation, what percentage of any community were foreigners and how one would identify them as such. But it seems plausible that Ephesus could sustain a substantial enough population of foreigners in the first century BC, and a third would not be out of the question, which would put the overall figure in the thousands. In combination with other such centres, assuming similar densities, the total sum could add up to the murder of tens of thousands. This may appear high, but it is not implausible if compared to Sullan actions in the same period, which were responsible for more deaths even than that.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁹ Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars* 4.22–24.

¹⁷⁰ Cicero gives no figures but notes they were substantial: *Pro Flacco*, 25.60, and mentions that the massacre of Roman citizens spread across numerous cities: *Pro Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 3.7.

¹⁷¹ Valerius Maximus 9.2.3 (ext.); Memnon of Heraclea Pontica 31.9 (= FGH III B, p352, lines 16–21). Plutarch *Sulla*, 24.7, with comments by Wilson 1966: 126. For the figures: Magie 1950: I, 216; Ferrary 2002: 144–5, note 54; Brunt 1971: 224–7; Hind 1994: 148.

¹⁷² Criticism of believing high numbers in historical records: Henige 1998.

¹⁷³ Wilson 1966: 123, 125–6. ¹⁷⁴ Kirbihler 2009: 308–10, 318–21. ¹⁷⁵ Dio Cassius, fr. 109.8.

It is rare that ancient authors provide any figures for a particular group of foreigners for this period, beyond the citing of military troops and mercenary contingents. The Mithridatic incident allows for an exceptional insight into the nature and extent of Italian settlement overseas, and particularly in Asia Minor, where otherwise we are wholly reliant on evidence from inscriptions for identifying individuals from abroad. The substantial epigraphic resource from this region was initially presented in the early twentieth century by Hatzfeld, who brought together inscriptions that demonstrated the presence of Italians in the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁷⁶ Individuals who arrived from Italy or had roots in the peninsula can be recognised as such on inscriptions either by the nature of their name or because they are cited as *Rhōmaioi* or *Italikoi* in Greek inscriptions and as *Italici* in Latin ones.¹⁷⁷ However, the epigraphic texts on which foreigners are recorded and can be distinguished directly attest to the presence of tens, not thousands, at any one site. Hence, they testify to only a fraction of the total number of incomers. As an example, we may take the study of the material from the town of Iasos, located on the Adriatic coast. The site has a significant sample of eighty inscriptions that mention foreigners, which testify to the wide reaching provenance of those who came to this small but prosperous town.¹⁷⁸ Mostly, these records from Iasos are concerned with metics – the resident foreigners, who were the object of the honorific decrees. While none are from Italy prior to the first century BC, they record that newcomers had arrived from forty different destinations, including cities as far as Syracuse, Jerusalem and Tyras in Scythia.¹⁷⁹ Elsewhere, our knowledge of foreigners who may be recognised as originating from Italy is meagre. For the whole of Asia Minor we only have a handful of inscriptions attesting to the presence of Romans and Italians prior to the Mithridatic massacre.¹⁸⁰ But even if the Italians were as well represented in the second century BC as the foreigners in Iasos, two of whom were from Sicily, still we would be unable to conclude that the number of residents from Italy in Asia Minor could have reached 80,000 or even 8000 by the early first century BC. Despite scepticism on our

¹⁷⁶ Hatzfeld 1919.

¹⁷⁷ The term *Italici*, continued to be used even after the Social War – despite the fact that all were Roman citizens: Ferrary 2002: 135.

¹⁷⁸ Delrieux 2001; Mastrocinque 1994.

¹⁷⁹ Of the Sicilians in Iasos in the second century BC, one was from Syracuse – Nymphôn f. d'Athênodôros, and the other from Neaetum – Droméas f. de Théodoros: Delrieux 2001: 154.

¹⁸⁰ For Italians in Asia Minor: Frank [1938] 1975: 543–5; Fränkel 1890–5: 249, lines 14ff; with Wilson 1966: 125; Ferrary 2001.

part, the larger figure was evidently plausible enough for Memnon and Valerius Maximus to present them to their readers in the early Imperial period. At the very least, we can be confident in the fact that there were Romans and Italians in their thousands, men, women, children, with their freedmen and slaves, who were living in Asia Minor in 88 BC and who became the target of Mithridates' ambitions.

Settlements in Asia Minor provided new prospects and homes for individuals from numerous sites across the ancient world. But for how long had this been the case for those who had arrived from the Italian peninsula, and why had they chosen to go there? Our earliest inscriptions, which include names that are distinctly recognisable as Italian in origin, are from Pergamum, dating to circa 133 BC.¹⁸¹ On such inscriptions, where no provenance is indicated, we would have no way of recognising as Italian anyone from the peninsula who may have taken a Greek name, or an Italiote Greek with a Greek name. The flourishing city of Pergamum was home to these individuals who, among many others, were registered on ephobic lists, implying that they would have been part of the community before their first appearance in these records. It means that their presence would have preceded one of the transformative events in Roman relations with Asia when, in 133 BC, the king of Pergamum Attalus III died, leaving his kingdom to Rome. Yet Rome was slow to move in converting his bequest into a Roman resource. The initial five-man commission sent to start the process did not arrive until 132 BC, and it took another decade for Roman administration to oversee the newly acquired territory.¹⁸² Roman direct rule of the region was only initiated through the creation of the province of Asia Minor and its organisation by M. Aquilius in 129–126 BC. In the years following, the reforms of Gaius Gracchus opened the area to prospecting Italians by giving the Roman equestrians the privilege of collecting taxes in the province.¹⁸³ Such an opportunity would have attracted entrepreneurs and created a powerful body of *publicani* and *negotiatores* – tax collectors and tradesmen.¹⁸⁴ It was their abuses of the locals that were later blamed for the hatred that led to the widespread

¹⁸¹ Müller (online resource): Nr. 116, Nr. 118, Nr. 119 = von Prott and Kolbe 1902: 44–151, Nr. 116, Nr. 118, Nr. 119.

¹⁸² Strabo 13.4.2 (C624); Appian BC, 1.111; Livy *Periochae*, 58, 59; Gruen 1984: 592–610.

¹⁸³ Cicero *Verr.* 2.3.6; *ad Att.* 1.17.9; *Pro. Leg. Man.* 15; *Leg. Agr.* II.80; *Pro Flacco* 19; Lucilius 671–2 (Marx). For a summary of the fiscal changes and the workings of the *publicani*: Ferrary 2001: 100–1; Frank [1938] 1975: 511–12; Gruen 1984: 592–610.

¹⁸⁴ Wilson 1966: 4–5, provides definitions of the terms. Laws protecting Italian *negotiatores*: *Lex de Provinciis Praetoriis* = *Roman Statues* Law 12 (Vol. 1).

support of Mithridates and his programme of execution of Romans and Italians in 88 BC.¹⁸⁵

The greed of the *publicani*, which became the target of a number of Republican sources, and attempts by some, such as Rutilius Rufus, to curb their activities, are a testament to the lucrative environment for extortion that the empire engendered.¹⁸⁶ It seems inevitable that such behaviour would have created the hostility that led to the massacre, but the situation is more complex than this straightforward scenario might suggest. Recent scholarship sees the roots of resentment in the internal divisions between pro- and anti-Roman factions. According to Amiotti, those most drawn to Mithridates were the Asiatic Greeks, not any of the indigenous populations of Asia, or any of the other foreign groups, such as the Jews, who did not support the anti-Roman revolt.¹⁸⁷ In fact, the Jews were also afraid of Mithridates and, according to Josephus, transferred their wealth to the island of Cos at the time of the massacre.¹⁸⁸ What about the Italians themselves? Can we assume that they had coherence as a group? Ferrary observes that *publicani* and *negotiatores* did not always share interests, and that the latter may have ended up supporting provincials.¹⁸⁹ It is also questionable whether Greeks and Asians may have differentiated between Romans who ruled the empire and the Italian *publicani* who profited from it. Ando wonders how Easterners would have imagined the recently changed structure of Italy, in the wake of the Social War, as a political collectivity of united cities that shared imperial aims.¹⁹⁰ Scholars now stress that the Mithridatic strategy of brutality aimed to create a lasting rift between Asian communities and Rome.¹⁹¹

In the cities of Asia Minor, from a more local perspective, reasons for hatred could have also arisen out of the success of some *negotiatores* who may have taken away business from other resident elites. This may have been the case in Caunos, one of the sites of the massacre, which was located at a key point for controlling traffic to the hinterland.¹⁹² In part, the

¹⁸⁵ Justin 38.7; Amiotti 1980: 134, 139.

¹⁸⁶ P. Rutilius Rufus attempted to curb the excesses of the *publicani* during his time in Asia; he was eventually exiled from Rome and went to Mytilene, survived the Mithridatic war, and then relocated to Smyrna where he was made citizen; Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 27; *Pro Balbo* 28. For Rufus's life: Kelly 2006: 89–91, 181 (no. 25). The greed of *publicani*: Cicero *Verr.* 2.2.7, with Hind 1994: 148.

¹⁸⁷ Amiotti 1980: 134–5. ¹⁸⁸ Josephus 14.114.

¹⁸⁹ Particularly in reference to a comment by Cicero, *ad Att.* 2.16.4, differentiating between diverse interests: Ferrary 2002: 144–5.

¹⁹⁰ Ando 1999: 18.

¹⁹¹ Amiotti 1980: 135–6; Bernhardt 1985; Kallet-Marx 1995: 153–8; with Ferrary 2001: 104–6.

¹⁹² Bresson 2002: 156–62.

collusion of some cities in Asia Minor with Mithridates' plans can be attributed to the political and economic threat which these successful Italians posed to the locals and maybe, in particular, to the Greek elites who lived there.¹⁹³ The high standing and wealth of these Italians may be the reason they become more visible epigraphically from the second century BC, and their integration into society there is suggested in part by the fact that their children appear on ephebic lists. Whatever scenario we envisage, we need to account for the substantial number of communities that continued to support Rome, such as Rhodes, which provided a refuge for those who had managed to escape massacre, and the persistent vibrant relations between Italy and Asia following the event.¹⁹⁴ Asian cities continued to offer economic and other prospects that were well understood abroad, not least by the likes of Catullus and his gang of friends who also valued these places for their beauty and other delights.¹⁹⁵

We would expect there to be numerous reasons why the cities of Asia Minor were such a draw, with a variety of enterprises in which newcomers would have engaged. In relation to the Mithridatic episode in 88 BC, and more generally in reference to corrupt practices in the provinces, ancient authors tend to highlight the workings of *negotiatores* and *publicani*. As a result, our image of why individuals may have chosen to move in this period is often associated with these specific professions. Consequently, we attempt to pinpoint historical moments when such entrepreneurial opportunities arose through political decisions in the context of empire, such as for example the creation of a province. But, in establishing such imperial events as catalysts for movement we are in danger of overshadowing other forms of mobility and losing sight of those that preceded them and may have created the conditions for them. It is this that prompted Morstein-Marx to argue that scholars may have overstated the importance of the act of establishment of the province of Asia Minor as a draw for Italians.¹⁹⁶ As the Pergamene evidence shows, the earliest inscription pre-dates the creation of the province, and among those killed in the massacre there would have been many who were neither *publicani* nor *negotiatores*.¹⁹⁷ There was a much broader spectrum of occupations and reasons why individuals chose to go abroad, including banking, investment in land or industry, agriculture and mining, craftsmanship, wool trade and animal husbandry – all professions that may not have differed substantially from those practised by the

¹⁹³ Josephus 14.114, with Amioti 1980: 139. ¹⁹⁴ Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.24.

¹⁹⁵ Catullus, *Carmine* 46, noted in Chapter 1, pp. 3–4.

¹⁹⁶ Kallet-Marx 1995: ch. 5, with Ferrary 2002: 133–6. ¹⁹⁷ Ferrary 2001: 105–6.

local residents or other foreigners.¹⁹⁸ Some would also have gone as students, exiles, tourists, soldiers, mercenaries, architects, artists and lovers. Access to good routeways and proximity to a road system or a port did make a difference as to whether a site would become a popular destination, but neither distance nor war stood in the way of the dispersal and circulation of people.¹⁹⁹ Wilson noted the prevalence of Italic individuals to settle in the north and west parts of the Mediterranean, especially Illyria, during periods of military turbulence and instability.²⁰⁰ Those exiled from Italy often chose to come to these regions, and we know that in earlier centuries, in the north-west, Massalia was a particular favourite.²⁰¹

In the East, the wars across Asia Minor throughout the second century BC did not get in the way of prospectors coming with their families, nor did the conflicts that swept through Macedon and Epirus.²⁰² The taxes that were imposed on foreigners, and especially foreign merchants, were an unlikely deterrent, nor was the difficulty of naturalisation.²⁰³ It is likely that the creation of the Roman province was in part the result of a significant number of Italians already living and working in Asia Minor who disseminated knowledge, information and enabled access to the region. A similar argument can be made for the better documented example of the major trading hub of Delos, which will be considered next. The Delian case indicates that opportunities, such as the creation of a free port on the island in 166 BC, may have been a response to

¹⁹⁸ Wilson 1966: 56–64. Mining and natural resource exploitation (Diodorus Siculus 5.36.3) were a particular draw of provinces such as Spain, and the Chalcidice: Loukopoulou 1996: 143. For trades practised by Romano-Italian foreigners in Athens, including artists, architects, artisans, intellectuals, bankers and businessmen: Follet 2002: 85. For the relationship between the circulation of professionals and innovation: Archibald 2011.

¹⁹⁹ Finkielsztijn's 2001 study of second-century BC commerce in Rhodes, for example, (especially amphorae) showed that war did not mean commercial relations were interrupted, but the opposite. The studies in Bresson and Descat 2001, especially by Picard, highlight the flourishing of cities in Asia Minor in the second century BC, despite the wars and seemingly unstable environment.

²⁰⁰ Wilson 1966: 25.

²⁰¹ Annus Milo is one of the more notable exiles that ended up in Massalia: Diodorus Siculus 40.5; Cicero *pro Milone*; *ad. Att.* 5.8.2–3. Distant places from Rome as a choice for exile: Kelly 2006: 77–92 (for Milo, 195–6, no. 44); Wilson 1966: 66, 79.

²⁰² For Italians in Macedonia: Rizakis 2002. Polybius (2.8.1–2) notes Italian merchants in Phoenike already in 230 BC. Plautus's *Menaechmi* refers to the frequent exchange between Taranto and Dyrrhachion, where epigraphic evidence suggests a more long-term Italic presence, in the second century BC (e.g. Gaios Kaisios Anchoneiteis: *Inscr. Dyrr.* 20); Cabanes 1996: 89–91; Cabanes 1997.

²⁰³ Baslez 2007: 219–20 notes that fiscal inequality between citizens and non-citizens became less visible from the fourth century BC.

traders and other businessmen already operating in the area. Their experience, interests, and possibly pressure, are what paved the way for future activity by the Roman state. The situation in Asia Minor may have been no different.

Delos and the Question of Italian Coherence Abroad

Italians were well embedded into the thriving community on Delos by the time the island was given free port status in 166 BC, when it was assigned to Athens by Rome.²⁰⁴ Monuments and inscriptions are a testament to their presence from at least the third century BC.²⁰⁵ Their prominence and organisational capacity may be noted by the creation of the Delian college of *Compitaliastai*, which oversaw the Italian cult of the *Lares Compitales* from the early second century BC.²⁰⁶ We may wonder whether the special circumstances of Delos, which made it one of the main trading hubs in the Mediterranean, created conditions that meant it had a foreign population larger than any single native group. Such an environment is likely to have encouraged intermixing and, simultaneously, single-culture initiatives such as the *Compitaliastai*.²⁰⁷ Aside from the consortium of Italians, there was also a Delian association of Alexandrians, and there is evidence that the Phoenicians had a cult organisation corresponding to a *marzeah*.²⁰⁸ In the case of Delos, it is impossible to argue that the conditions led to the creation of what is sometimes referred to as a ‘third culture’, as in the model of the Middle Ground proposed by White for cross-cultural encounters in the New World.²⁰⁹ Rather, in the same way as port sanctuaries, for example, Delos was more akin to an intersection or a gateway, where cultural distinction could be retained with greater ease.²¹⁰

²⁰⁴ Polybius 30.31.10. For the impact of this ruling on migratory and trading practices: Wilson 1966: 99–120.

Italian presence on Delos: Müller and Hasenohr 2002; Rauh 1993; Gordon and Reynolds 2003: 223; Solin 1982; Roselaar 2012c: 151–7. For Italian presence in the Greek East: Rizakis 1996, especially the entry by Baslez. For *negotiatores* of Italian origin at Delos: Hatzfeld 1912; 1919, with Wilson 1966: 85–93; Frank [1938] 1975: 334–79 *passim*.

²⁰⁵ Hasenohr 2007a.

²⁰⁶ Hasenohr 2001; Hasenohr 2003; Hasenohr 2002. For updated lists of inscriptions: Ferrary 2002.

²⁰⁷ The different situation in Delos and its sizeable immigrant community are noted by Errington 1988.

²⁰⁸ Baslez 2007: 228–30; Hasenohr 2007.

²⁰⁹ White 1991. For concerns in applying his model to the ancient world: Chapter 4, pp. 130–31.

²¹⁰ For discussion of gateways: Purcell 2005c; Chapter 4, p. 128.

The situation in Delos of multiple mono-cultural organisations may be contrasted with Athens, where Roman and Italian names also appear in the second century BC. These were often names of individuals who also had links with Delos. Contrary to what Hatzfeld believed, in Athens there does not seem to be a large, coherent, Romano-Italian community. Follet showed that they do not stand out as a distinctive group, either in Athenian collective dedications or as members of professional or cultural associations.²¹¹ What is evident from the Athenian evidence is that men and women with foreign names were integrated into the life of the city. It is also apparent that some of those with Romano-Italian names may have come from different regions of the Mediterranean and not directly from Rome or Italy.²¹² There is even a question about such seemingly homogeneous groups as the mercenaries, and the extent to which they may have formed their own soldier associations linked through ethnic ties, at times referred to as a *koinon*.²¹³

Coherence or unity of a foreign community is often assumed as a norm, and the Delos example fits that model. But it may not be typical of the way in which newcomers operated. Migration chains formed by informal networks within single ethnic groups, which are a fundamental feature of discussions of modern-day migratory trends, appear not to have been as prominent in the ancient world.²¹⁴ Just because a group of Italians had moved to a particular site abroad did not mean that they would necessarily be followed by a similar group; nor was it in itself an incentive to do so, any more than knowing that a particular place offered good opportunities. The knowledge of these opportunities, we may presume, would be increased if other Italians had been there already. The dispersal of Italians among a number of communities is evident in the nature of the Mithridatic massacre. They were not concentrated in just a few centres but were resident across numerous sites. Wilson notes that during the Republic there is no single city where the Roman presence is attested by numerous inscriptions, which suggests a lack of any one particular hub.²¹⁵ He also points out that in the Western provinces emigrants were found not only in the Roman centres, such as the colony Narbo (118 BC) and the military

²¹¹ Follet 2002. ²¹² Follet 2002: 85.

²¹³ Couvenhes' suggestion that they were not as homogenous as usually assumed challenges the view of Launey, who does see them as coherent entities and comparable to a *koinon*: Couvenhes 2004:100; Launey 1949–50: chapters 15, 16, 17.

²¹⁴ Migration studies have shifted away from using the concept of 'chain migration' to that of 'social capital' but their focus is still centred on the social networks around single ethnic, or single origin, groups: Castles and Miller 2003: 27–8.

²¹⁵ Wilson 1966: 141.

settlement of Aquae Sextiae (122 BC), but also at Massalia and across all the major provincial towns.²¹⁶ Whether they established themselves also in the countryside is more difficult to gauge, as the evidence is less forthcoming, but it is there.²¹⁷

Just because settlers were from the same place did not mean they formed coherent groups or that they had links and allegiances to their mother city. The assumption that Rome had migrant quarters has to do with our own contemporary experience. With the exception of a Jewish enclave in Trastevere, Tacoma has shown that there were no migrant quarters in ancient Rome.²¹⁸ We should therefore not expect such ethnic enclaves to form when Italians travelled abroad; rather, the situation may have been the opposite. There are prominent examples of internal factional divisions among individuals with Roman and Italian backgrounds. This was especially visible towards the end of the Republic, most notably between the Sullan and Marian cliques. The wars of Sertorius in the first half of the first century BC are one instance when Italians overseas tried to sever links with Italy, and particularly with the Roman senate.²¹⁹ His supporters had little interest in returning to Rome. Those that settled among the Aquitani in Gaul were part of the local contingents that fought against Caesar in 56 BC.²²⁰ Other prominent leaders had no more interest in Rome or Italy than as vehicles for their ambitions. Pompey's choice, and arguably Caesar's, would have been to realise their desires from a throne in the cities of the Greek East and particularly Egypt. Augustus, by contrast, made a big show of his investment and dedication to the city of Rome.

Whether or not Italians abroad continued to follow ongoing hostilities between political factions in their place of origin, they were more integrated than previously thought, even in Delos. Evidence for intermarriage, adoptions and the presence of individuals from multiple origins, recorded in epigraphy, all testify to the mixing of communities.²²¹ Exemplary is the background of Titus, son of Titus of Heraclea, who was active in Delos in the second century BC.²²² His grandfather was Satyrion, possibly of Pallene, and his mother Theodora was the daughter of Krates of Teos; his brother and sister both have Greek names. Satyrion may have married a daughter of Titus, probably in Delos earlier in the second

²¹⁶ Wilson 1966: 12.

²¹⁷ He notes, for example, evidence around Lissus in Dalmatia and Utica: Wilson 1966: 17, 34, 51.

²¹⁸ Tacoma 2014: 139.

²¹⁹ For Sertorius and other small dynasts in the provinces, which point to the large number of Roman citizens overseas: Crawford 2008: 636.

²²⁰ Dio Cassius 39.46.3 commenting on Caesar and the Civil War: Crawford 2008: 636.

²²¹ Errington 1988, with Ferrary 2002: 143. ²²² Fougères 1887: 260, no. 17; Baslez 2002: 59–60.

century BC.²²³ Their son Titus, who married a woman of Teos, may have also held citizenship from Heraclea since it, along with Naples, was an allied free city at the time. To summarise: Titus's grandfather on the father's side was Satyrion (perhaps of Pallene), who possibly married a daughter of a Titus; his grandmother, on his mother's side, was Krateas of Teos; his parents were Theodora of Teos and Titus of Heraclea. Aside from the intricacy of this family tree we may note that early in the second century there were opportunities for young people, both men and women from quite different backgrounds, including some from Italy, to meet and to be brought together in marriage. One insight into how foreigners from overseas co-existed abroad comes from Polybius's remarks on his circle of friends and acquaintances in Rome. He seems to have had at least equally strong links with the Roman elite and those of other backgrounds as with the Greeks in the city. As will be argued in [Chapter 7](#), even the Greeks in Rome did not form a coherent community as such. Polybius's scornful attitude to diplomatic uses of kinship, which spotlights the dubious nature of such stories, may also suggest that he did not see this as a secure or necessary foundation for socio-political ties.²²⁴

The strong forces that seemed to privilege integration, at least from what we can observe on the level of the elite, suggest a lack of an enclave mentality.²²⁵ This makes the Mithridatic massacre even more difficult to understand, as among the target group we would expect many to have been integrated into the local communities.²²⁶ While the *Rhōmaioi* possessed a status that would have afforded them imperial privileges, in Asia Minor there is little to indicate that at this time they invested in collective Romano-Italic projects. Except for Appian's passing reference to the shrine of Vesta in Caunos, where he claims some of the Italian victims took refuge,²²⁷ there are no comparable examples of the collective undertakings we have from Delos. On this island, evidence for intermixing exists alongside instances of joint action by foreigners of the same background, such as

²²³ Baslez 2002: 59–60.

²²⁴ For Polybius and issues of kinship: Chapter 3, p. 95ff. The situation is comparable to that described by Cannadine in relation to the British Empire. He charts the way that the trappings and ornaments of Empire could be shared by the ruling classes across ethnic divides: Cannadine 2001.

²²⁵ Alcock 2007: 15 suggests that the reconfiguration of social alliances, which encouraged co-operation and affiliation between Romano-Greek families, came in the wake of the Mithridatic massacre, ensuring that no such event could happen again. However, the example of Titus from Delos and other epigraphic texts which record Romans and Italians alongside Greek elites already in the second century BC suggest that such affiliation pre-existed the massacre, and was not the result of it.

²²⁶ Ferrary 2001: 105–6. ²²⁷ Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.22–3.

the building of the Italian agora or the organisation of the *Compitaliastai*. As suggested above, the particular character of Delos at this time, aided by its free-port status, made it a Mediterranean hub that attracted a high number of enterprising businessmen and their families from numerous destinations. It is likely that they formed the majority of the inhabitants. There may not have been any single dominant group or a visibly established native populace into which one could integrate, which would have encouraged joint action by foreigners of the same background. The activities in Delos, especially by those with Italian roots with the confidence of privileged imperial status, suggest the beginnings of an emerging collective mentality in the second century BC. At the same time, we can trace a similar interest in seeing groups as single organisms with particular cultural characteristics, as Cato does in his *Origines*, or representations in Polybius's *Histories* of the Romans as a collectivity.²²⁸

The development of an enclave mentality culminated in seeking status and recognition as part of a privileged group with connections to Rome. By the end of the Republic the status *conventus civium Romanorum* was used to make manifest, and formally distinguish, a collective of Roman citizens abroad. Evidence for its existence can be found across the Empire from the late first century BC.²²⁹ Prior to this period, there is little to suggest that the term *conventus* and its derivatives had an established administrative purpose. In the writings of Plautus and Varro the different forms of *convenire* generally mean *to meet* or *to agree*.²³⁰ The term *conventus* first appears as a designation for a community of Romans abroad in the writings of Caesar and Cicero.²³¹ It was not the same as a colony, nor was it necessarily a state-initiated enterprise, but an official recognition of a community of Roman citizens, probably at their own request or by their own designation. Such groups could wield power locally and also provided support for Roman interests at home. From this point, Roman members of foreign communities became highly visible, and were keen to be so.

²²⁸ See Chapter 8. For representation of Romans as a collectivity: Champion 2004a: 5, and throughout.

²²⁹ The term does not appear in texts prior to the first century BC. For the dating of the institution: Wilson 1966: 13–14 and Chapter 3; Frank [1938] 1975: 548.

²³⁰ Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 1138; *Stichus*, 127; *Trinnumus*, 1174; *Cistellaria* 74, *Curculio*, 302; 321; 466–7. Varro uses it to mean either meeting or agreement – as in the meeting of minds: Varro, *De lingua latina*, 6.9.87–88.

²³¹ Caesar BC 2.19.3, in reference to the *conventus* at Corduba – *conventus Cordubae*; Caesar BC 3.32.6, in reference to Asia Minor; Cicero *ad Fam.* 4.1.1; Cicero *Verr.* 2.5.10; 2.5.16; 2.5.94; Sallust *Jug.* 21.2f, in reference to traders resident in Cirta in Numidia. Festus Lindsay 36 = P29 (41), his second definition of *conventus* is: *multitudo ex conpluribus generibus hominum contracta in unum locum*.

The status of a Roman citizen was paraded as a sought-after privilege, especially for wealthy patrons. Any benefactions that such patrons made competed with the likes of Julius Caesar, who was building the Roman Agora in Athens in the late 50s BC.²³² Those running enterprises abroad would have no doubt benefited from links to such figures. We may wonder what benefits were gained by the Valerii Catulli due to their friendship with Caesar, and to what extent it enhanced the success of their trading ventures that stretched from Asia Minor to Spain. It would also be interesting to know what Caesar got in return.²³³ For Catullus and his young friends, the cities of Asia Minor were a desirable destination, an ideal place to spend their ‘gap year’ as apprentices of a family business or on the staff of some Roman general,²³⁴ before turning to the serious business of adult professions, whether in trade, politics or poetry.

The Epigraphic Habit and Italian Visibility Abroad

Whether in Asia Minor, Delos or other regions around the Mediterranean, the late third century BC is the point from which individuals of Roman and Italian origin begin to appear on inscribed texts. The perception of an initial exodus and dispersal of Italians from the late third century BC is heavily influenced by the work of Hatzfeld. His conclusions are in line with the more general observations by Polybius that the world was becoming more interconnected.²³⁵ The Greek historian was keen to show that the Romans in particular had made a step-change and rapidly gained confidence on the seas. However, as we examine Polybius’s narrative in more detail in [Chapters 7 and 8](#), the image of a largely immobile Italian and Roman population prior to this becomes questionable. Wilson also felt that the way Hatzfeld presented his scenario, of Italian emigrants as pioneers who began arriving in the East at some point in the third century, was flawed. Without negating the key socio-economic changes in the second century BC that came along with Roman political transformation, Wilson argued that they were not the first to chart these routes but represented a continuation of established links across the Mediterranean.²³⁶

²³² Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.22–3. Hoff 1989.

²³³ The success of the family business, possibly as tax-collectors and traders in *garum* – fish sauce – is charted by: Wiseman 1985: chapter 4; Wiseman 1987; Cairns 2003. For the reconstruction of the Valerii Catulli of Verona: Wiseman 2007.

²³⁴ Catullus, *Carmines* 10, 28, 47, 68; Cairns 2003; Braund 1996.

²³⁵ Hatzfeld 1919. For Polybius and the ‘global moment’: Chapter 7, pp. 232–33.

²³⁶ Wilson 1966: 86–8.

Wilson and others also question Hatzfeld's concentration on the migrants' origins in south Italy, and show that Latin, Roman and Oscan names were equally prominent in the second century BC.²³⁷ An additional problem with Hatzfeld's conclusions is that they do not take into account that south Italian gentilical names were widespread throughout Italy.²³⁸ This points to the difficulty of onomastics for identifying the 'geographic' origin of *gentes*, and hence establishing where migrants came from.²³⁹ The Pandusini, for example, who may have had roots in Apulia, are known from archaeological evidence to have been suppliers to the armies in Boeotia in the second century BC, before they became established in Delos and Tenos.²⁴⁰ Another prominent *gens*, the Castricii, also appear on inscriptions in both Boeotia and Delos, as well as other sites.²⁴¹ Their origins may have been in Campania but it is difficult to prove this due to their circulation across the Mediterranean and within Italy. The most numerous and earliest attestation of their *gens* name is from Delos, not from Italy. Some of their kin (keeping in mind that those of the same *gens* need not have been blood relations), may have returned to the peninsula, transferring their business and wealth there after the decline of Delos and the rise of such trading hubs as Puteoli in the first century BC.²⁴² A minor Delos is what Lucilius called the newly flourishing port of Puteoli, and he noted the many foreigners who had taken up residence there.²⁴³ Their traces remain on inscriptions and the Eastern cults which they brought with them.²⁴⁴ We may wonder if by this point the Castricii too would have been perceived as foreigners, having spent several generations moving

²³⁷ Wilson and Cassola both note the importance of Oscan names, but their main focus are the Romans and Latins, all of whom they see as late-comers to the Eastern Mediterranean: Wilson 1966: 86–91; Cassola 1970–1; Étienne 2002.

For the presence of individuals with Oscan names early on, and the difficulty of identifying provenance, we may take the example of Minatus Staius from Cumae, who was cited as one of the benefactors of Sarapis and the gods of the temple in Delos in 180 BC: Hatzfeld 1912: 80, no. 3. With comments by Wilson 1966: 104–7. For additional Staii inscriptions from Delos: Ferrary et al. 2002: 215.

²³⁸ Solin 1982: 112.

²³⁹ Müller and Hasenohr 2002a. For an example of the complexity of using onomastics to establish ethnic and cultural identities see Bagnall's 1997: 9–13, concise overview of the trends from Roman Fayum.

²⁴⁰ Couilloud 1974: 213, no. 484; Étienne 1990: 140–41, 173; Étienne 2002: 3.

²⁴¹ Müller and Hasenohr 2002b: 18–20.

²⁴² For the importance of Puteoli as a draw for international traders: Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2002.

²⁴³ Lucilius 3.123 Marx (= Paulus, ex Fest. 88.4).

²⁴⁴ Inscriptions from Puteoli and other sites around Italy testify to the presence of Easterners, as detailed in the studies by Soricelli, Poidvin and Schwentzel, collected in: Compatangelo-Soussignan and Schwentzel 2007. For the presence of foreigners in Italy and Rome, primarily in the Imperial period: Noy 2000; Edwards and Woolf 2003.

around the Mediterranean. Clearly, Puteoli had been a draw for some time, as its cosmopolitan character was already recognised a good century earlier by Polybius.²⁴⁵ The pattern of movement of the Pandusini and the Castricii was cyclical and meandering, following the wave of opportunities that drew their entrepreneurial skills over generations. It is precisely this kind of mobility that appears in the comedies of Plautus, whose characters often move from place to place, some traveling almost continuously.²⁴⁶

The cyclical and meandering nature of mobility is what makes it difficult to establish geographic origins for any individual or group, unless these are explicitly stated. This means that even those individuals with Italian names who appear in the earliest inscriptions abroad may not have been born in Italy but were descendants of those who left the peninsula in previous generations. To a certain extent, the reason that we are unlikely to find references to these ancestors on inscriptions prior to the last decades of the third century BC has to do with the epigraphic habit in Italy itself. The habit of inscribing names increased substantially from this period onwards, especially with the diffusion of elite funerary inscriptions and particularly epitaphs; non-aristocratic ones proliferating from about 200 BC.²⁴⁷ For the whole of Italy, the total number of Latin inscriptions known from the third century BC is some 600, of which only about 146 are from the city of Rome.²⁴⁸ In the following two centuries, the total figure from Italy rises to over 3000, and most of these date to the final 160 years,²⁴⁹ precisely the point at which Italians overseas become more visible. In the Greek East, epigraphic evidence for all types of outsiders appears several centuries earlier, although in substantial numbers only from the end of the fourth century BC. But even at this point, although foreigners appear prominently on inscriptions, except for the elite they are hardly visible in other textual sources, whether economic, judicial or administrative.²⁵⁰ It is therefore not surprising that in some cases, such as that of the Castricii, Italian *gens* names appear on inscriptions abroad before they do in Italy, where the epigraphic habit was weaker.

Changes in the epigraphic habit make up one element of the equation. Another major factor would have been the increasing Roman success from the second century BC, as a result of which Italians would have become

²⁴⁵ Polybius 3.91.2 ²⁴⁶ See [Chapter 6](#). ²⁴⁷ Berrendonner 2009: 192.

²⁴⁸ Gordon and Reynolds 2003: 219–20.

²⁴⁹ There is also an increase in inscriptions following the Social War, documenting euergetism, an obligation that directly stimulated the growth in epigraphic commemoration: Gordon and Reynolds 2003: 219–20, note 37, 227–8; Crawford 1998: 38; Panciera 1997; Pobjoy 2000a.

²⁵⁰ Baslez 2007: 214.

more prominent, recognisable and distinguishable as individuals and groups overseas. Alcock reflects on the massacre of 88 BC and the necessity for locals to be able to identify who amongst them was Italian in order for them to be killed.²⁵¹ We would expect that in smaller communities people's backgrounds may have been common knowledge, especially if it was flaunted, and some, such as the *publicani*, came with large entourages and formed a prominent part of the wealthy elite. Others were recognised by their dress – the toga was a give-away sign of their affiliation.²⁵² Cicero describes how Publius Rutilius Rufus during his exile in Mytilene had exchanged his toga for the Greek dress of a *pallium* – a cloak – in order not to be killed by the Mithridatic forces.²⁵³ This episode also implies that his killers did not know him personally and needed other signs to identify him as a Roman, maybe suggesting that locals were not responsible for the massacres. The choice to hold on to one's distinctive external cultural signifiers, such as dress, language or name, is a sign of privilege and confidence. It was precisely this privilege and confidence which the status of being a Roman, and to a certain extent also Italian, would have afforded those abroad from the second century BC, loosening integration. Such a shift in one's self-perception is another reason why such individuals become more visible in our written sources and material evidence.

In Delos, as we have seen, Italians appear prominently as individuals and through their communal actions and practices. Wilson noted that of all the foreigners they alone were distinguished by name in the honorific decrees of 125–88 BC.²⁵⁴ Until the last decades of the Republic, we have few examples of such prominent, communal Italian initiatives as we find in Delos. It may also be the case that some of the socio-cultural activities were not actually recognisable as Italian. For example, Rizakis showed that Romano-Italian communities were keen worshippers of Eastern deities. Serapis was one favourite, hence, at the Serapeion in Thessalonike, many of the dedications were from Italian *negotiatores* whose financial success helped to fund renovations.²⁵⁵ These Italians were important benefactors of these cults, spreading them as they moved and in the process helping to

²⁵¹ Alcock 2007.

²⁵² The toga is used as a symbol of a Roman man: Ennius writes in his *Annals* Frag. 486 (= Festus 434.30): 'So long as one gowned man of Rome is left alive – *Dum quidem unus homo Romanus toga superescit*.' Also implied by Posidonius Fr. 36 Jac (Ed-Kidd 253); with discussion by Amiotti 1980: 134; Wilson 1966: 154–5.

²⁵³ Cicero, *For Rabirius Postumus* 10.27. For details of Rufus's life: Kelly 2006: 89–91, 181 (no. 25).

²⁵⁴ Wilson 1996: 118.

²⁵⁵ Some of the earliest *gens* names linked with Nilotic cults are Salarii, Herennii, Avii, Papii: Rizakis 2002: 122.

integrate different parts of communities. Communal acts, such as the organisation of colleges, or the creation of religious and cultural spaces, required wealth, influence and power to sustain them and to have permission to build them on foreign soil in the first place. They are endeavours that reflect a heightened state of confidence which these Italic individuals carried with them to their homes abroad from the second century BC onwards, supported by their newly acquired imperial origins.

Conclusion

Numbers for ancient human mobility are not easily amenable to the kind of statistical measurements familiar in our contemporary world. Aside from the lack of relevant data, there are other reasons for this, not least because what is being measured is not the same. In the ancient context there is no equivalent of the modern state to move into or out of; nor are there distinct physical borders, across and within which the movement occurs. The nature of movement was also different, or at least appears to have been perceived differently by contemporaries. For those setting out on private or individual ventures it was more prone to be cyclical and meandering without a clear trajectory or final destination at the outset, as is often assumed in studies of contemporary migration. Large-scale *en masse* migrations are more suited to measurement as they are more likely to be cited by ancient authors, and elements of the process are more visible in the archaeological record, as for example in the creation of a colonial settlement, or the abandonment of a site. But one of the challenges raised in this chapter is whether this type of state-initiated, large-scale mobility, which relocated people through incentive and coercion, formed the bulk of the overall movement. Or whether it is only one part, with the other, possibly much greater, part consisting of individual and private journeys. If this indeed is the case, then the figure of 40 million possible movements through Italy in the last two centuries BC may not be so extreme. The expulsion of 12,000 Latins from Rome in the second century BC, the substantial number of Italians massacred in Asia Minor and the epigraphic evidence for foreigners overseas are some of the most explicit forms of evidence for independent private mobility. It is also implicit in the state policies that tried to control them. Keeping people in one place appears to have been a bigger concern for authorities than trying to keep foreigners out. There is little evidence in this period for any worries about overpopulation.

Most of the statistics for human mobility, and the majority of the specific instances considered so far, date from the second century BC onwards. This bunching of evidence makes it appear that there was a steep rise in mobility at this point. While it may be uncontroversial to say that there was increased mobility with escalating Romano-Italian military and diplomatic successes overseas, the question of how steep this rise was remains a difficult one due to the nature of our textual evidence. The epigraphic habit only gets going in Italy in this period, and our earliest written sources, which either originate from Italy or show an interest in the peninsula, only narrowly precede this. Furthermore, the rise of Roman power also meant that there was more confidence and privilege associated with Roman status, which as a result would be more prone to be highlighted by ancient authors and in the epigraphic record. The situation in earlier periods will be the focus of the next chapters. It will be argued that while the agents and patterns of mobility may have differed from the second century BC onwards, and possibly also the destinations, we need to take seriously the possibility that its extent was already substantial in the preceding period. There is no suggestion in ancient writings that communities in Italy were somehow uniquely sedentary, immobile or isolated within the Mediterranean context during that period.

We will consider how ancient and modern narratives have shaped a particular image of mobility through Italy in the last millennium BC, and how recent archaeological projects, especially those interested in connectivity across the Mediterranean, challenge this traditional perspective. Our sources provide a more vibrant and diverse picture, full of traders, craftsmen, miners, mercenaries, explorers and pirates, among others, who made their way to settlements well beyond the peninsular coastline. Delos, Athens, Rhodes and the cities of Asia Minor are only a few of the best-known hubs. Spain and Africa were also familiar destinations for Italians, whose large presence there allowed for Roman commanders to amass their own support-base and attempt to create private dynasties. It is beyond Italian shores that perhaps the main Italic integrative process occurred. This crucial point needs to be brought into debates surrounding Romano-Italian integration in the run up to the Social War, and it will be addressed in [Chapter 9](#). It is difficult to sustain the view that for most Romans, Italy, not to mention any Mediterranean state beyond it, was still foreign in Augustan Rome.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ Dench's view that Italy was still foreign in Augustan Rome is difficult to sustain, but that does not contradict her observation that the allegiance of Italians to Augustan Rome was questionable; the two are not the same thing: Dench 2005: 103.

Such a view is predicated on the premise of stasis as the prevailing condition. Those civilians who ventured beyond their communities found themselves in an environment with unprecedented opportunities for involvement and integration, not only between Romans and Italians, but also with residents of any site where they came to rest.

PART II

3 | Routeways, Kinship and Storytelling

On the road, the river and the sea, people moved from here to there, telling tales of the journeys as they went. How they got about, and the stories of why they moved to Italy, and who they were, are what this chapter will explore. By the first millennium BC people had inhabited the Italian peninsula for tens of thousands of years. Though it was hardly a new land in the unknown Western reaches of the Mediterranean, advances in transport technology and institutional developments meant that certain parts of the peninsula became better connected to each other and to settlements abroad than they had been earlier. The reality of continuing interconnectivity still did not prevent later storytellers from portraying Italy as a land of discovery, inhabited by fantastical creatures and remote *ethné*, creating distance between now and then, and us and them. Nevertheless, these stories sought out connections through kinship ties. Usually, primordial links were offered, or challenged, for the purposes of current politics, with further narratives proliferating in their wake. At times these later stories portrayed transformation through the migrations of large ethnically based entities, at other times through small group encounters. But in whatever way the story was told, at its heart was ever-present movement. The challenge for us is understanding the extent to which the multiple narratives represent real movements and the processes of community formation. Understanding how the story is told, when, and by whom, is a crucial element in the history of migration and mobility in Italy.

Routeways and Methods of Getting Around

How did people move around? Neither Italy's central mountainous terrain nor the shortage of good natural harbours for large stretches of her coastline were a deterrent to mobility in the last millennium BC. Connectivity between the different sites and landscapes of Italy arose out of their interdependence and the roles each played in a given period. Nor is there any evidence, except in times of war, to suggest that movement was

hindered by state controls, either on routeways or at points of entry.¹ It was genuinely unrestricted and largely untaxed.² As Horden and Purcell emphasise: ‘The main hindrance to the movements of people and goods by land has usually been social rather than physical.’³ The controls we do find concern the movement of goods and resources not people (unless they were enslaved), a situation that is substantially different from the restrictions increasingly introduced during the Imperial period. Free circulation was considerably curtailed in Late Antiquity, especially for those of lower social status, and categories such as the vagabond were created.⁴ Predominantly, the evidence shows that communities spent their energies enabling rather than preventing movement, with increasing effort towards the last centuries BC, even as Cato the Elder ranted against mercantile endeavours and the dangers of foreign influence.⁵ There is visible investment in locations that became key intersections or gateways for gathering and exchange, whether the site of Rome’s Forum Boarium on the Tiber, or Caere’s port-sanctuary at Pyrgi on the Tyrrhenian.⁶ The routes that connected such sites by river, land and sea proliferated throughout the period. The aim of this section is to reflect on the developing technologies of sea travel and the relative ease and difficulty of getting into and around the Italian landscape, with a focus on central Italy and especially Caere, Matelica, the Tiber and the Via Salaria. (Maps 3, 4a and 4b)

Is there anything particular to Italy that makes it stand out within the Mediterranean, which may have created different kinds of mobilities? Its shape – a long thin peninsula, with relatively short distances across its width from one coast to the other – suggests the lack of an unknown or remote and impassable interior of the kind depicted in Xenophon’s *Anabasis*.⁷ The Apennine landscape, a spine running the length of Italy, meant that connections across the mountains were more difficult to build and sustain than those running either side of them, down the peninsula. It was easier to cross the width of Italy on diagonals, for example in the South, where the high peaks give way to lower ground and allowed for a route that

¹ Exceptional measures restricting movement in war time are outlined in the fourth century BC treatise on defence against siege by Aeneas Tacticus 10.7–13.

² Especially stressed by Talbert 2012: 244. For debates about the extent of control, especially in the Imperial Eastern Mediterranean: Migeotte 2004; Moatti and Kaiser 2007a; Bresson 2007; Milliot 2007 and Moatti 2007. See also Chapter 6.

³ Horden and Purcell 2000: 132.

⁴ Such a label was distinct from that of *peregrinus* or *incola*, and was instead connected to categories of societal usefulness: Pottier 2009. For attitudes to wandering: Chapter 6, pp. 222–23.

⁵ For Cato’s attitudes: Chapter 10, p. 392; Cornell 2013: 193–5, 209–10.

⁶ Caere is modern Cerveteri, and Pyrgi is at the site of modern Santa Severa.

⁷ On the notion of tracklessness and impenetrability: Purcell 2005b: 15.



Map 5 Italy with overview of Republican and Imperial roads.

later became the Via Appia, connecting Capua to Beneventum, and then stretching diagonally to the South-East via Taranto (Taras) to Brundisium (Map 5). In the North, passes at Genoa led into the Po valley, but the most used route, at least from Rome, was what became the Via Flaminia.⁸ It ran through the mountains at Falerii, then onto Narnia ending at Ariminum (Rimini) on the North-East coast. Despite their rugged terrain the Apennines were nevertheless an accessible resource that provided such

⁸ For an overview of its route and development: Laurence 1999: 21–23. For Genoa as a trading hub and surrounding routes: Chapter 4, p. 124.

raw materials as timber, wildlife for hunting, plants for gathering, fresh-water and summer pasture for domesticated herds. They were home to communities on the lower and mid-range plateaus. Mountain passes, rivers and ridgeline routes⁹ meant that the highlands became more integrated into wider Italian networks and also shaped them.¹⁰ Studies of the multiple Renaissance trackways and passes exemplify just how developed the network could be.¹¹ Over time regions became increasingly interconnected. Reaching into Italy's prehistory, Broodbank traces the extension of farming through the Italian peninsula and beyond, showing that it spread quite rapidly from the Eastern Mediterranean to Apulia's vast plains of the Tavoliere around 6000 BC. It then took a long time to move up the Adriatic coast, where hunter-gatherers were more resilient, especially in the Po valley.¹² But once farming reached the Tyrrhenian coast, it expanded rapidly North-West, extending to the Atlantic by 5500 BC. It took longer for external links from the East to spread to Italy's Tyrrhenian coast, but these increased substantially with advances in seaborne travel at the end of the second millennium BC. The initial boom of the Adriatic trading hubs in the twelfth century BC waned with advances in ship-technology that allowed Tyrrhenian centres to flourish.¹³ By the eighth century, according to legend, it was to this coast that the infamous Corinthian entrepreneur Demaratus chose to come. It was by then a region enmeshed in cultural networks, and pivotal in bridging the East and West Mediterranean seas. Soon to follow were coastal settlements where Greek colonial ventures such as Sybaris would thrive on the heels of substantial cities as formidable as Veii.

Across the Seas

Whether Italic, Greek or Punic, people were making the most of the latest ship and harbour technologies, and more people and goods were moved to an increasing range of destinations more quickly and in bulk.¹⁴ These were the wet and fishy pathways of Homer's world.¹⁵ Initially, they were used by small vessels that were best suited to coastal tramping or cabotage, but were

⁹ Horden and Purcell 2000: 131. For tracking such routes specifically in Lucania: Buck 1975: 101–7.

¹⁰ The mountainous Cilento peninsula was crisscrossed by routes linking coastal sites to the hinterland, especially the valley of the Vallo di Diano: Tréziny 1983: 116–17; Gasparri 1989: 264.

¹¹ Larner 1990. ¹² Broodbank 2013: 190–6, 472–8, and chapter 10.

¹³ Broodbank 2013: 504. ¹⁴ For advances in ship technology: Wilson 2011a.

¹⁵ Homer *Odyssey*, 3.71; 3.177; 9.252: Crielaard 2013.

increasingly supplemented by large ships that by the sixth century BC could regularly withstand open sea voyages.¹⁶ A century earlier, as Mele identified, there was already evidence of a shift from elite and surplus trade (*préxis*), which operated along with that of middling farmers (*ergon*), to one of commerce conducted by professional traders who operated for profit.¹⁷ Transformations in the nature and magnitude of trade were driven by technological innovation alongside institutional change, which was arguably even more critical.¹⁸ Increasingly, commercial endeavours drew on the produce of monoculture, with high volumes of trade that required not only technologically advanced ships to carry large cargos, and ports to service them, but also inter-state agreements to oversee and safeguard the process. Institutional developments within states allowed for reduction in costs and financing, while conventions, such as the Romano-Carthaginian treaties,¹⁹ created a common juridical space, materialised through *emporia* – official trade centres. Of all the Italian communities who were part of this changing landscape in the early centuries of the first millennium BC, the Etruscans are the most visible. The extent of their mobility overseas will be considered in the [following chapter](#). Here the aim is to focus on the point of origin in Etruria and the distribution networks between the sites in the region and across the Tyrrhenian Sea. As a counterpoint we will consider Matelica, a site that was also prosperous and well connected, but one which was inland and on the Eastern side of the Apennines.

High-volume trade overseas is part of the story of Etruscan prosperity from the eighth to the sixth century BC.²⁰ The extent of this trade is evident in the large amount of Etruscan material, in particular wine amphorae, found at sites on the South coast of France and on shipwrecks sunk en route to the Gallic shores. One of the debates is whether these were Etruscan or Greek ships, which as we will see is an unhelpful distinction.

¹⁶ Wilson and Arnaud have demonstrated the rapid development in the Classical period of direct trading using large merchant ships, which sailed the open seas. These were supplemented with smaller coastal vessels for supply and redistribution: Wilson 2011b; Arnaud, 2011.

¹⁷ Mele 1979.

¹⁸ The technology vs innovation debate is still ongoing. Scheidel (2011) argues that institutional conditions, particularly as a result of large-scale state formation, were more powerful determinants of the performance of maritime trade than advances in technology. Wilson (2011a), while giving more weight to technological developments, concludes that these enabled but did not drive the larger trade volumes. Arnaud (2011) also stresses the importance of treaties and interstate relationships that enabled common rules, and defined areas of jurisdiction, such as *emporia*, which gave protection to traders.

¹⁹ Discussed in Chapter 8, esp. 269ff.

²⁰ For Etruscan activities and settlement overseas: [Chapter 4](#).

In this Tyrrhenian region, Caere, Vulci and Tarquinii had a dominant role as distributors of goods that arrived from the East Mediterranean or were produced locally in Etruria itself.²¹ They even supplied wine to the earliest Greek settlers at Massalia, where amphorae from Etruria make up some 80 percent of all amphora finds dated to the first half of the sixth century BC; their provenance primarily from Caere and Vulci.²² But this figure dropped to a mere 10 percent as Massalia took over trade in the region from the fifth century BC, leading to a decline in Etruscan overseas markets.²³ Massalian success forced the centre of operations to move from Italy to the Southern coast of France.

The magnitude of Etruscan trade at its height is exemplified by the remains of a sixth century BC shipwreck, the Grand Ribaud F, found at Cap d'Antibes.²⁴ It carried a mixed cargo which included Greek material such as bronze disks with pearled edges, but most of the load was made up of some 1000 wine amphorae, most likely shipped from Caere.²⁵ To supply this level of demand there would have been a mono-viticulture that reached industrial levels in this period, particularly in the areas of Vulci, Caere and Tarquinii, requiring ports at Pyrgi and Gravisca to distribute them.²⁶ Among the facilities created to support this were monumental sanctuaries at both of these ports, and a substantial 10 metre-wide road between Caere and Pyrgi.²⁷ Merchants and guests to Pyrgi could now also worship at the shrine to the Punic deity Uni-Astrate, as testified by the dedication to her written on gold plaques in Etruscan and Phoenician.²⁸ These communities' success in overseas trade is beyond doubt, yet there has been scepticism about their seamanship. There is no question about the Etruscan origin of the cargo from the Grand Ribaud F shipwreck, but the 'origin' of the ship continues to be debated.²⁹ With a carrying capacity of a 25 ton load it was one of the larger vessels operating in the Mediterranean at this time.³⁰ Scholars who argue for a reduced role for Etruscan seafaring prefer to see the construction of the Grand Ribaud F, and hence also its origin, as Greek.³¹ But the boat may have been built elsewhere

²¹ Gori and Bettini 2006; Camporeale [2001] 2004; Colonna 2002a.

²² Colonna 2006; Bats 1998. ²³ Morel 2006: 29–31. See also Chapter 4, p. 114.

²⁴ According to its contents the ship is dated 515–470 BC. Morel 2006: 33–4; Pomey 2006.

²⁵ Pomey 2006: 427–30. ²⁶ Colonna 2006; Camporeale 2006. ²⁷ Colonna 2006: 670.

²⁸ Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 64–8; Heurgon 1966. For excavation summary and overview of the site's structures: Izzet 2007: 122–42; Colonna 1988–9; Baglione and Gentili 2013. There is also a suggestion that the settlement of *Punicum*, on the coast north of Pyrgi, may have been a Carthaginian station or settlement, although it is only recorded on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and its date is unclear: Palmer 1997: 78–9.

²⁹ Morel 2006: 33–4. ³⁰ Pomey 2006. ³¹ Pomey 2006: 426–7; Bats 1998.

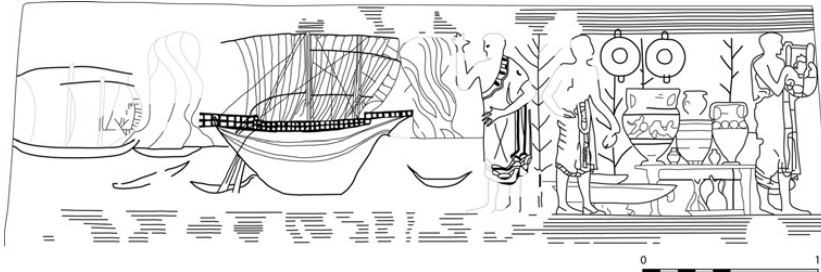


Fig. 2 A depiction of a merchantman from the Tomba della Nave, Tarquinia, fifth century BC.

Schematic drawing by John Davey after Colonna 2003: 72, fig. 11.

and then purchased or hired by the traders in Etruria; Etruscan ship-builders were familiar with the latest ship technology and likely applied it in their own constructions; and determining the nationality of ships is always a problem as they may not have been attached to a particular port and anyway had multiple owners.³²

Etruscan familiarity with sailing and their presence on the seas was already well established by this period, not least in Greek narratives of Etruscan pirates, or as evidenced by clay model boats found in tombs at Caere and Tarquinii circa 1000 BC.³³ Images of merchantmen, such as those on Archaic vases and tombs at Vulci and Tarquinii, show further interest in the latest ship technology³⁴ (Fig. 2). It is equally plausible, therefore, that the Grand Ribaud F could have been piloted either by Etruscan or other Mediterranean seamen. In either case, it displays Etruscan enterprise at its peak in the distribution and supply of goods across the Mediterranean. While the focus here has been on trade to the North, different Etruscan goods reached other destinations around the Mediterranean. Fineware and luxury objects such as Etrusco-Corinthian perfume bottles produced in Etruria in the seventh to sixth centuries BC, while rarely found in Gaul, were prominent in Carthage, Sardinia and Spain.³⁵ And although their endeavours are less visible archaeologically in the East Mediterranean, from ancient authors we know that Etruscan metal work was renowned in Greece.³⁶

³² Morel 2006: 34; Colonna 2006. ³³ Pomey 2006: 424–5. For pirates: Chapter 4, pp. 112–16.

³⁴ Image of a merchantman on a vase from Vulci (sixth century BC), (British Museum BM H 23); Tomba della Nave (early fifth century BC) in Tarquinia includes an image of a double-masted merchantman. Merchantmen: Casson 1971: fig. 93 and fig. 97.

³⁵ Camporeale 2006: 17; Morel 2006: 35.

³⁶ Critias cited in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.28b–c.

The position of such sites as Caere as key distribution points on the Tyrrhenian coast was partly due to the lack of good natural harbours along much of this coastline, with the next good sheltered harbours to the South in the Bay of Naples. In this Southern region, Cumae³⁷ would have overseen one such important harbour in this area, which several centuries later housed Rome's flourishing port of Puteoli. Very deep harbours around the Mediterranean were few, as indicated by the inability to find a docking place for Hiero II's Syrakousia, an exceptionally large cargo ship built in the third century BC, with a carrying capacity of some 2000 tons.³⁸ One of the few ports that could accommodate it was Alexandria, which is where it stayed as a floating island-palace. It was not until advanced port technology and the use of hydraulic concrete in the second century BC that artificial harbours were built and could reach monumental proportions, such as Rome's Portus in the Claudian and Trajanic period.³⁹ But even when such manmade harbours enabled increased docking facilities, there was still a need for interdependence between communities. Systems of smaller vessels operated along the coasts and up rivers, collecting and delivering goods and people to ports such as Pyrgi or later to Puteoli and Portus, from where larger ships could depart overseas. Roads and trackways worked in tandem with these watery pathways as part of a complementary system,⁴⁰ connecting harbours and distribution centres, and linking even seemingly far away sites.

Through the Lands

One such seemingly distant site, situated across the Apennines from the Etruscan trading hubs, is Matelica – an inland settlement positioned along the river terraces of the sub-Apennines in the Marche region, on Italy's Adriatic side (Map 6). It overlooks an extensive plain that provides a throughway to the mountains joining key routes from the Adriatic – through the valley of Potenza with passages to the highlands that lead on

³⁷ Livy 8.22.4–5; Strabo 5.4.4, 5.4.9; with discussion of the takeover, Chapter 4, pp. 129–30. Paget 1968.

³⁸ Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 5.206d–209b. Casson 1971: 185–6; Di Pasquale 2010; Pomey and Tchernia 2006; Wilson 2011a: 213.

³⁹ Schörle 2011.

⁴⁰ Laurence concludes that road transport was used alongside river and maritime trade, and that hauling barges upriver from Ostia to Rome by oxen may have been more difficult and slower than transporting goods by road: Laurence 1999: 113–14. Salway, comparing rivers and roads for the Imperial period, concludes that even upstream barges towed had greater potential capacity than road-bound wagons, but recognises that sea and road transport intertwined: Salway 2004: 69–71. On the importance of the towed boat: Casson 1971: 332–5. Interdependence between different modes of transport: Campbell 2012: 216–17.



Map 6 The region around the ancient site of Matelica, Italy.

to the Tyrrhenian coast. Some of these became part of the later Via Flaminia.⁴¹ It is possible that its location contributed to its prosperity, by allowing it to control and provide services that directed people and goods passing through the mountains between the two coasts. The wealth of material found at the settlement and cemeteries of Matelica demonstrates the high status of this site in the ninth to sixth centuries BC.⁴² Its burials were some of the wealthiest in the region and could easily compete with those in Umbria and Etruria. The funerary deposits contained chariots, sceptres, bronze armour, weapons, banqueting equipment, amber, ivory and other luxury goods.⁴³ It is not only its wealth that makes Matelica

⁴¹ As indicated on the map of the surveys by: Verreyke and Vermeulen 2009: fig. 1, p. 105. Laurence 1999: 21–3.

⁴² For recent investigations of the region and site: *Potere e splendore* 2008; Piceni 2003. Especially entries by: Cilla 2003; Baldelli, de Marinis and Silvestrini 2003; Chilleri, Pacciani and Sonogo 2003; Gobbi and Biocco 2003. For an overview of the region and site: Naso 2000; Riva 2004; Riva 2007.

⁴³ Some of the most prominent burials include Tomb 1 at Villa Clara, and Tombs 182 and 108 at loc. Crocifisso: Baldelli 2008; Biocco and Sabbatini 2008; Sabbatini 2008; Baldelli, de Marinis

stand out but, as Riva observed, also the relatively small number of foreign objects, and the traces of workshops for processing metal, amber, ivory and bone.⁴⁴ It seems to have produced its own goods using the latest technologies employing the most advanced craftsmanship.⁴⁵ This know-how was likely its foremost import, showing affinities with Etruscan and Faliscan regions. Substantial collections of worked amber, as in Tomb 108 at loc. Crocifisso, provide further support that Matelica was linked into the amber distribution network and was possibly one of its key conduits from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian.⁴⁶ Its links with communities further afield are evident through elite display such as banqueting, which shows traces of Euboean influence, and heroic drinking ceremonies.⁴⁷ The inhabitants of Matelica benefitted from exchange networks that looked across the Adriatic and to Western Italy. It may have been deep in the hinterland and lacking direct access to the sea, yet here was a centre successful enough to attract wealthy individuals who would have felt comfortable in the company of the likes of Demaratus and his craftsmen.⁴⁸

Seaborne travel captures the imaginations of ancient and modern writers more than overland or river routes, at least for the period before Empire. The nature and extent of the roads in the centuries preceding the Late Republic – often unpaved trackways and drove roads (*tratturi*), which even when found are difficult to date – mean it is impossible to offer a snapshot of the land-routes that ran through the peninsula. Matelica's connectivity can be deduced from the material found there and the proximity of better known later roads, such as the Via Flaminia. But this does not allow for the depiction of anything like the concise road network that forms the basis of the Tabula Peutingeriana, a fourth-century AD cartographic itinerary showing the numerous paths and highways that stitched together the Late Roman world (Fig. 3, Plate 9).⁴⁹ The very existence of sites and the nature of the material found there is our best evidence for Italy's interconnectivity, and the following chapters will focus on these. From the few remaining stretches of early roads still in existence,⁵⁰ and

and Silvestrini 2003; De Marinis and Silvestrini 2005. For banqueting equipment and the role of women: Coen and Sabbatini 2008.

⁴⁴ Riva 2004; Riva 2007: 95–9.

⁴⁵ Metalurgical analysis shows that a significant number of the bronze objects were produced regionally: Rogante 2010; Riva 2007: 98 – 99.

⁴⁶ Baldelli G. 2008: loc. Crocifisso, Tomb 108. ⁴⁷ Riva 2007: 99. ⁴⁸ See below, pp. 98–99.

⁴⁹ For Roman roads: Laurence 1999. Discussion of roads and the Roman mindset, suggesting that even the Tabula Peutingeriana was less of a practical itinerary than a show-piece: Talbert 2012: 248–50; Salway 2005.

⁵⁰ For the emergence of early road technology in central Italy: Quilici 1992.

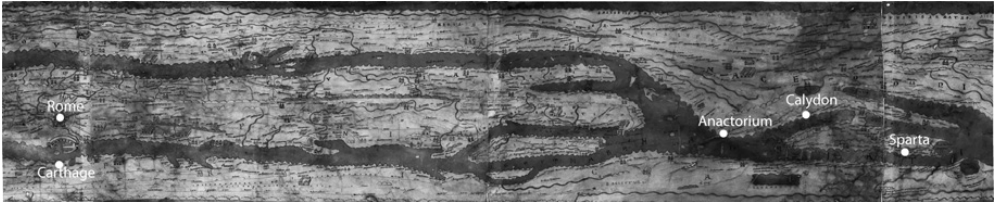


Fig. 3 Peutinger Map, circa fourth century AD, from eleventh- to twelfth-century copies. Segments 4–7, indicating the sites in Plautus's *Poenulus*: Rome, Carthage, Anactorium, Calydon, Sparta.

those mentioned in ancient literature, we can recognise the different practices that produced them. They seem to form three broad categories. The first, which we have come to see as the most characteristic type of road, is one built to make a better connection between two pre-existing sites. An example of this may be the stretch of Archaic road joining Caere with her port at Pyrgi,⁵¹ or the section of the Via Appia constructed in 312 BC, which created a bypass from Rome to Capua.⁵² The impetus for such road construction is easy to recognise. The former was most likely an upgrade of a pre-existing route, initiated by Caeretan elites to support what was by then thriving overseas trade. The latter was a more direct route that consolidated Roman acquisition and interests in Campania, and its construction was overseen by one of the city's statesmen, the censor Appius Claudius.⁵³ The new 115-mile stretch of the Via Appia, bypassing many of the Latin settlements that were serviced by the older route of the Via Latina, established the centrality of Rome and the importance of its link with, and eventual possession of, Capua.⁵⁴ The construction of the road was a political and imperial act, allowing for the quick deployment of troops and gathering of new recruits. Any socio-economic needs which the new link would have served operated alongside this primary role.

Seemingly different to this type of road are those of the second category: routes that emerge to facilitate access and throughways to natural resources, such as pasture, woodland, minerals or salt marshes. They do not have identifiable agents who created them; nor is their fundamental function to provide links between pre-existing settlements or ports. The Via Salaria, one of the oldest roads running through Rome, may be one such example, which we will turn to below.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Colonna 2006: 670. ⁵² For an overview: Laurence 1999: 13–21.

⁵³ See Bradley (2014) for the relationship between elite ambitions, colonisation and road building, questioning the existence of an overarching senatorial strategy.

⁵⁴ Consolidation took place during the Second Samnite War: Cornell 1995: 352–5.

⁵⁵ Quilici 1993; Grandazzi 1997: 74–91.

Alongside these more prominent road types, is the third category of inconspicuous and seasonal routeways essential for viability around the peninsula. These were tracks that were best suited for pack animals. They consisted of pathways running into higher terrains and along the high plateaux; and *tratturi* used for moving animals between upland and lowland pastures leading to markets. In addition, we may include the navigable rivers. Such routes enhanced connections not just between individual sites across the width and length of Italy, but also brought together its diverse landscapes, providing continuous passage between the Apennines and the coasts. It is the interdependence between these modes of getting about that allowed a dynamic flow of goods and people.

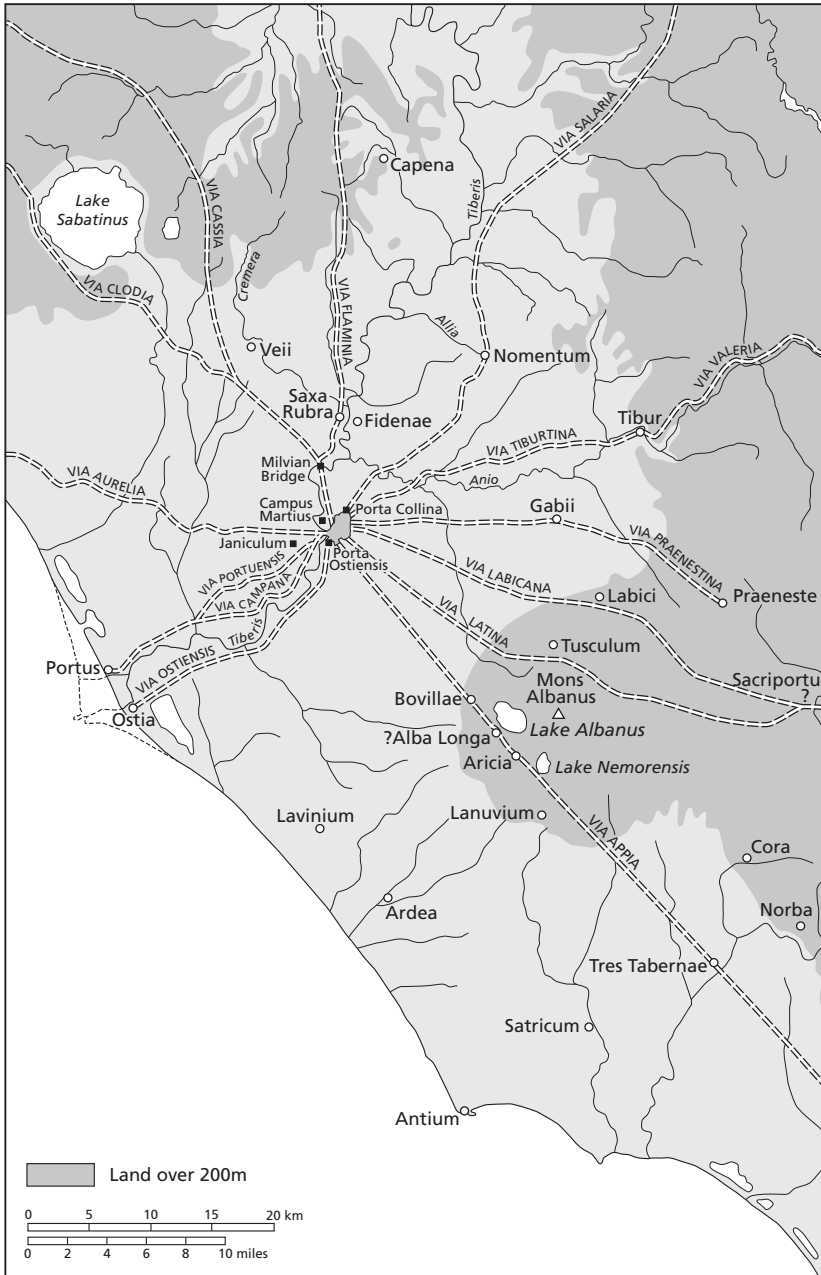
The Via Salaria is one of the earliest Italian roads in the Latin sources, and one we can trace in the landscape (Maps 7a and 7b). It joined the mountains with the lowlands and, in the same way as similar roads such as the Via Tiburtina and Via Nomentana, facilitated movement of animals in a system of regional transhumance.⁵⁶ The course of its route was determined by the needs of the flocks and herds, following the contours of the landscape leading to crossings through mountains or over rivers, taking in areas of good pasture and water supply. This movement in turn influenced the position of markets, and, by extension, settlements. Along the Via Salaria we find temples to Hercules, drawing on his attribute as protector of cattle markets, not least around Rome's Forum Boarium on the Tiber.⁵⁷ Upon reaching this particular market, positioned near a ford across the Tiber, the route of the Via Salaria was picked up on the other side of the river by the Via Campana. Running along the right bank, it led on to the salt marshes on the coast.⁵⁸ Rome's position, despite what the myths tell us, may have been dictated by the ford across the river.⁵⁹ Along with Rome a number of other sites were located at key crossing points on the Tiber, including that of Fidenae upriver, and Ficana down river, which flourished in the eighth century BC but had a

⁵⁶ Varro 2.2.9–11 records how his own herds spent the winter in Apulia and the summer on the higher ground near Reate. Frizell 2009; Pasquinucci 1979; Corbier 1991.

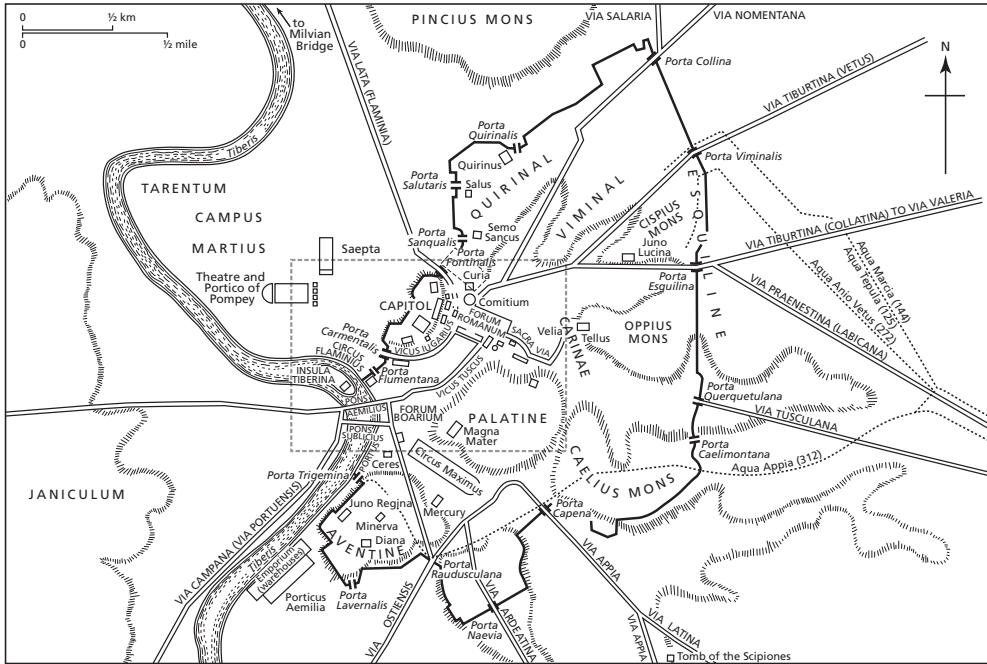
⁵⁷ Cupitò 2007; Palmer 1990; Coarelli 1988a. Other sanctuaries connected with markets and meeting points include the cult site at *Lucus Feroniae*, near Capena, which was the market place between Sabines and Latins (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.32.1), and that of Hercules noted on the *cippus Abellanus*, between Abella and Nola, is also likely to have had a similar role: *Imagines Italicae*, Campania / ABELLA 1, (Vol 2, 887–892). For sanctuaries: Chapter 9, p. 326ff.

⁵⁸ Cupitò 2007; Grandazzi 1997: 76–7; Di Giuseppe and Serlorenzi 2008. For continuing discoveries, especially around Portus: *Portus Project* website, in particular: www.portusproject.org/blog/2012/10/1910/.

⁵⁹ Campbell (2012: 316–17) suggests that Rome's position related to river and internal traffic. For the positioning of Rome and the flow consistency of the Tiber: Patterson J. R. 2004.



Map 7a Region around ancient Rome with possible routes of the Via Salaria and Via Campana.



Map 7b Rome and surrounding areas.

much longer history that went back some 40,000 years.⁶⁰ We may wonder why Ficana did not develop into Rome, as here too no less than at the Forum Boarium there would have been opportunities to provide services for the pastoralists and traders who gathered to exchange their goods and acquire precious resources such as salt. This prized commodity was used as a nutritional supplement, as a food preservative, and in tanning and dyeing processes. The only other substantial area for salt acquisition on the peninsula was on the Adriatic coast near Canusium in ancient Daunia.⁶¹ These elements – resources, routes and gathering points – combined to produce a dynamic internal network that led to the creation of sites along the middle-Tiber valley. In the Bronze Age, these were largely seasonal, but in the early Iron Age (1000–750 BC) they became permanent and their position reflects an increasing interest in being close to the Tiber.⁶² The route of the Via Salaria likely preceded many of them and was instrumental in their development.

⁶⁰ De Gennaro, Schiappelli and Amoroso 2004; Grandazzi 1997: 84–5.

⁶¹ Grandazzi 1997: 76–7.

⁶² For the process: Patterson H. 2004, 13; Carafa 2004; Guidi 2004; Guidi and Santoro 2004.

The Tiber Valley

The most formidable presence in the early Tiber valley landscape was Veii, located 17 km distant from its later rival Rome. The centre was not positioned on the river itself, but on a tufa plateau 7 km away on the north side of the valley. By the eighth century BC Veii's influence extended to the Tyrrhenian and the salt marshes on the coast.⁶³ It also had an interest in keeping strong links with sites along the Tiber to ensure control of internal channels running the length of the peninsula. Veii's impressive remains and the re-evaluated material from the Tiber Valley Survey allow investigation of how the Archaic city materialised, which we will consider in the [next chapter](#).⁶⁴ The position of both Veii and Rome, some 24 kilometres inland from the coast, indicate that their initial interests were not with sea-going traffic, unlike those of Caere and Tarquinii which had nearby ports. Instead, their attentions were directed towards the land and river routes that ran across their territory, such as the Via Salaria, the Via Campana and the Tiber, the arteries of an internal distribution system. It was not until the fourth century BC that Veii succumbed to Roman power and lost her influence over the dense mesh of internal routeways and resources.

The role of the Tiber within this network changed over time. As an obstacle to land routes the river was at the centre of power sharing in the region, but as boat technology developed it became not an obstacle but a link. An increasing interest in riverine traffic emerges in the seventh century BC, evident from remains of model river boats in the tombs of Veii, Capena, Falerii and Orvieto, as well as boat scenes on amphorae found at sites along the Tiber.⁶⁵ This coincides with the growth of these centres, and also with climatic changes that brought in cooler and wetter conditions in the eighth to seventh centuries BC.⁶⁶ The Tiber and the Po (Padus) are the most substantial and navigable rivers in Italy. We are less well informed about the ancient navigability of other important rivers, such as the Arno (Arnus) in Etruria or the Liri (Liris) and Volturno (Volturnus) in Campania.⁶⁷ Through the centuries such water thoroughfares were enhanced to ensure continuous and consistent flow through the stabilisation of banks and the creation of dams, sluices and canals.⁶⁸ They were supported by port facilities along their routes, such as those on the Tiber at the Milvian Bridge, some 3

⁶³ Patterson 2004: 11–12; Schiappelli 2012: 330. ⁶⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 111–12. ⁶⁵ Biella 2010.

⁶⁶ Mensing et al. 2015: 85–6; Broodbank 2013: 506; Campbell 2012: 13; Delano-Smith 1979: 314; Sallares 2007: 19.

⁶⁷ Campbell 2012: 291–302.

⁶⁸ For improvements to river navigability: Campbell 2012: 221–9.

miles North of Rome. The archaeological remains there of quays and carriageways for towing ships suggest they were established for the use of boats coming downriver from the interior, rather than those coming upriver from the sea.⁶⁹ The river provided increasingly efficient transport, particularly of bulk goods from the hinterland. According to Livy, during the famine of the fifth century BC, the emergency supply of corn to Rome, especially from the Etruscans, came by river.⁷⁰

It took time for the Tiber to develop as a conduit for goods coming up from the Mediterranean. Rome's other river-port, positioned south of Tiber Island, was better geared for this role. It had its main facilities installed in the third to second centuries BC.⁷¹ The changing use of the Tiber needs to be seen in connection with Rome's increasing interest in gaining direct access to Mediterranean routeways. At what point Roman sea-going ventures and naval power seriously took off is a matter of some debate, to which we will return in [Chapter 7](#). Part of the problem is that Rome does not have a good natural harbour. Pliny and Strabo note the overall lack of good natural harbours for this stretch of the Tyrrhenian coast.⁷² The port at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber, took a long time to establish itself, possibly not before the fourth century BC.⁷³ Even then it was not sufficient and Rome still had to rely on the relay transfer of goods offloaded from large sea-going ships at harbours that could accommodate them, such as Pyrgi or near Cumae in Campania, and transported on smaller coastal vessels, river boats and wagons. Portus, Rome's own deep-water harbour located some 3 km North of Ostia with channels connecting it to the Tiber was only built in the Imperial period.⁷⁴

Each site had a distinct position within an interdependent system. In the middle centuries of the first millennium BC Veii and Rome were more geared to facilitating internal trade and movement. They acted as collectors and providers of services in connection with resources in the hinterland. Other sites such as Caere or Cumae on the Tyrrhenian coast, with good natural harbours nearby, enabled overseas connections and exchange. In other Italian regions different sites had similar roles. Taras in the South, for example, was another major coastal hub.⁷⁵ Polybius, reflecting on its wealth noted that this was largely the result of its harbour, since those

⁶⁹ Campbell 2012: 315–16. For detailed analysis: Quilici 1986: 200–10.

⁷⁰ Livy 2.34; 4.12; 4.52. ⁷¹ Campbell 2012: 316–17. ⁷² Pliny, *Letters* 6.31; Strabo 6.4.1.

⁷³ Arguing for a fifth century BC date: Grandazzi 1997: 78, note 11. Campbell supports the argument that it probably dates to the fourth century BC, and that there is little to be believed in Florus's 1.1.4 report that it was founded by Rome's king Ancus Marcius: Campbell 2012: 316.

⁷⁴ For Portus: Keay 2012; Keay and Paroli 2011; Keay, Millett, Paroli, and Strutt 2005.

⁷⁵ For the growth of Taras: Chapter 5, pp. 166–67.

travelling from Greece and Sicily must by necessity anchor there and ‘make that city the seat of their exchange and traffic with all the inhabitants of this side of Italy.’⁷⁶ The inhabitants he refers to encompassed not only those of Greek poleis, but ‘Bruttians, Lucanians, a portion of the Daunians, the Calabrians, and several other tribes.’⁷⁷ The image Polybius creates is one of a vibrant and bustling trade network stretching well into the Italian hinterland, which is also visible in the material record.⁷⁸ To make the most of their opportunities, sites had to function as part of such integrated systems. As Roman power extended over Italy it engulfed the varied roles of individual sites, initially by alliance and eventually through takeover of key ports, alongside the development of a unified, Italy-wide road system (Map 5). This later road network, which Laurence traces in his *Roads of Roman Italy*,⁷⁹ was constructed for different purposes. It was in part driven by the war economy – the ability to move troops and resources quickly – and to link up sites of Roman making, such as the colonies and *municipia*. In the earlier period, at a time when the route of the Via Salaria came into being, the settlements themselves may have been secondary to the mobilities and the routeways which engendered them.

Investment in improving the modes of moving around is prevalent across the Mediterranean. This would have been unnecessary if there was no interest in making connections beyond one’s own community and seeking out opportunities abroad. Whether for trade, conquest, love, or escape, people were continuously on the move, and increasingly they were doing this faster and to more destinations. Their experiences on the journeys, encounters, and successful ventures, were the fuel for storytellers to embellish over centuries, and it is these that we turn to next.

Stories of Populating Italy

There are many ways to tell the story of Italy’s making. A land of arrivals is how it appears in the imagining of our earliest ancient authors, newcomers steadily populating it over the first millennium BC. The movement is primarily from the East Mediterranean to the peninsula. For the first seven centuries there is little of it in the other direction. There are no extant stories of heroes or settlers who arrive in the Greek East from Italian shores. It is only in the second century BC that a major shift appears.

⁷⁶ Polybius 10.1.5. ⁷⁷ Polybius 10.1.3.

⁷⁸ Lippolis 2011: 121–45. See also Chapter 5, pp. 166–67. ⁷⁹ Laurence 1999.

From then on ancient narratives include movements *from* Italy, starting with colonisation and settlement resulting from Roman hegemony. If we were to accept the silence of the storytellers as evidence that prior to the second century Italy was primarily a land of arrivals, then its population would appear exceptionally tied to the peninsula. In the context of an otherwise highly interconnected and mobile Mediterranean such exceptionalism is difficult to support.⁸⁰

Later authors of the Republican and Imperial periods continued to view the peninsula from the East. Such an early Greek perspective is embodied in Ennius's *Annals*, as if he were himself an outsider. In the opening to his first book he notes that *est locus* – this place, meaning Italy – used to be called *Hesperia*, Western Land.⁸¹ These authors also took on the Greek interest in ethnicity when shaping their narratives of Italy's early history. One way they present its development is through a succession of advancing ethnic groups, as if they were molten lava that flowed across the landscape before finally coming to rest in their solid form. These authors often locate their own time at the final stage of this evolution – as witnesses to the sequel of the turmoil. No longer does one group replace another; their world is one of stable, if warring, communities. Only the barbarians on the fringes are still on the move. This evolutionary trajectory – from influx to settlement – has persisted and is at the core of many current studies of pre-Roman Italy which structure their accounts around broad regional divisions, each assigned an ethnic group with its particular language and cultural characteristics.⁸² Of these, the Etruscans are the most prominent in early Italy.⁸³ Such a structure may be helpful for categorising information, but has the danger of lending

⁸⁰ Broodbank's recent longitudinal study of the Mediterranean shows that for millennia prior to the period of this investigation, the population in Italy was no less mobile than in other parts of the Mediterranean: Broodbank 2013. For the late Republican and Imperial periods, Moatti and Sordi, among others, have consistently shown that mobility was high and that the liberty of movement was defined not as a natural right but a positive fact: Sordi 1994; Sordi 1995; Moatti 2006: 118.

⁸¹ Ennius *Annals* 1.24 – cited in Macrobius 6.1.11.

⁸² Some of the seminal works in English to use such a framework in structuring the history of early Italy: Salmon 1982; Pallottino [1984] 1991. The tradition is summarised by Cornell 1995: chapter 2, 31–47. Bradley, Isayev and Riva (2007) question regional cohesion by examining each internally.

⁸³ These tend to include the following groups: the Etruscans with a base in Etruria who extended to Campania in the South and the Po Valley in the North; they edged the territory of Cisalpine Gaul which encompassed Liguria, the Veneto, the Insubres and also a number of Celtic groups; in a central position reaching to the West coast was Latium, which included Latins and Sabines among others; while the length of Italy's spine was the main home to the speakers of Osco-Umbrian or Sabellic languages associated mostly with the Umbrians, Samnites and Lucanians, stretching into the toe of Bruttium, and encompassing Campania on the West coast; these were edged on the East coast by Picenum; further South the Apulian region incorporated

coherence and integrity to areas where it did not exist, while overlooking connections beyond. It ignores the complexity and diversity of encounters that continually reshaped communities. An alternative narrative of Italy's formation focuses on small-group enterprises, such as the coming of Demaratus and his followers to Tarquinius, to which we will return in the [final section](#) of this chapter. An ethno-regional approach to Italy begins to break down once the focus shifts from the linear emergence of *ethné* or tribes to the multiple histories of individual settlements.⁸⁴

Ethnic or Political Entities?

What influences the structure of a story? Distance in time and space is key to how ancient authors depict human mobility. The further away the events being described the more likely that myth mixes with history and creates fantastical creatures out of the unknown 'other'. Stories of mass mobility in particular tend to be retrospective, and not told by the movers themselves. Our earliest glimpse of the Italian peninsula in literature is from Homer, who populates its shores with such mythical figures as Circe and the Sirens, enticing unlucky sailors to their deaths.⁸⁵ By the time that Greek historians, such as Hecataeus, Herodotus and Thucydides, show an interest in Italy, they envision its early inhabitants in ethnic terms. The Iapygians, Oenotrians, Ausonians, Chones and Opicians are the 'proto-historic' Italians who become displaced or fuse with incomers to make new groups,⁸⁶ such as the Latins or the Samnites. The ancient authors' choice to use ethnic categories is not impartial. It grew out of a particular historical context in the Peloponnese during the sixth to fifth centuries BC that fixed identity, and with it the concept of Greekness, to ensure that it was differentiated from others in the Mediterranean.⁸⁷ Ethnicity was already

Daunia and Messapia on the Salento peninsula; and ringed around the south coast were the Greek colonies which appeared from the eighth century BC onward.

⁸⁴ Isayev 2007b. Bourdin, in his critical analysis of the literary tradition's use of ethnic identities at the root of regional categorisation, argues that it was probably formulated in a period of intense mobility in the sixth to fifth centuries BC: Bourdin 2012: chapter 7, 519–89.

⁸⁵ Most notably the Sirens off the Campanian coast: Homer, *Odyssey* 12.39ff; 12.200ff; 13.322. Latinus as son of Circe and Odysseus: Hesiod's *Theogony*, 1011–1016. Phillips 1953; Wiseman 2008: chapter 14, 231–42.

⁸⁶ Oenotria: Hecataeus of Miletus, *FGrHist* 1 F 64–71; 89; 160; Herodotus 1.163–67, especially 167. Opici: Thucydides 6.4.5. For the relationship between these 'groups': Antiochus of Syracuse, *FGrHist* 3 F9 (Strabo 6.1.6, 257); F7 (Strabo 5.4.3, 242). For examples of reconciling the different traditions: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.12–13; 1.22; 1.35; 1.73.3–5; Strabo 6.1.4, 254–55; 6.1.6, 257–58; 6.1.15, 265. For a list of names used by ancient authors to refer to protohistoric Italic groups: Bourdin 2012: 73–4, Table 2. On the Opici: Cornell 2004; Cornell 1995: 36–9.

⁸⁷ Purcell 1990: 58; Gosden 2004: 65–6.

an important form of identity in Greece before this period and could serve to articulate the identity of groups that were not territorially coherent.⁸⁸ But it was the Persian Wars that provided the opportunity for it to stabilise and define oneself against an ‘other’ along ethnic lines. Within this society, which perceived itself as made up of separate entities, each bounded and internally homogeneous, Athens can appear more xenophobic than the rest. This is exemplified by its restrictive exclusionary citizenship which was enhanced by its myths of autochthony.⁸⁹ However, even Athens, despite appearing exclusive, was an intensely cosmopolitan community. The majority of its inhabitants were probably foreign, a factor which is usually disregarded by both ancient and modern authors.⁹⁰ Osborne’s studies of conceptions of Greekness demonstrate the extent of interaction with foreigners in day-to-day life, and that ethnicity was not the primary factor in shaping political and cultural identity of the polis.⁹¹ Nevertheless, Classical Greek emphasis on ethnicity has proved tenacious in narrative construction, shaping readings of ancient Italy stretching into the modern day. This mixture of formal restriction and, in practice, cosmopolitanism is revealing, and not an unknown feature of modern cultures, such as the UK.

Early Greek historians’ perspectives had a substantial impact on how the populating of Italy was imagined by later authors. Their influence was particularly poignant as Latin writing took off in the last two centuries BC, when Greek writers and philosophers began to flock to Rome.⁹² Cato’s work written in the early second century BC is interestingly situated. His is our first voice from within as he provides the earliest extant Latin prose dealing specifically with the making of Italy. Although his depiction is more nuanced, as we will see below, he still employs a narrative structure borrowed from his Greek predecessors. Cato conceived of an early Italy inhabited by Aborigines whose lands were taken over by outsiders, and who were still there when the Trojan Aeneas arrived.⁹³ Livy, writing several

⁸⁸ Hall 1997: 67–89. ⁸⁹ For references: Chapter 2, p. 38, note 103.

⁹⁰ The extent of foreigners in Athens: Vlassopoulos 2007a: 225; Adak 2003; Bäßler 1998.

⁹¹ Osborne 2011: chapters 4 – 5; Osborne 2012. His findings suggest that we need to re-think the stereotype of xenophobia conventionally attributed to the Athenians.

⁹² Ogilvie notes that the tradition of such migrating tribes, as that of the Gauls, is founded not on historical fact but on ethnographical rationalisations made particularly by the Greeks in Rome during the second and first centuries BC: Ogilvie [1965] 1978, especially in reference to Livy 5.34 and his description of the migrations of Gallic tribes.

⁹³ References to Cato’s *Origines* are cited using the latest edition: Cornell 2013. Cato *Origines* F49 (= Chassignet 2.49, Peter F39, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.11.1; 1.13.2), for the belief that the Aborigines were Greeks who migrated to Italy before the Trojan Wars; Cato *Origines* F50 (= Chassignet 2.21, Peter F50, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.49.1–5), that the Sabines overran areas inhabited by the Aborigines; Cato *Origines* F24 (= Chassignet 1.5, Peter F7) notes that the

generations later, at the end of the first century BC, also begins his story with the arrival of the Trojans to an Italy already occupied by Aborigines along with Latins and other groups, with few cultural differences between them.⁹⁴

Ethnic rationalisations can be both externally generated and used to suggest internal cohesion. The development and deployment of kinship ties has been explored by Luraghi in his work on the Messenians.⁹⁵ As he suggests, the formation of traits that define Messenian ethnicity, including stories of kinship ties, hostility towards Sparta and a diasporic element with the (re)founding of their homeland, only came into being at some point in the fifth century BC. These were then developed by authors of the Hellenistic period and in the early Empire, most notably Pausanias.⁹⁶ The case of the Messenians exemplifies Morgan's more general point that development of regional identity, and the use of locality as a social identifier, are *subsequent* to the formation of wider political structures and social affiliations.⁹⁷ Along similar lines in the context of Italy, Bourdin observed that military and political accords, such as leagues and alliances, incentivised the construction of ethnic identities. These identities, which were dependent on kinship, were not there *a priori* but were projected into the past to legitimate such coalitions.⁹⁸

Since group cohesion based along lines of descent tends to be retrospective, and placed at some distance in the past, it is not surprising that mobile *ethné* are largely absent from authors' descriptions of their own time and place. Instead, when reflecting on the contemporary world around them, group movements and foundations tend to be described in terms of colonising practices, expulsions, enslavement and conflict-related population redistribution. Those who drive the action are city-states and citizen polities; their groupings are expressed in political terms. Terminology, therefore, becomes important in defining a community's position within the narrative. A group could be made to appear more primitive simply through changing the terms used to describe them, as

territory which the Volsci controlled mainly belonged to the Aborigines; Cato *Origines* F63 (= Chassignet 1.6, Peter F5, Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* 1.6), states that initially Italy was occupied by people named Aborigines, then with Aeneas's arrival these were fused with the Phrygians, and were designated by a single name – the Latins.

For Cato's use of Aborigines: Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 211 and relevant commentary. For discussion on the historicity of a group called the Aborigines: Letta 2008: 173–5.

⁹⁴ Livy 1.2.4–5. A version of the story is also presented by Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.45.2. How these myths reflect the openness of early communities in Italy: Dench 2005: 23.

⁹⁵ Luraghi 2008. ⁹⁶ Luraghi 2008: chapter 6, 167–71 and 339. ⁹⁷ Morgan 2001.

⁹⁸ Bourdin 2012: 277–355, esp. 298.

Livy does in his annals of Rome. For early groups in central Italy he uses the ethnic term *gentes*, which then gives way to the more political designation of them as *populi*, at least from the period of the Second Punic War.⁹⁹ Groups on the fringes, however, such as the Ligurians, continue to be referred to using the more primitive label *gentes*.¹⁰⁰ How groups chose to designate themselves is altogether different. Where evidence exists in the epigraphic record, we know that in the sixth to first centuries BC groups referred to themselves primarily as political entities, such as the *touta/tota* (in Oscan/Umbrian) or *rasna* (in Etruscan).¹⁰¹ These terms are not ethnic labels but are comparable to *res publica*, *civitas*, city or city-state. These designations do not correspond to the image of Italy portrayed in the literary sources as ethnically focused. Instead, they convey the primacy of civic and political concerns for identity construction.

Origins

A primary aim of these diverse narratives is to account for how people and powers came to be where they are. The role and position of the incomer is therefore central to the story. One way of articulating that position is by creating connections through ethnicity, hence, providing some people with a more justifiable reason to occupy a place instead of others. The difference in the treatment of diverse groups of incomers may be expressed in the narrative strategies of the Greek *ktiseis* (stories of city foundations and founders) and *aitia* (stories of origins, causes and cultural practices). Through the framework of myth and kinship they separate those who have a right to be in a place – us – from those who do not – them (such as, for example, the Gauls). As Stephens explains, in reference to Greek settlement around the Mediterranean, ‘... the logic of the *aition* is to connect the new place with Greek myth in a way that serves to efface the native and give the intruding Greek population (or colonizers) continuous claim to the place, to create the illusion in other words not of intrusion, but of return.’¹⁰² Stephens’s interest is how the Ptolemies, in claiming new territories, used similar strategies to reconfigure them imaginatively in

⁹⁹ Bourdin has traced all the uses of these terms in Livy and other authors in his discussion of the way groups were characterised either by ethnic or political terms: Bourdin 2012: chapter 3, ‘Du *Populus* au *Nomen*: autonomie politique et agrégation ethnique’, 174–276, esp. 199–203.

¹⁰⁰ For material from Liguria: Chapter 4, pp. 123–24.

¹⁰¹ Bourdin (2012: 224–76) examines the terminology in the literary record and the epigraphic context.

¹⁰² Stephens 2003: 188. See alongside the discussion of *aitia* in relation to the Argonautika, and its role in the production of space: Thalmann 2011: 39–40.

Greek terms. Latin authors writing at a moment of Rome's rapid rise to power were likely attempting to achieve a similar goal. The founding heroes were Greeks and Trojans who arrived in Italy through divine inspiration to build and propagate. More recent arrivals, most notably under the label of *Galli*, were presented as illegitimate intruders, whose actions were destructive and threatening to the prosperous, urbanised cultures of the Etruscans and the Romans.¹⁰³ But as the material evidence reveals, the Gauls and Celts were hardly second-class incomers to Italy.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, when not tying their stories to Greek myths, the Romans were keen to demonstrate that they and their supporters had a rightful place on the peninsula. Cato does this most explicitly through his work *Origines*, which survives only in fragments. An innovation within the Italian narrative tradition, it incorporated ethno-geographical material and foundation stories of Italic communities into what was most likely an overarching historic narrative of Roman military expansion.¹⁰⁵

Cato's *Origines* is our earliest Latin work to employ aspects of this Hellenistic narrative framework to unpick the multiple stories of Italy's politics.¹⁰⁶ It was an Italy that was not yet a political or a symbolic entity but rather a *terra Italia*,¹⁰⁷ housing the cities and towns which were founded, lost and fought over by different mobile groups. In the *Origines* it is not presented as a product of Roman endeavour, but an Italy that pre-existed and was independent of Rome – an Italy that was a changing historical and cultural construction.¹⁰⁸ It remains uncertain whether part of Cato's aim in shaping his narrative as he did, through a story of ethnogenesis centred on the Sabines, was to support a Romano-Italic unity.¹⁰⁹ Cornell, in his discussion of how the *Origines* were organised,

¹⁰³ See [Chapter 8](#), and Williams 2011: 77–8. Focusing more specifically on Etruscans, Ligurians, Venetians and Lucanians, Henning (2010) has shown how ancient authors' assessment of migrations of Italic populations is dependent on the political environment in which they were writing.

¹⁰⁴ See [Chapter 4](#).

¹⁰⁵ For the structure and content of the *Origines*: Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 195–217. For the context of its creation in the 160s BC: Feeney 2016, 177.

¹⁰⁶ Cornell questions the extent to which Hellenistic foundation literature – κτισαίς – was a direct model for Cato's *Origines*, as it comprised poetry, antiquarianism and romantic fiction, but not history: Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 209.

¹⁰⁷ For the conception of *Italia*: Chapter 9, pp. 324–25.

¹⁰⁸ Cato's perception of Italy as a historical unity: Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 211–12; Williams 2001: 134; Bispham 2007a: 58–9.

¹⁰⁹ Cato's *Origines* as an expression of this will for a Romano-Italic unity: Cornell 2013; Letta 2008: 191; Sherwin-White 1973: 138. Jefferson (2012) argues that we need to see the *Origines* as written not simply for a Roman but an Italian audience, particularly those elites allied to Rome.

raises the important question of whether Cato even counted Rome as part of Italy.¹¹⁰ There is no doubt that Cato's outlook was from its physical and authoritative centre in Rome, and that he focused on areas that were most familiar to him, such as that of the ancient Sabines. But what is most prominent within Cato's text is not so much the *ethné*, of the kind exemplified in his depiction of the Sabines,¹¹¹ but the way sites, such as Pisa, Falerii, Tibur or Petelia, came into existence.¹¹² In describing Pisa, for example, Cato seems unsure who held Pisa prior to the arrival of the Etruscans, but notes that it had previously belonged to the Greek-speaking Teutones, and was later founded by Tarchon son of Tyrrhenus.¹¹³ Places in the *Origines* were the result of power-sharing between groups and individuals, some of whom arrived from outside the peninsula and others who were already there, such as the Aborigines.¹¹⁴ Within his narrative there is an apparent paradox: an assumption of the persistence of ethnic groups but one which is scored through with communities that were mixed from their inception.¹¹⁵ It is a paradox that is also apparent in the multiple storylines of Rome's foundation,¹¹⁶ of which only traces remain in Cato's surviving fragments.¹¹⁷

Rome's beginnings, whether spurred on by Romulus or Aeneas, are presented as an amalgam of small-scale enterprises and the gathering of people from all over to fuel its growth and development. It is portrayed as open to outsiders and dependent on them to help create the city that will

¹¹⁰ Cornell suggests that Cato's *Origines* had the study of Rome's wars at its centre, which affected its structure, so that the narrative was grouped around successive conflicts: Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 204–5, 213.

¹¹¹ Cato *Origines* F50 (= Chassignet 2.21, Peter F50, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.49.1–5).

¹¹² Cato *Origines*, Pisa F70 (= Chassignet 2.15, Peter F45); Falerii (cited as *colonia Falisca*), settled by the Argives, F53 (= Chassignet 2.18, Peter F47); Tibur founded by an Arcadian, F61 (= Chassignet 2.26, Peter F56); Petelia, founded prior to Philoctetes arrival, F64 (= Chassignet 3.3, Peter F70).

¹¹³ Cato *Origines*, F70 (= Chassignet 2.15, Peter F45), with commentary and conflicting versions: Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 117–18.

¹¹⁴ Cato *Origines*, F24 (= Chassignet 1.5, Peter F7); F63 (= Chassignet 1.6, Peter F5; Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* 1.6).

¹¹⁵ The way that this is played out in such episodes as the rape of the Sabines is discussed by: Connolly 2007: 81.

¹¹⁶ For which see: Momigliano and Schiavone 1988; Cornell 1995; Giardina 2004; Dench 2005; Wiseman 2008.

¹¹⁷ The story of Aeneas's coming to Italy, Cato *Origines* F4 – F13 (= Chassignet 1.7–14, Peter F4, 8–13, 17), is better preserved than that of Romulus and Remus: F14 (= Chassignet 1.16, Peter F15; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.75.4 – 1.84.1). It is unclear how much of the section on Romulus and Remus recorded by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (primarily ascribed to Fabius Pictor F4 (= Chassignet F7, Peter F5)) was also used by Cato, who is listed as one of those who follows Fabius's narrative: Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 15–21, 73.

lead an Empire.¹¹⁸ The story of a city which relied on migrants fits comfortably into Mediterranean narratives of ethnogenesis that often feature the arrival of individuals and groups from elsewhere.¹¹⁹ Dench's *Romulus' Asylum* outlines the way historians progressively built ethnic dynamics into topographically specific stories of origin.¹²⁰ In so doing they developed an increasingly symbolic shared past predicated on a collective centre. Rome's openness was a construct, in much the same way as its opposite autochthony. Either could be used strategically, when need be, and enhanced through positing or severing kinship ties.

Polybius on Kinship and Eclectic Beginnings

Sorting out who is whose kin is a particular kind of narrative structure, which could be deployed as a potent political tool, used by states and individuals to gain favourable outcomes in their inter-community negotiations.¹²¹ For Rome, the tool was most effective it seems between the third and first centuries BC, the period when there is a significant concentration of attestations of inter-state *syngeneia*, or what Romans would have referred to as *cognatio* (kinship).¹²² In order for it to be effective, it was in the interest of all parties concerned to promote widespread knowledge of early primordial links, but also to ensure that certain versions were privileged over others. We know that this was the case through such critics as Polybius, who was sceptical of any community claiming kinship, precisely because of the volatile nature of such histories, and the questionable homogeneity of any ethnic group. Kinship is a powerful mechanism and also adaptable to any community because it is not culture-specific. Pagel, in his controversial work *Wired for Culture*, argues that we have an innate propensity to contribute and conform to the culture of our birth. Kinship may be seen as a form of what he defines as cultural altruism, where we extend emotions to those from our society, whether they are related by blood or not, as if to our kin.¹²³ The strength of these emotions, whether innate, as argued by Pagel, or not, allows for the persistence of kinship narratives and their ability to direct action. It is

¹¹⁸ The attempt, especially by Dionysius, to make Rome appear as an 'open city', welcoming of strangers: Dench 2005: 23. For the context of the formation of the tradition of early Rome: Wiseman 2008: 233.

¹¹⁹ Wilson (2006: 28) outlines the way that Greeks perceived their past as marked by continuous series of population movements.

¹²⁰ Dench 2005.

¹²¹ For an overview of kinship diplomacy in the Ancient Mediterranean: Jones C. P. 1999.

¹²² Battistoni 2009: 77. ¹²³ Pagel 2012: 203–4.

partly for this reason that kinship episodes are of particular interest to Polybius. He accepted that humans will behave more altruistically to kin and that groups will take advantage of this by fabricating kinship ties and claiming ethnic unity. Logically, therefore, we would expect that recognising the fabricated nature of such ties would weaken their power. But, evidently, it does not. For Polybius, exposing the ephemeral nature of kinship ties is one way of trying to make sense of the multiplicity of stories that surround the formation of any community. Through his attempts to bring some order to the messiness, we are afforded an alternative perspective, presented in a critical dialogue with his predecessor Timaeus, whose equally futile effort to offer the 'right' narrative produces quite different results. Unlike Cato, who is likely to have drawn on Timaeus's work for his *Origines*,¹²⁴ Polybius is less interested in questioning specific kinship narratives for their own sake. Rather, his studies of them undermine their reliability altogether, as we will see next. His views will come under scrutiny more intensely in the [third part](#) of the book.

Historic migratory trends have little interest for Polybius in themselves. To provide depth to his narrative he prefers to fill it out with geographic information, as most readily demonstrated in his description of Byzantium (4.38–52). The city's topographic position, and especially its situation between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, is what defines its history. Its location is the cause of the conflict with Rhodes, which is the main focus of his account. The few instances where Polybius does refer to early migratory episodes, particularly those of the Po Valley, Sicily and Ilium, form part of a critical commentary on the fabrication of kinship stories and their use for political and diplomatic ends. By his time, the mechanisms and tactics of such cultural politics were highly developed.¹²⁵ His criticism of kinship narratives, therefore, may have been a reaction to their proliferation or the shift of their epicentre Westwards. By the second century BC, it was no longer the Hellenes who offered the most sought-after kinship. What mattered was finding a link to the Trojan migrants who made up the motley crew of early Rome. It is not surprising that by this period Rome received such claims of kinship from others more often than it proposed them.¹²⁶

Unlike other writers he mentions, such as Eudoxes, Ephorus and Timaeus, Polybius is not eager to find primordial biological links between communities and how these were spread through mobility. In his critical comment on those narratives that do, he even challenges Rome's links with Troy, and takes the opportunity to expose Timaeus as an untrustworthy

¹²⁴ Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 208–9.

¹²⁵ Champion 2004a: 47–8, 200.

¹²⁶ Battistoni 2009: 76.

historian.¹²⁷ Polybius is scathing of his predecessor's suggestion that the Roman ritual of sacrificing the October Horse in the Campus Martius is a remembrance of the capture of Troy, implying their descent from the Trojans (12.4b).¹²⁸ By such logic, Polybius insists, we would have to say that all barbarian tribes were descendants of the Trojans, since the majority of them also perform horse sacrifices in association with battles. If Polybius was being provocative with this double-edged comment that not only challenged one of the main origin myths of the Romans, but also implied they were barbarians, it appears not to have bothered him. Whatever his own views, as to whether the Romans were the descendants of Trojan refugees or not, his interest in the story was to highlight the fickleness of kinship claims, and challenge those who believed them.

Later Polybius resumes this Trojan strand. Reflecting on the dispute between Lycians and Rhodians in 188–186 BC (22.5), he provides another example of the way in which the dubious Romano-Trojan kinship ties were employed for political ends by the people of Ilium, the inhabitants of the alleged site of Troy itself.¹²⁹ Envoys from Ilium had appealed to the Roman commissioners, who were arbitrating between Lycians and Rhodians, that for the sake of the kinship between Ilium and Rome the offences of the Lycians might be pardoned (22.5.3). Rome's response exemplifies the lack of any clear policy as to what those with kinship claims had a right to. At first Rome appears to have consented to this diplomatic appeal by not taking harsh measures against the Lycians. However, the tactics of the envoys from Ilium soon backfired, as Rome proceeded also to appease Rhodes by assigning Lycia to them as a gift. But this was not the end of the affair. After ongoing Lycian complaints, the decision was reassessed again, this time with a less positive outcome for Rhodes (25.4.5).¹³⁰ This story may be read in two ways. First, even the Romans were not quite convinced of, or at least were

¹²⁷ The account forms part of his twelfth book, much of which is dedicated to slating Timaeus. On Timaeus as a historian: Baron 2013; Pearson 1987; Momigliano 1977; with discussion by Walbank 2002: chapter 11, 165–77. Polybius's hostility towards Timaeus: Walbank 1962: 10–11; Baron 2013: chapters 3 and 4.

¹²⁸ Polybius's perception of Timaeus as an 'armchair' historian with little knowledge of the real world, and Polybius's questioning of the Hellenism of the Romans: Walbank 1962: 8; Champion 2004a: 199.

¹²⁹ For the role and meaning of Troy within Greco-Roman relations: Erskine 2001; Elwyn 1993: 273–4. For examples of communities using Roman links with Troy to their own advantage: Battistoni 2009; Gordon and Reynolds 2003: 222–3. The inscription from Lampsakos demonstrates the way that an embassy to Rome used its connection to Ilium and kinship in diplomatic negotiations. For the text: Frisch 1978: no. 4. For an English translation and references: Bagnall and Derow 2004: no. 35; Sherck 1984: no. 5. See also Chapter 7, p. 249.

¹³⁰ On the events: Walbank [1979] 1999: 182–4.

not very precious about, their alleged Trojan origins. After all, the appearance of such kinship ties in inter-state relations, which were most likely adapting a Greek practice, may only have started to be used by Rome in the early second century BC.¹³¹ Second, whether they believed the Trojan link or not, the Romans were not about to make concessions on the basis of it. In either case, it puts Polybius's criticism of Timaeus and the October Horse story into a different light. Rather than simply being a contentious statement, he may have been voicing diverging opinions prevalent in Rome itself, in an atmosphere rife with kinship claims, which some may have found amusing. Even Italian communities, such as Patavium in North Italy, appropriated the Trojan myth to align themselves with Rome.¹³²

Small-Group Enterprise and the Legend of Demaratus

People as individuals tend to get lost in narratives centred on the geo-politics of kinship and ethnicity. They are more visible in stories of small-group encounters. These provide an alternative account of how early Rome and Italy were shaped by the circulation of people, goods and ideas. They demonstrate the transformative effect of cumulative small enterprises, and show how communities were established piecemeal by unpredictable and divergent forces. The tale of Demaratus is one imagining of such an enterprise. According to tradition, sometime in the eighth or seventh century BC, one of the many boats winding its way around the Mediterranean carried Demaratus and his band of followers from Corinth to the shores of Italy.¹³³ On his journey, he brought the craftsmen Eucheir, Diopus and Eugrammus, and with them the arts of clay moulding.¹³⁴ Hospitality greeted them just inland from the Tyrrhenian coast at the wealthy Etruscan town of Tarquinii. There, inspired by the warm welcome, if not the commercial potential, they chose to remain, and Demaratus married a local girl, with a startling outcome. Stories differ about this enigmatic Corinthian and his voyage. Some only mention him in passing.¹³⁵ Others depict him as a successful merchant

¹³¹ Elwyn 1993: 281–4.

¹³² Livy 1.1.1: Leigh 1998. Roman origin myths: Dench 2005. For the late Republican formation of the tradition in association with Rome: Wiseman 2004: 16–21.

¹³³ Recounted by Livy 1.34–35; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46–49; Strabo 5.2.2; Polybius 6.11a.7; Pliny 35.43.152. For Demaratus: Cornell 1995: 122–30; Walbank [1970] 1999: 672–3; Pauly (online): 'Demaratus'.

¹³⁴ Pliny 35.43.152: *comitatos fictores Euehira, Diopum, Eugrammum ab iis Italiae traditam plasticen*

¹³⁵ Polybius 6.11a.7; Livy 1.34–35; Strabo 5.2.2.

when the tyrant Kypselos took power in 657 BC, and place him as a member of the powerful Bacchiad family in the midst of political turmoil in Corinth.¹³⁶

Was exile the reason that Demaratus and his followers were on the seas, escaping from tyranny, and on the lookout for a new home?¹³⁷ Was he seeking new mercantile hubs, with his craftsmen, know-how and sought-after elite connections?¹³⁸ Were they one of the channels through which new ideas and technologies filtered into and out of Etruria – a powerhouse of the Western Mediterranean at the time?¹³⁹ Did they end up in Tarquinii because it was already known as a vibrant, welcoming and well-connected node, offering the prospect of success to the talented and energetic?¹⁴⁰ All these feature in the wider narrative of the Demaratus legend, embellished in the last centuries of the Republic. But it is not these colourful strands that inspired the storytellers. There is another reason authors tell us about this band of travellers pausing in Italy. According to legend, Lucumo, the offspring of Demaratus and his Etruscan bride, became the king of Rome.¹⁴¹ This he managed with the assistance of his Tarquinian wife Tanaquil. Under his new name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, he became the first of a Tarquin dynasty that ruled Rome until their expulsion in 509 BC.

The legend of Demaratus is unlikely to be historical in its detail as it was probably formed in the third century BC, several hundred years after the events it describes. Its value is rather in the nature of the mobility and interaction it depicts for this early period, which is further supported by other evidence. It also highlights particularly well how the authors' contemporary world outlook intertwines with history. At times, historical elements can be distinguished as such and built upon with the help of archaeology. Material culture from Iron Age and Archaic Italy shows substantial contact and trade between Corinth and Etruria, with links extending

¹³⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46–49.

¹³⁷ As re-told by Livy 1.34–35, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46.

¹³⁸ Allusions to which are made by Strabo 5.2.2 and more directly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46.

¹³⁹ Demaratus as bringer of culture and technology into Italy; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 35.152; Tacitus *Ann.* 11, 14; Cicero *Rep.* 2.34, with Riva 2010a: 69–70; Riva 2010b.

¹⁴⁰ This is most directly suggested by Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.46.

¹⁴¹ There is debate about most aspects of this story, and whether there is any truth to the kinship of these characters. For the contradictory narratives: Cornell 1995: 122–30, 139, 156–8; Zevi 1995; Forsythe: 97–103; Bradley (forthcoming); Della Fina 2010; Wiseman 2008: 151–3, 292–3.

Livy's narrative 1.34 and that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.47, focus on the foreignness of the new king, which echoes the 'New Man' context of their contemporary Rome, rather than any historical realities of the attitudes in Archaic Italy. Dionysius's narrative of Rome as an 'open city': Dench 2005; MacMullen 2011: 22–4.

through Campania and Latium.¹⁴² From the archaeological remains we know that Tarquinii, his new home, was one of the most dynamic centres in the region with wide reaching influence over surrounding sites.¹⁴³ At the root of Demaratus's successful transfer to a new community are networks of elites, bands, merchants and craftsmen, who sustained and animated the inter-connectivity of the Mediterranean. As such it allows us (or indeed the ancients) to imagine scenarios for such interactions and their outcomes, providing an alternative to those which envisage Italy created through ethnic diffusion and conflict.

Distant Friends and Shared Culture

Why should the legend of Demaratus fuel the *historical* imagination? By the first millennium BC, with developments in travel technology outlined at the start of this chapter, motivated individuals who chose to seek opportunities away from home were not heading into the unknown. Within the perimeters of the Mediterranean, at least, they had good knowledge of the socio-economic potential and cultural routeways. For the elite, in particular, our sources portray a fluid society in which inclusion depended on status and reciprocity more than origin. Entrepreneurs may have been enticed by ambitious communities such as Tarquinii, striving to make themselves attractive to those who could enhance knowledge, contacts and access to resources.¹⁴⁴ In the Archaic period, a merchant from Tarquinii in Etruria probably had more in common with another such trader from Carthage, Corinth or Massalia than with one living in the region of Messapia in the heel of Italy. There was more chance that the two Italians would meet at a festival abroad, at a port at one of the trading hubs such as Corinth or Pithekoussai, on a boat captured by pirates or as part of a mixed mercenary force fighting under a Punic or a Greek general, than on the peninsula itself. It is also plausible that they may find it as easy to communicate with each other in Punic or Greek as in one of at least a dozen Italic languages.¹⁴⁵ That does not mean that there were no common

¹⁴² Cornell 1995: 124–6; Osborne 2004: 23–5. For Etruscan connectivity: Camporeale [2001] 2004. For epigraphic evidence of foreigners: Chapter 4, pp. 118–20.

¹⁴³ For Tarquinii's expansion into surrounding territory: Bourdin 2012: 485–99.

¹⁴⁴ Oliver notes a similar phenomenon in his discussion of mobility and elite networks of the Hellenistic world; he demonstrates the way certain cities encouraged desirable incomers to stop and settle there by easing their entry into the local elite, through citizenship and other incentives: Oliver 2011: 358–63.

¹⁴⁵ For a critical analysis of multiple language use and survival in Italy before empire: Adams 2003; Langslow 2012; Feeney 2016. By the fourth century BC Latin would have overtaken other

socio-political worries, interest in economic opportunities or shared modes of cultural expression along the length of Italy. Rather, such ties were not necessarily stronger simply because those who were bound by them shared the peninsula as their home.

A shared cultural language and rules of engagement spanned the Mediterranean. Elite burials of both men and women in Italy often have material remains of banqueting and commensality, practices that would have been crucial to maintaining these ties. We have already noted these at Matelica, where tombs were filled with dining equipment showing links with Tyrrhenian, Adriatic and Euboean practices.¹⁴⁶ Scenes of such activities as banqueting, games and processions are displayed on tomb paintings and depicted on vessels such as the bronze *situlae* from the Northern regions of the peninsula.¹⁴⁷ They represent an elite culture not dissimilar to that of the Homeric world, into which they could be easily placed, and perhaps to which they, along with their other Mediterranean counterparts, aspired.¹⁴⁸

Friendships underpinned personal elite networks that operated in a domain outside of any community organisation. Traces of these are recognisable through the institution of guest-friendship and gift-exchange that pervade Homer's epic tales.¹⁴⁹ They were embodied in such objects as the *tessera hospitalis*,¹⁵⁰ a record of mutual friendship that acted as a binding contract extending over geographic distances and generations. The object itself could be in a myriad of shapes and designs, a boar or a lion for example, and made out of a variety of materials, including ivory and metal. It consisted of two parts; each was kept by the parties whose names it recorded. We know how the object was used partly because Hanno the Carthaginian, a character in Plautus's play *Poenulus* (1047–55), carries one with him.¹⁵¹ As he arrives in Calydon, in Northern Greece, he presents it as proof of identity to the young son of his now dead friend Agorastocles. The youth goes to retrieve his father's matching half of the *tessera* as a sign of the bond they once had, and which the heir would honour. We are also fortunate to have surviving examples of such *tesserae* from Italy and from other parts of the

languages as the Italian commercial language of choice, as indicated by such inscriptions as the bilingual Latin–Greek dedication from Lindos (300–250 BC): *ILLRP* 245 = *CIL* I².404. Palmer 1997: 51.

¹⁴⁶ Riva 2007: 99. ¹⁴⁷ Frey 1986; Lomas 2007: 33.

¹⁴⁸ The world they aspired to is reconstructed by: Malkin 1998; Malkin 2002.

¹⁴⁹ One of the earliest recorded examples of such guest-friendship and gift-giving: Homer, *Iliad* 23.741–52. The importance of such networks for the circulation of knowledge: Riva 2010a: 69–70; Sommer 2009.

¹⁵⁰ For example, the breaking of a *tessera* is used metaphorically to mean the breaking of a friendship or withdrawal of hospitality in Plautus's *Cistellaria* 503.

¹⁵¹ On *Poenulus*, Chapter 6, pp. 200–10.

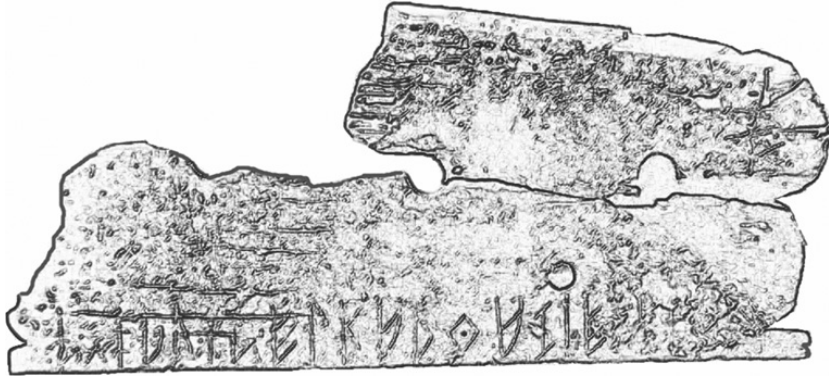


Fig. 4a Ivory Boar of the sixth century BC from a necropolis near ancient Carthage, side B with Etruscan inscription.

Schematic drawing by Antonio Montesanti after Peruzzi 1970: Tav. I and Tav. II.

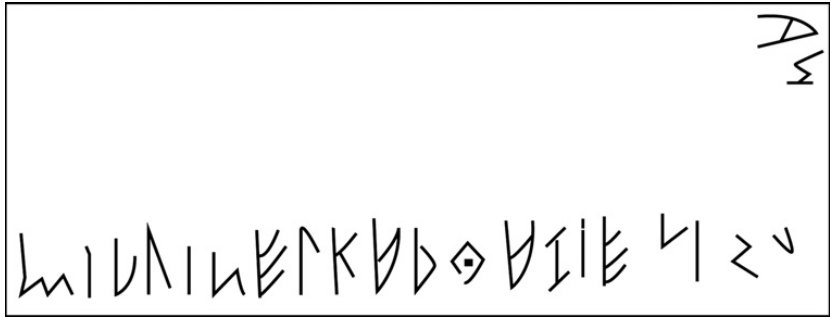


Fig. 4b Ivory Boar of the sixth century BC from a necropolis near ancient Carthage, side B, with close up of inscription in Etruscan: *Mi puinel karthazie els q[-]na* (I (am) Puinel from Carthage ...)

Schematic drawing by Antonio Montesanti after Peruzzi 1970: Tav. I and Tav. II.

Mediterranean, attesting to links with individuals of Italic background.¹⁵² One half of such an ivory plaque in the shape of a boar, dating to the sixth century BC, was found at a cemetery in Carthage. Its inscription in Etruscan reads: *Mi puinel karthazie els q[-]na* (I (am) Puinel from Carthage ...) (Fig. 4).¹⁵³ It is a testament to a bond between a Carthaginian and an Etruscan-speaking guest-friend, or, if Puinel is an Etruscan name, the presence of an Etruscan in Carthage who had friendship ties. These objects would have formed part of a wider system of private contracts, obligations and hospitality. This is not to say that hospitality waited at every port,

¹⁵² Arnott 2004: 82; Cristofani 1990: 21 no. 1.6, pl. 1; Turfa and Steinmayer 2002: 21.

¹⁵³ Messineo 1983; Rix 1991: Af 3.1; Acquaro 1988; Prag 2006: 8–10. See also Chapter 6, pp. 210–11.

and that every newcomer was a Demaratus. Rather, it is because of the dangers of the unknown and the potential for hostile encounters that individual ties were of such great importance. They allowed one to navigate to safety, and for the host to open his home to those who could be trusted, and for the newcomer to seize his, or her, opportunities.

The story of Demaratus and his Tarquinian hosts fits a model of interlinked aristocratic factions that is particularly well-documented in periods of history beyond the ancient Mediterranean.¹⁵⁴ It is comparable to the model formulated for the Medieval period of ‘aristocratic diasporas’, that depended on similar mechanisms, not least guest-friendship.¹⁵⁵ Blood-ties were of little concern when elites could better protect the interests of their social group and control the resource base through creating or joining overarching networks.¹⁵⁶ Purcell puts this control more starkly by stating that the reality is of leaders who consume their people: ‘Productive choice, accumulation, disbursement, processing, exchange and mobility all sustain elite power ... Storage means Mycenaean palaces and Medieval monastic granges; mobility means slavery, forced depopulation and exploitative resettlement; redistribution means piracy, tribute and war.’¹⁵⁷ Despite the power of the elites to control their human resource, they were vulnerable and needed the collusion of followers and other social groups to be successful. Enticement, offering opportunities, perhaps even enfranchisement,¹⁵⁸ could be more effective and less costly than sustained repression.

The elite class, in whatever static and primordial clan-like form it may have presented itself, was both vulnerable and highly innovative. It may have been less fastidious about the ‘origins’ of the people it depended on for its success than we have been led to believe. Smith has recently argued that even the presumed stable entity of the *gens* (familial unit) needs to be reconsidered in light of the mortuary evidence from Etruria and Latium.¹⁵⁹ It shows continuing change and reflects a society that was neither uniform nor fixed, and to call this central Italic society ‘gentilicial’ would be dangerous.¹⁶⁰ Outsiders were mythologised not only as heads of

¹⁵⁴ Terrenato 2011; Terrenato 2005. For models beyond the Mediterranean: Gosden 2004.

¹⁵⁵ The relevance of such ‘aristocratic diasporas’ for thinking about the Classical Mediterranean is suggested by Purcell 2005a, with reference to such key works as: Bartlett 1989.

¹⁵⁶ The extent of such networks: Horden and Purcell 2000: 377–89. Terrenato (2005: 66) points to the incorporation of Roman and non-Roman aristocratic families, building on a tradition of intense political interaction, to develop a new and stronger political network.

¹⁵⁷ Purcell 2005a: 116–17. ¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 5.

¹⁵⁹ For a fuller definition: Smith 2007a: 13 and *passim*. ¹⁶⁰ Smith 2007a: 146–64.

state, as in the case of the Tarquin dynasty in Rome, but leaders of armies even against their mother-cities. The story of Coriolanus exemplifies the potency of horizontal social mobility, and perhaps its risks.¹⁶¹ Coriolanus withdrew from Rome with his followers and went to live among the Volsci in the fifth century BC. Once he was accepted as a guest-friend he used that position to plan an attack against Rome – his first home.

Key to the success of both Demaratus and Coriolanus were not only their links with the powerful, but also their followers. We rarely know the background of these followers but evidence for the bands of men who gathered around a leading figure, either through ties of reciprocity, military duty or kinship, does appear in Italy. Such fellowships may be expressed through a number of institutions, including the *sodalitates* – perhaps simply a group of companions, such as those who raised a monument to their leader Poplios Valesios;¹⁶² the *vereia* – which may have common roots with the latter and also the mercenariat;¹⁶³ and clan structures, as depicted in the legend of the Fabii.¹⁶⁴ Bourdin suggests that the prominence of these institutions indicates a pre-civic society in which such groups had the power to effect change.¹⁶⁵ They were not static or necessarily tied to a specific place, or defined by ethnicity, but mobile and on the lookout for opportunities to enhance their wealth and power.

The Direction of Cultural Change and Innovation

Increasingly, scholars stress the creation of mass interconnected networks through small-scale enterprises, for example by highlighting the importance of *cabotage* or tramp shipping.¹⁶⁶ These engendered dynamism and development through participation in knowledge and resource

¹⁶¹ Coriolanus story: Livy 2.33.4. Cornell 2003. The openness of cities to social mobility and external influence: Ampolo 1970–71. A similar story but of movement to Rome is that of Clausus, who fled with his supporters from Sabine Regillum to Rome in 504 BC: Livy 2.16.3.

¹⁶² Poplios Valesios (possibly the figure of Publius Valerius who appears in narratives of early Rome), is cited in a dedication to Mars by his *suodales*, on an inscription known as the Lapis Satricanus, found in Satricum, South Latium, dated c. 500 BC: *CIL* I² 2832a; Stibbe 1980. As Bradley (2006: 164–5) stresses, the importance of this text is that members of ‘the group define themselves in terms of their relationship with a leader figure rather than membership of a state.’ See also Chapter 9, pp. 340–41.

¹⁶³ Tagliamonte 1994: 118, 167; Bourdin 2012: 267–9, 563. ¹⁶⁴ Smith 2007a: 146–64.

¹⁶⁵ Bourdin 2012: 550.

¹⁶⁶ Morris 2005: 38; Horden and Purcell 2000: 140; Purcell 1990b: 40; Cristofani 1996; Giardino 1995; Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009. Stressing that by the Hellenistic period such coastal trade was overtaken by open-sea direct trading: Arnaud 2011; Wilson 2011b.

exchange that are evident in the archaeological remains.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, findings from numerous investigations suggest that long distance and prolonged mobility was far more prevalent than generally thought and that 'bounded cultures and well-defined populations with readily distinct identities may have been far less common than usually assumed'.¹⁶⁸ In light of this, one of the challenges is to understand the way in which external contact was a stimulus for societal change. Could mobility of the kind represented by the story of Demaratus be the catalyst for major socio-political transformations in Italian communities? Or are such encounters possible because a transformative environment already exists, where opportunities for connectivity and innovation are embedded, searched for and seized?

Part of the Demaratus legend concerns innovation, growth and competition through encounter. It focuses on know-how rather than goods as the vital import. Demaratus's arrival into Italy with his Corinthian craftsmen positions him as the bringer of new technologies from the East. This Eastern influence is continued through the story of Demaratus's offspring Lucumo. On becoming Lucius Tarquinius Priscus – the king of Rome – his son helped to increase the city's grandeur to match the ambitions of the city's elite. Some of the most prominent architectural embellishments in Archaic Rome are attributed to Lucius's reign and his background, which was associated with attracting the finest craftsmen.¹⁶⁹ Modern-day head-hunters could not have done a better job in finding a leader for an emerging aristocracy keen to have Rome as a major base of operations to take on its competitors. Lucius had the right profile, especially through his Etrusco-Corinthian ancestral connections and expertise. Such a union, as we know from other evidence in the eighth to sixth centuries BC, would have embodied

¹⁶⁷ The way such networks functioned has been demonstrated by numerous studies, and especially: Horden and Purcell 2000; with Harris 2005; and through case studies collected by: Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009; Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010a; Malkin 2011.

¹⁶⁸ Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010b: 1. The slow move towards acceptance of high levels of mobility by scholars: Purcell 2004: 1, note 3.

¹⁶⁹ Strabo (5.2.2), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3. 67–69) and Valerius Maximus (3.4.2) attribute various building projects and cultural institutions to Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. More generally in reference to Demaratus and his entourage bringing culture into Italy from the East: Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 35.152; Tacitus *Ann.* 11, 14; Cicero *De Rep.* 2.34. Wiseman suggests that in the seventh century BC two Corinthian cults, designed to bring in visitors from far afield, were established in the valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills, namely Poseidon/Consus and Aphrodite/Fortuna: Wiseman 2008: 153.

some of the most influential and economically shrewd operators in the Mediterranean based in Corinth and Etruria.

But this is where the Demaratus legend has its limits historically. To what extent we can assign innovation directly to external and especially Greek influence is debatable. As we saw above, the Eastern perspective highlighted the relative newness of Italy, and by implication a Westward direction to any progress, cultural development and innovation, with its origin in the East. Such a perspective is unsurprising, especially among Greek authors, who as outsiders focused on arrivals to Italy and an Eastern movement of culture and people. But it was also typical of later authors such as Varro to attribute artistic knowledge, skills and scientific or technological innovation to the Greeks, and inadvertently diminish local initiative.¹⁷⁰ However, if we consider material remains, such as terracotta mouldings and building decoration, for which Etruscan cities were renowned, Riva points out that these were prevalent in Etruria well before the Greeks developed roof tiles, and there is nothing ‘Greek’ about them (Fig. 5, Plate 2).¹⁷¹ This is not to negate the presence of craftsmen from abroad. Potters, especially from Greek workshops, are known to have operated across the breadth of Italy.¹⁷² Rather, it is to stress that knowledge-exchange travelled in both directions. The story of the Corinthians bringing their crafts with them was one way that ancient authors understood and explained past advances.¹⁷³ Inadvertently, these authors incorporated elements from their contemporary environment. The Italy of the last three centuries BC, the period when the Demaratus story took form, was a magnet for Hellenistic culture. For those who embellished it, the narrative of intercultural encounters allowed them to weave Roman beginnings into the fabric of well-known Mediterranean myths and histories that were prominent at the time.

The focus here has been on the legend of Demaratus, but journeys to Italy of other characters would also be telling, not least that of Aeneas. These stories reveal the multiple origins that Rome’s own myth-history is concerned with, which incorporates seemingly contradictory narratives. On the one hand, the early foundation of Rome is depicted as a refuge for migrants of different backgrounds; on the other hand, there is a desire for

¹⁷⁰ Varro *RR* 3.1.1 ¹⁷¹ Riva 2010a: 69–70.

¹⁷² Evidence for foreigners working around Italy, particularly Greek potters: Wiseman 2008; Forsythe 2005: 43; Gaultier 2000; Harari 2000; 1988, Colonna 1988; De la Genière 2006; Zevi 1969–70.

¹⁷³ For the chronological difficulties and historiography of the tradition: Cornell 1995: 122–30, 156–8; Zevi 1995; Izzet 2007: 221; Wiseman 2008: 151–3, 292–3. Earlier key studies include Musti 1987; Ridgway and Ridgway 1994.



Fig. 5 Terracotta Antefix from Veii temple Apollo, Portonaccio Sanctuary c. 500 BC. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

clear ethnic lineages that intertwined with the one from Troy.¹⁷⁴ This was at odds with the reality of cosmopolitan communities of the kind that Demaratus is to have sailed into, the evidence for which persists throughout the centuries.¹⁷⁵ Mobility, by creating distance in space and time, allows for the proliferation of false linkages. At the same time, these perceived linkages strengthen and expand the network along which people, goods and ideas travel. As the following chapters will show, settlements, particularly in early Italy, rarely came into being through single events, nor were their populations homogenous. They were the result of multiple convergences and numerous small-scale enterprises that are rarely accommodated in a single, tidy narrative.

¹⁷⁴ Dench (2005) explores this in great detail.

¹⁷⁵ Italy as a geographic unity: Polybius 2.14.7. On the lack of Polybius's distinction between Roman and non-Roman Italy: Bispham 2007a: 114–15. See also Chapter 7, pp. 237–38.

4 | Mixed Communities: Mobility, Connectivity and Co-Presence

However the story is told, most communities have mixed populations, both at the time of formation and throughout their existence. They are products of diverse mobilities, which ancient authors embellished in their narratives, either celebrating or suppressing the variety of origins. Within the settlements what stands out is heterogeneity, visible in the co-presence of material objects of diverse cultural backgrounds. This co-presence is a testament to the links between different people and places. By tracking the diffusion of objects, technologies, structures and forms of settlement, archaeologists have been able to map the socio-cultural effects of inter-connectivity. They have revealed the extensive networks that crossed the Mediterranean, connecting far-flung communities and individuals. However, as a tool for demonstrating resettlement or migration of people, material culture proves to be more elusive and can be misleading if used without caution.¹ For example, the flawed supposition of some earlier twentieth-century studies equated the spread of a particular material culture with the domination of an area by a specific ethnic group.² The so-called Villanovans are one example of a ‘people’ in Etruria named after a type of material culture. But pots are not people, and the dispersal of Villanovan pottery does not necessarily mean the spread of Etruscan people any more than the appearance of La Tène objects evidences the incursion of the Celts. To take a more recent example, the proliferation of Chinese porcelain in Early Modern Europe (although a small portion of overall ceramics) was not the result of an influx of people from China, but a vogue for the fashionable connoisseur.³ However, a new cultural trend

¹ This is demonstrated by the case studies in: Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010a; especially in the study of Sardinia during the Carthaginian and Roman periods, outlining the complexity of understanding the meaning of objects in the context of colonisation: Van Dommelen 2002.

² The roots of identifying ancient peoples through material remains lie in the theory of culture-historical archaeology developed by Childe and Kossinna in the early twentieth century. Subsequently, Kossinna’s ideas were heavily used by the Nazi regime, and Childe, who deeply regretted the racial implications of the research, eventually replaced the term ‘race’ with that of ‘people’ but without abandoning the notion of cultural units. Childe 1929; Kossinna 1911. For discussion: Jones 1997: 15–18; Rowlands 1994.

³ For the way in which Early Modern Europe appropriated *china* in constructing its self-image: Pitts (forthcoming).

must demonstrate growing connectivity, and an increase in the influence of certain cultural models and power structures.

We have yet to fully comprehend how the flows of goods and knowledge are related to the flows of people.⁴ It is often impossible to say with confidence whether a foreign (or minority) material object, or practice, is a sign of new cultural trends, the coming of new settlers or both. More recent studies, therefore, tend to focus on the co-presence of culturally distinct people and objects rather than using them as testimony for migration *per se*. *Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean* is a volume typifying this approach.⁵ It centres on the way that objects serve as evidence of encounters, mixed practices and the restructuring of identity.⁶ The material remains testify to the intersections, or what Ingold would term ‘meshworks’, once present at these points in the landscape.⁷ One of the most studied of these intersections is the colony, and we will return to Greco-Italic encounters under this label in the second half of this chapter. In this section, the evidence of cultural co-presence will be used to better understand how mobilities shaped the history of groups generally known as Etruscans and Gauls (or Celts) of north Italy. In so doing, it will challenge the ancient literature which presents the former as cultured imperialists and the latter as infringing barbarians. It will show that both had equally sophisticated socio-cultural traditions influential in certain parts of Italy, and that cosmopolitan communities were, in fact, the norm.

Etruscan Mobility and Presence Abroad

Ancient authors identify the Etruscans as the earliest Italian group to have extensive power in and outside of the peninsula. They saw this as operationalised through an Etruscan League. When Cato writes of the early history of Italy he states that in this period Italy was under Etruscan rule or authority.⁸ Etruscan settlements proliferated from the centre of Italy to the

⁴ This has been addressed through the social biography of objects: Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986. For archaeology and migration in early societies, and the problem of the focus on the process of sedentism: Kelly 1992.

⁵ For example, the presence of Phoenician material in Iberia by Vives-Ferrándiz 2010: 201.

⁶ Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010b.

⁷ Ingold 2011: 63–65. See also Chapter 1, p. 17, note 58 and Chapter 10, 393–94.

⁸ Cato *Origines* F72 (= Chassignet 1.13, Peter F62, Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* 11.567–8): ... *in Tuscorum iure paene omnis Italia fuerat* ... For debates as to how much of this passage is by Cato: Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 118–19. Etruscan Imperialism in relation to Rome: Cornell 1995: chapter 6. Etruscan expansion and state-formation as part of wider networks: Riva 2010a: 22–7.

Po Valley in the north, in such sites as Felsina (Bologna), and south into Campania with the foundation of Capua. Prior to the rise of Rome, Etruscans are depicted as the most active colonisers of Italian background, with sites such as Marzabotto⁹ and Hatria (Adria) in Italy;¹⁰ and Alalia (Aleria) on Corsica.¹¹ The wealth of material culture identified as Etruscan, and its wide distribution, appears to justify the extent of their influence, splendidly presented in the *Gli Etruschi* exhibition in Venice and traced by numerous studies.¹²

The development of Veii in the Tiber Valley typifies the growth which communities in Etruria had from the eighth to the fifth centuries BC¹³ (Fig. 6). The Archaic centre, positioned on a Tufa plateau to the north of the Tiber, emerged from distinct village-type settlements of the early Iron Age. Encircling the plateau are the remains of sixteen separate necropoli containing thousands of burials from the tenth to the fourth centuries BC, which reveal these earlier enclaves.¹⁴ The formation of a unified centre is visible through a number of large-scale communal projects from the sixth century BC that required substantial wealth and manpower. These included the construction of a fortified circuit around the plateau, the creation of a sophisticated system of *cuniculi* for water distribution, and the monumentalisation of sacred precincts, such as the Portonaccio sanctuary complete with Tuscan temple and water pool.¹⁵ There is also a contemporaneous interest in the division of land recognised through the remains of furrows at Piazza d'Armi, which point to an orthogonal division of space, along with boundary walls and the construction of elite residences. An internal hierarchical organisation is apparent from the funerary evidence: tomb assemblages include banqueting equipment representing commensality and other forms of elite display. The pride of the town's elite was not limited to the private domain (Fig. 5, Plate 2). Veii's elaborate architectural displays and art works were well known and, according to tradition, it is to Veii that Rome looked for the finest artists, such as Vulca, to design the sculpture of Jupiter for the Capitoline Temple.¹⁶ Such a tale of cultural exchange, whether apocryphal or not,

⁹ Marzabotto: Govi 2007; Govi 2008; Vitali, Brizzolara and Lippolis 2001; Sassatelli and Govi 2005; Sassatelli 2011.

¹⁰ Livy 5.33.8–10. ¹¹ Diodorus Siculus 5.13.3–5.

¹² Studies include: Torelli 2000; Cristofani 1996; Izzet 2007; Riva 2010a; Bourdin 2012: 591–700.

¹³ For context and location, see Chapter 3, p. 85. Patterson 2004: 11–12; Schiappelli 2012: 330.

¹⁴ Patterson 2004; Murray 2011; Riva 2010a: 26–7.

¹⁵ Colonna 2002b; Colonna 2009. For the fortification wall and cuniculi: Ward-Perkins 1961: 32–9, 47–52; Cascino, Di Giuseppe and Patterson 2012.

¹⁶ Pliny *Natural History*, 35.157. See discussion Chapter 10, p. 365.

ancient narratives. They appear insular and on the fringes of Eastern Greek enterprise, despite the occasional mention of their colonies. However, one reputation they are infamous for outside of Italy is that of piratical opportunists, and also, though somewhat less so, as mercenaries and craftsmen. Etruscan pirates were well known and operated over a wide area.¹⁷ They are even part of myths: the well-known story of the capture of Dionysus by Etruscan pirates, whom he turns into dolphins, was a favourite vignette that appears on Greek pottery in a variety of versions¹⁸ (Fig. 7, Plate 3). Other well-known Italic pirates are given Volscian and Samnite origins.¹⁹ Pirates, or rogue groups who operated on their own initiative, were a menace but they were also key distributors of resources around the Mediterranean.²⁰ They could be enlisted to help or hinder opponents and could function in a way similar to mercenaries. Piratical activities bound a disparate group of people into a mobile community of common enterprise. They created connectivity not only amongst themselves but also, inadvertently, through encouraging joint state action in an attempt to stop them.²¹ Whether Etruscans were responsible for more piratical activity than any other groups in the Mediterranean is another matter. But their reputation was considerable.

Another way Etruscans ventured beyond the shores was by joining mercenary contingents recruited in Italy for campaigns abroad. Tagliamonte's study of the Italian mercenariat shows how Etruscans, along with Campanians, Samnites, Ligurians and other 'barbarians' from Italy, appear most often in our sources operating mainly in the Western Mediterranean but with evidence that they were also active in the East.²² Their services were already sought in the Archaic period and most intensely throughout the fourth and third centuries BC by both Punic and Greek

¹⁷ For example, such pirates as Postumius: Diodorus 16.82.3; fear of sailing around Sicily due to Etruscan pirates: Strabo 6.2.2; both Etruscans and Carthaginians as pirates: Cicero *De Re Publica*, 2.9. For the characterisation of Etruscans as pirates, (anti-Etruscan propaganda) particularly by Greek authors: Colonna 1984; Colonna 2002a; Giuffrida 1983: 50.

¹⁸ Most notably on the black figure cup signed by Exekias (Munich 2044). For the myth and its roots in the Hymn of Dionysus: Paleothodoros 2012.

¹⁹ Livy 8.26.1; 8.13.5; 3.1.5–7; Varro 5.155: Thiel 1954: 8; Patterson 2006b: 194–5, 199. For the Volscian pirates of Antiate, and the Volscinisation of Roman colonists there: Bispham 2012.

²⁰ De Souza 2002; Horden and Purcell 2000: 386–7.

²¹ In order to maintain a successful trading environment among the competitors and keep it free from pirates, it was necessary to establish co-operative modes of understanding with other powerful polities that had shared interests, such as Carthage: Bederman 2001.

²² Most of Tagliamonte's volume focuses on the activities of Italic mercenaries in the Western Mediterranean, and more specifically Sicily; for an overview of the evidence of employment of Italic mercenaries in the East Mediterranean: Tagliamonte 1994: 209–16; Eckstein 2006: 124. For the Western Mediterranean also see: Krasilnikoff 1996.



Fig. 7 Black-figure Hydria depicting pirates turning into dolphins 510/500 BC. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

paymasters. When Agathocles of Syracuse extended his war into Africa in the fourth century BC, his army, along with 3000 Greek mercenaries, included an equal force consisting of Samnites, Etruscans and Celts.²³ Beyond the military, Critias provides one of the few direct references acknowledging Etruscan enterprise overseas. He observes that they became important redistributors of metals, famous in Greece for their metallurgical skills in gold and bronze.²⁴

²³ Diodorus Siculus 20.11.1; 20.64.2.

²⁴ Critias cited in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* 1.28b-c.

Other evidence, some of which we have already seen in relation to trade in the [previous chapter](#), shows that Etruscan maritime capabilities went well beyond piratical ventures.²⁵ The extent of their operations is visible from the material remains at sites around the Western Mediterranean, stretching from the south of France to Carthage. They are also evident in the cargos of shipwrecks, such as the Grand Ribaud F,²⁶ and the so-called Giglio Campese.²⁷ The latter sank 15 km off the Italian coast at some point between 600 and 550 BC. The cargo of the Giglio included numerous amphorae from Vulci with pine pitch, olives, possibly wine, as well as stone anchors, copper and lead ingots probably from Giglio itself. The ship, like the Grand Ribaud F, was likely en route to deliver goods to the south of France, where copious finds of wine amphorae are a testament to Etruscan commerce with Gallic communities prior to the Greek foundation of Massalia.²⁸ It may be the case, as recorded by Diodorus Siculus,²⁹ that Gaulish elites traded slaves for wine in this period, and there is some evidence that there was also exchange of raw materials, whether wood from the forests or minerals from the mines in Gaul.³⁰ Such remains show Etruscan communities to be consumers of foreign labour and resources, as well as producers of goods, and providers of raw materials. The availability of slaves and resources would have greatly aided monumental construction projects of sites such as Veii in the sixth century BC. Slaves may have also arrived in Italy as a result of successful piratical ventures. It is interesting that the term for slave ‘*etera*’ (or *eterau*, *etiri*) on inscriptions in Etruscan, similar to the *etru* in Umbrian, can also mean foreigner, stranger and client.³¹ Its meaning indicates an interest in distinguishing people by their position as dependents within the community, rather than as outsiders *per se*. We may wonder whether an elite outsider such as Demaratus would have been referred to using these terms.

Successful Etruscan control of the exchange networks in key sectors of the Western Mediterranean, which they shared with the other big player, Carthage, left a mark on the historical record. The far-reaching power of the Etrusco-Carthaginian alliance was important enough still to have been of interest to Aristotle.³² We hear about it first from Herodotus (1.166–7),

²⁵ See Chapter 3, pp. 75–77. and Cristofani 1996; Naso 2001; Izzet 2007. For Etruscan accessories outside of Italy and particularly in Greek sanctuaries: Bonfante 2003; Naso 2001; von Hase 1997.

²⁶ For Grand Ribaud F, see Chapter 3, pp. 76–77.

²⁷ Bound 1991. Summary of the finds: Peña 2011: 184–9; Cristofani 1995.

²⁸ Riva 2010b: 213–4; Dietler 2005: 46–7; Gori and Bettini 2006. For Massalia, see also Chapter 3, pp. 76–77.

²⁹ Diodorus Siculus 5.26.3. ³⁰ Camporeale 2006: 19; Morel 2006: 29.

³¹ Facchetti 2002; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 98, 99, 113. ³² Aristotle *Politics* 3.1280a.

who provides insight into their joint ventures, and tells of their alliance to counteract the influence of the Phocaeans, which culminated in the Sardinian Sea Battle of 540 BC.³³ The Etrusco-Carthaginian success secured the Etruscan hold on the trading zone in the north Tyrrhenian, but could not prevent Massalia from developing into a Greco-Celtic powerbase. In the long-run the success of Massalia, noted in the [previous chapter](#), must have contributed to the noticeable decline of Etruscan amphorae evident in the archaeological record.³⁴ It was a significant blow to the flourishing trade which these communities had with the south coast of France. The market seems to have been taken over by Massalian produce by the fourth century BC. It was further enhanced by connections from the southern parts of Italy, as may be noted by the appearance of Italo-Greek amphorae in the north from the third century BC.³⁵

The height of competition between Massalia and the formidable Etruscan city of Caere in the Archaic period was not only evident on the Western Mediterranean seas. Both of these polities and their elites were visible on the global stage. Each city had erected its own treasury at the sanctuary of Delphi.³⁶ A couple of centuries later, as the presence of Etruscan material across the Mediterranean declined, Rome emerged as the substantial power and assumed the network from Caere and other leading Etruscan cities, replacing them as the key partner with Carthage, and developing longstanding good relations with the Massalians.³⁷ When the Romans won their victory over Veii and wanted the success marked globally in 394 BC, they dedicated a golden bowl to be deposited at Delphi in the Massalian treasury. The story of their journey tells of how the Roman ship delivering the bowl to Delphi got waylaid by patrolling Liparians, who, according to Plutarch, mistook them for pirates.³⁸ The ancient authors are keen to present Rome as a newcomer onto the international stage at this point in its history but, as we will see, it was not long before this changed.

³³ For different readings of the causes and consequences of the conflict: Riva [2010b](#): 213–14; Bernardini [2001](#).

³⁴ See Chapter 3, pp. 76–77.

³⁵ This changeover of key players in the economy of the Northern region is noticeable from the material evidence at such sites as Genoa, which Strabo calls the *emporion* of the Ligurians: Strabo 4.6.1: Milanese [1987](#): 111–320.

³⁶ For Caeretan treasury – Strabo 5.2.3; For Massaliote treasury – Diodorus 14.93.3; Plutarch *Camillus* 8. Laroche and Nenna [1992](#); Colonna [1993](#): 56–61; Jacquemin [1999](#).

³⁷ DeWitt [1940](#).

³⁸ Diodorus 14.93.3; Plutarch *Camillus* 8. According to Livy's version it was the Liparians who were the pirates 5.28. Discussion of the friendship between Rome and Massalia, and a comment on the authenticity of the passage: Thiel [1954](#): 5–6 incl. notes 11–12.

The evidence for Etruscan influence in the Archaic period within Italy and abroad is no longer questionable. What has been more difficult to show, until recently, is that there were Etruscan settlers overseas. While they still remain obscure, they have left enough of a distinctive cultural imprint at some sites to be visible. One example is an inscription on a curse tablet with the Etruscan female name Turana from the Sicilian city of Selinus, dated to the early fifth century BC.³⁹ Whoever she may have been, she had lived long enough in Sicily and probably held high enough status to have made enemies. Another inscription from further afield shows that Etruscans frequented Greek sanctuaries in the Archaic period. At some point in the second half of the sixth century BC one such individual, whose name began with *Pl* – a Plautus perhaps – left an offering of a Laconian stemless cup at the sanctuary of Aphaia in Aegina.⁴⁰ Equally, a rare glimpse of an Etruscan craftsman abroad in the East may be recognisable in Tosto's examinations of the vases signed *Nikosthenes epoiesen* (Nikosthenes made it), which were of Attic production for the Etruscan market. Through an intricate study of their method of manufacture, he shows that there is a strong possibility that some of these so-called Nikosthenic amphorae may have been made by an Etruscan craftsman working in an Athenian workshop.⁴¹

There is more robust evidence of larger groups of settlers overseas from pottery assemblages and epigraphic evidence from the south of France. These demonstrate not just Etruscan mercantile penetration in the region, but also a sustained residential presence in the Archaic period.⁴² One example is a rare find from Pech Maho in Provence of a mid-fifth century BC lead plaque inscribed in Etruscan, and later in Greek.⁴³ Other finds come from the island of Corsica, at Alalia, indicating that Etruscans came to settle there. Diodorus Siculus calls it an Etruscan colony.⁴⁴ From excavations at the site, the presence of newcomers is suggested by several features, particularly in the funerary context.⁴⁵ Their residence in the settlement is indicated by the introduction of new layouts of chamber tombs, and the presence of Etruscan objects and inscriptions. Whether they were there as colonialists, under the auspices of an Etruscan League, is

³⁹ SEG IV, 38 (inv. s.n.); Heurgon 1972–3; Tagliamonte 1994: 93–4.

⁴⁰ On the base of the cup, B11, is a graffito with an Etruscan formula: *mi pl[... c. 11–12 ...]minur*: Williams 1993: 575–6, fig. 7; 595–6; Johnston 1993.

⁴¹ Tosto 1999.

⁴² Particularly well exemplified in Gori and Bettini 2006; especially Gran-Aymerich 2006. For a list of Etruscan inscriptions in southern France and Liguria: Bourdin 2012: 554–8; Morel 2006: 40–3.

The foundation of Massalia and its relationship to the importance of trade, and Alalia: Barzanò 1994.

⁴³ Ampolo and Caruso 1990–1; Cristofani 1993. ⁴⁴ Diodorus Siculus 5.13.3–5.

⁴⁵ Riva 2010b: 214–16.

more questionable. Riva argues this would belittle the variety of the encounters that created this mixed community.⁴⁶ Rather than a product of an occupation and takeover, the site has more in common with an emporium, which suggests a longer process of interaction and co-habitation that finally led to a visibly dominant Etruscan presence. A colonial framework may not be the most appropriate to describe the spread of Etruscan influence. But it was one way that later authors reconciled political confrontations and intercommunity relations which did not easily fit into ethnic categories.⁴⁷ Etruscan settlements are visible in areas where they had the most influence, as in the Western Mediterranean. This does not mean that there were no Etruscan settlers in the East in this period. It is just that they, as all Italians, were much less visible there until the last centuries BC, as discussed in [Chapter 2](#).

Outsiders in Etruria

Unlike Etruscans abroad, Greeks and other foreigners were more visible in Etruria, especially among the elite. The [previous chapter](#) ended with the story of Demaratus and his arrival in Etruscan Tarquinii, where the archaeological remains demonstrate its position as a wealthy and dynamic centre with links across the Mediterranean.⁴⁸ Inscriptions provide further detail of the foreign individuals who came to this site and those in the surrounding region. One resident of Tarquinii in the seventh century BC was Rutile Hipucrates, important enough to be buried with a chariot in a wealthy tomb. His name was incised in Etruscan on a ceramic vessel found as part of the funerary deposit. His praenomen, Rutile, is of Latin origin – Rutilus – while the gentilical Hipucrates is an Etruscanised Greek name, Hippokrates.⁴⁹ So he was most likely a Greek or a descendant of a Greek, with Latin connections,⁵⁰ but finished his life in an Etruscan home. Taken alongside similar examples, such records allow an individual's life story to gain historic significance. Tarquinii's emporium and sanctuary at Gravisca has over 100 Greek inscriptions, which testify to the cosmopolitan nature of this trading centre in the sixth century BC.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Riva 2010b: 214.

⁴⁷ Etruscan League of twelve cities and colonisation noted by: Livy 5.33.9; Strabo 5.2.2, 5.4.3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.30.3. Problems of interpreting the spread of Etruscan material in colonial terms: Riva 2010b; Morel 2006. Banti 1973: 206–8, among others has questioned the existence of such a league for military purposes.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 3, pp. 99–100. ⁴⁹ Pallottino 1968: no. 155; Ampolo 1976–7: 338–9.

⁵⁰ Bourdin 2012: 531–5, with a discussion of the relationship between the form of the name and an individual's socio-political background.

⁵¹ Johnston and Pandolfini 2000; Peña 2011: 179–98; Riva 2010b: 220–1; Cristofani 1996.

Evidence of Greek traders comes from a unique votive deposited at this sanctuary: a stone anchor dedicated to Apollo with the name Sostratos.⁵² There is a chance that this Sostratos could be the merchant from Aegina of the same name mentioned by Herodotus, or possibly his descendant.⁵³ It could also be his initials ‘SO’ that appear on over a hundred pots transported from Athens to Etruria at the end of the sixth century BC.⁵⁴ Whether at Gravisca or other hubs, such as Caere’s port sanctuary at Pyrgi, archaeological remains unequivocally demonstrate the importance of transmarine links and the presence of foreign operators along the coasts of Italy in this period. Some of these entrepreneurs arriving at Italian shores, not unlike Demaratus, would have chosen to stay and settle, leaving their names in the cemeteries of their new homes.

At some cemeteries, such as that belonging to Etruscan Volsinii (modern Crocifisso del Tufo, Orvieto), about a third of the hundreds of names recorded for the Archaic period are of non-local origin.⁵⁵ As suggested in [Chapter 2](#), this proportion of one third who are non-local appears to be more or less consistent where evidence is available.⁵⁶ At Caere and Rome, the onomastic data also shows that outsiders would have formed a significant proportion of the population, even if exact percentages are more difficult to determine.⁵⁷ Most of those perceived as outsiders at these sites originated from within Italy, most likely from the surrounding Central-Tyrrhenian region. From further away there are examples of Celtic names, such as Katacina,⁵⁸ and others that suggest south Italian roots, such as Kalaprena, both found at Volsinii.⁵⁹ Of the incomers arriving from outside of the peninsula the largest group of names is of Greek origin, including well-known names such as Pericles.⁶⁰ Most of these appear on mobile objects, and especially pottery, of the kind that had Rutile

⁵² Johnston and Pandolfini 2000: 15–16, no. 27. ⁵³ Herodotus 4.152.

⁵⁴ Sostratos anchor: Johnston and Pandolfini 2000: 15–16; no. 27; Torelli 2004; Cristofani, 1996: chapter 2, 40, 49.

⁵⁵ The most recent analysis of this epigraphic collection, the site and the extent to which it can tell us about the origins of those in the buried community: Bourdin 2012: 532–4, Annex 2.12; van Heems 2009. I am grateful to Guy Bradley for discussing this collection with me when I first began working on the book and for sharing his unpublished papers: Bradley (forthcoming).

⁵⁶ As also observed by: Hin 2013: 219, 234–7. ⁵⁷ Bourdin 2012: 532–51, Annex 2.12, 532–4.

⁵⁸ *ET* Vs 1.165: *mi aviles katacinas* – I (am the tomb) of Avile Katacina, (from necropolis of Canicella, Orvieto); *ET* Vs 1.87:] *vercenās* – of Vercena (?) (from necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo, Orvieto). See also De Simone; Bourdin 2012: 535, Annex 2.12, 1052.

⁵⁹ *ET* Vs 1.59: [*mi a*] *ranqia kalaprenas* – I (am the tomb) of Velthuru Perecele (from necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo, Orvieto). See also Bourdin 2012: 538, Annex 2.12, p 1052.

⁶⁰ *ET* Vs 1.67: *mi velqurus pereceles* – I (am the tomb) of Avile Katacina, (from necropolis of Crocifisso del Tufo, Orvieto). See also Bourdin 2012: 531–2, Annex 2.12, p 1052.

Hipocrates' name on it.⁶¹ The majority of inscriptions on stone would have belonged to elites who could afford to have a proper burial and someone to carve their names. One way to access the life histories of a wider cross-section of the population is through bio-archaeology, which analyses the inscription of the environment on the composition of the bones.⁶² A pilot study of six burials from a small relatively poor cemetery in the suburbs of Rome showed that at least one of the individuals buried there in the fourth to third centuries BC was an outsider.⁶³ He was a young man in his early thirties, who grew up in the area of Naples, and was possibly of East-Asian ancestry. With increasing application of bio-archaeology, a more rounded picture of mobility rates will be possible than that available from the funerary epigraphy, which tends to privilege the culturally prominent and politically powerful. What evidence there is, although not sufficient to provide compelling aggregate data, is enough to demonstrate that Etruscan communities were cosmopolitan and that people from Etruria not only traded abroad but at times settled there.

Gauls in North Italy: A Different Kind of Presence?

One of the ways that we can gauge the power and cultural influence of a particular group, in addition to their physical presence, is through their visibility in the written sources and the material record. To be and remain visibly distinct, as the Etruscans were, is to have the prominence of one's status acknowledged. The north of Italy presents an interesting example of the shift in status between Etruscan and Gallo-Celtic power and influence in the fifth and fourth centuries BC.⁶⁴ We know that the northern Etruscan cities of Marzabotto and Bologna deteriorated substantially in this period,

⁶¹ As noted above: Pallottino 1968: no. 155.

⁶² Most of the studies in Italy, especially by Prowse and Killgrove, are concerned with Roman Imperial samples in part because inhumation was the main form of burial, whereas cremation, which was more popular in earlier periods, tends to destroy and chemically alter the skeleton. Nevertheless, preliminary investigations into preceding centuries are showing interesting results. For the use of bioarchaeology in Italy: Prowse et al. 2007; Prowse et al. 2010; Killgrove 2010a: chapter 9, 157–74; Killgrove 2010b. See also Chapter 2, p. 34.

⁶³ The cemetery at Castellaccio Europarco (11.5 km. south of Rome) contained a sample of twenty-eight skeletons from the last four centuries BC, of which six could be biochemically tested. Of these six, one male was definitely an outsider, with a possibility of another two females also coming from outside the area. Hence either one sixth or possibly half of this small group were incomers: Killgrove 2013: 56.

⁶⁴ Some of the most recent studies to trace these transformations, combining literary and material evidence: Williams 2001; Häußler 2007; Bourdin 2012.

at the same time as ‘Celtic’ material labelled as La Tène began to appear in nearby burials.⁶⁵ Tempting as it may be to link the presence of these objects with the decline of the sites – signifying conquest by a hostile incomer – there may also be other explanations as to why an urban centre stops functioning. Some of the reasons may be environmental, such as rise in water levels, or specific local circumstances and new social structures where elite power may have shifted to the countryside, hence making the urban environment less economically viable.⁶⁶ As Etruscan power began to wane in the north of Italy during the fifth century BC, Gallic influence spanning the Alpine mountain range became more prominent. But how these two phenomena are related is a matter of much debate, as the situation differed across the region, and evidence of Gallic presence precedes this turning point by centuries.

Ancient authors acknowledge Gallic expansion in Italy. They portray this as a series of incursions by disparate, hostile and less cultured groups, unlike Etruscan success, which is presented as a coherent Imperial enterprise. Williams’s exploration of how the Gauls came to be portrayed negatively, and as a deadly enemy of the Romans, outlines the many ancient and modern narratives that create and uphold negative images of the migrant invader from the north.⁶⁷ The Gauls who sacked Rome in 387 BC are presented as just such a group, but their attack can also be a sign of the growth of Gallic authority in north Italian communities. Generally, however, ancient authors were keen to depict the Gauls as hostile incomers with little history on the peninsula and who had no right to be there.⁶⁸ One such account is provided by Polybius. His description of the topography and the people of northern Italy and the Alps (2.14–21) forms part of his criticism of Timaeus’s geographic ignorance (2.16.15), and serves to set the scene for Roman relations with the Gauls. He narrates how in the fifth century BC the Gallic tribes drove the Etruscans out of the region, occupying the Po Plain and the surrounding countryside (2.17). This account of one group replacing another is a typical model used to describe community transformation, implying replacement of the whole population. But rather than a physical dislocation of the local inhabitants, it is more likely to be an indication of a change in the governing authority (which is not to say it was

⁶⁵ Bourdin 2012: 635; Häußler 2007: 53–6. For Marzabotto, see above, p. 111 and note 9.

⁶⁶ Williams 2001: 198–206 considers the different possibilities of the decline of these sites and suggests that we may even compare them to the Roman Britain model in the later Roman period.

⁶⁷ Williams 2001.

⁶⁸ Livy 5.35–55. For a detailed discussion on the Gallic Sack from this perspective: Williams 2001: chapter 4.

necessarily peaceful). Despite the negative characterisation of these incomers, Polybius's description of the Alpine region is of a permeable and populated landscape, challenging stereotypes that it is a barren barrier.⁶⁹ The scenario has affinities with the process of settlement transformation and the infilling of the countryside that occurs in south Italy and Sicily, which will be considered in detail in the [following chapter](#).

How Did the Gauls Come to Be in Italy?

Movement from the northern reaches of Europe into the peninsula is presented in multiple ways: as infiltration or invasion, fast or slow, *en masse* or through a trickle of small groups and individuals.⁷⁰ Beginning with Livy's more nuanced narrative, the remainder of this section will examine how the rising influence from the North was understood by ancient writers and how their literary accounts compare to other forms of evidence from the region. Livy was a native of Patavium (modern Padua) and he has a particular interest in the alternative narratives of how trans-Alpine groups infiltrated Italy. He attempts to reconcile different versions and incorporate the two main strands of how and why the Gauls arrived in Italy: either they were incited to enter by external agents or they were driven out from their own communities north of the Alps by socio-environmental factors.⁷¹

Was it the wine that first lured them into Italy? The remains of amphorae attest to the lucrative wine trade between Italy and Gaul and may be the historical reality at the root of this version. Livy suggests this as one explanation; enticed by the novel taste, these people were drawn to the vineyards and the fertile lands south of the Alps.⁷² It may even be ironic, but a number of other authors recite similar versions of infiltration to explain the diversity of communities and languages in northern Italy.⁷³ The basic sequence is that after a phase of commercial contact between the transalpine Gauls and Etruscans in the Po valley in the fourth century BC, suddenly, and without provocation, the Gauls aggressively made their way across the mountains threatening settlements.⁷⁴ Among those threatened was Rome, resulting in

⁶⁹ Polybius 3.48.7, with discussion of Polybius as a keen observer also of the economic landscape: Davies 2013: 323.

⁷⁰ Williams 2001: chapters 3 – 5, on the changing and divergent attitudes in the ancient sources, and contemporary interpretations of the material evidence. For migration narratives of the Gauls as found in Livy: Ogilvie R.M. [1965] 1978: Livy 5.33–35.

⁷¹ Livy 5.33 – 35. ⁷² Livy 5.33

⁷³ Polybius 2.17.3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 13.10–11; Plutarch *Camillus*, 15–16; Diodorus Siculus 14.113.

⁷⁴ See especially Polybius 2.17.3.

the infamous Gallic Sack of 387 BC.⁷⁵ But even Livy doubts the historicity of the rapid shift from trading partners to aggressive invaders. Instead he presents another story, which consists of a more drawn out progression of successive tribal migrations from the north into Italy, beginning in the early sixth century BC.⁷⁶ The impetus for the initial migration in this more extended version is found within Gallic society itself, either due to overpopulation or internal discord.⁷⁷ This version pushes the initial infiltration back 200 years, and provides a general direction to the movement. It was roughly from west to east, beginning with the Insubres and Cenomani, followed by the Boii and Senones, who displaced the Etruscans, Umbrians and the indigenous groups who preceded them. Both versions contain stereotypical depictions of mobility of those seen as more primitive. The protagonists are depicted as poorer and less cultured than the communities they invade.⁷⁸ Their movement is presented *en masse*, and as either the result of overpopulation or land hunger, resulting in internal discord. But such a rationale goes against what we know about ancient Mediterranean regions, which, if anything, were under- rather than over-populated.⁷⁹ Conflicts were driven not so much by land hunger, as by land and resource greed.⁸⁰ The reasons for Gallic interest in Italy would have been no different than Etruscan interest in Gaul.

The diverse narratives are rationalised by scholars to reflect Greek ethnographic sources and elements of Celtic folk memory.⁸¹ The longer version of infiltration has the largest number of supporters in current scholarship, although not in the form presented by Livy.⁸² The archaeological remains from the region show slow ongoing change

⁷⁵ Livy Book 5.35–55. The Gallic Sack as part of dispersed groups of Gauls moving south: Forsythe 2005: 252.

⁷⁶ Livy 5.34–5.

⁷⁷ Williams notes that overpopulation and land hunger are stereotypes and that other reports (Trogus cited in Justin 20.5.7) suggest that the cause of migration/invasion may have been internal discord among the Gauls north of the Alps. He also points out that the version in Livy 5.33–34 has affinities with that of Trogus in that they both look at causes internal to communities in Gaul for the movement, and present them more as founders rather than destroyers of settlements: Williams 2001: 112–17.

⁷⁸ As noted in the sources above, and especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus 13.11.

⁷⁹ As Purcell 1990b: 44–6 has observed, in the ancient Mediterranean there is a tendency to underpopulation, and pressure on resources should not be attributed to demographic growth without good cause. The causes of crisis are more likely to be the variability of resources and horizontal mobility. Archaeological studies have also challenged the perception of overpopulation as a reason for colonisation and other mobile phenomena, suggesting that the shortage of land in any absolute sense is unlikely to have been a problem for farmers, with little sign of population pressure on local resources, at least in the Archaic period: Foxhall 2005.

⁸⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000: 268. ⁸¹ Williams 2001: 119.

⁸² For the history of north Italy and the Celts: Capuis 1993; Malone and Stoddart 1994; Ellis 1998; Williams 2001; De Marinis and Spadea 2004; Häussler 2007; Lomas 2007; Bourdin 2012.

and interaction between different groups without clear disruption. There is no evidence for waves of tribal migrations. Instead, the archaeology indicates that there was a shared culture and robust networks that already reached across the Alps and into the Baltic region in the Iron Age.⁸³ The Po plain, which extends some 650 kilometres across the north of Italy, was a major exchange route for a variety of products such as amber found in elite burials across the peninsula, not least in Matelica.⁸⁴ From Liguria in the west to the Veneto on the eastern coast, the presence of Gallo-Celtic groups within Italic settlements is visible already from the seventh century BC. Individuals with Celtic or Celticised names, such as for example Katacina and Vercena (names which are also present in the Etruscan town of Volsinii), appear prominently in the epigraphic record of the Ligurian region.⁸⁵ This region, as we saw previously, was relegated to the fringes of Italy by ancient authors, and its habitants made to appear more primitive.⁸⁶ Here Celtic inscriptions along with Etruscan ones are some of the earliest in north Italy, dating to the seventh century BC. Influence from the north, referred to as Celtic infiltration, is often associated with the increasing presence of La Tène material. Yet this material may simply be a later phase of the so-called Golasecca culture that spreads south, and need not necessarily represent a new wave of incomers from over the Alps. Already in the Iron Age, material referred to as Golasecca from Piedmont and Lombardy has features in common with the Hallstatt culture of central Europe.⁸⁷ In the Lepontic area (overlapping modern Lombardy), it may be visible in the form of settlements which, as Häussler argues, have more affinities with such Transalpine oppida as Heuneburg (600–400 BC). These, unlike the Greco-Etruscan cities, do not have religious and administrative centres and lack monumental architecture.⁸⁸ From the material record it is difficult to credit the socio-cultural transformations to any invading tribes.

Routeways and access points in the landscape produced different forms of mixed culture. In the north-west, the Ligurian coastline settlements were linked into Mediterranean maritime trade networks. Those of the Aosta valley and the Lepontic region acted as the main passageways for

⁸³ Charpy 1995; Biaggio Simona and De Marinis 2000; Kaenel 2000; Gambari 2000.

⁸⁴ Negroni Catacchio 1989. Braccesi 2004. Summary of the myths developed around amber and its associations with north Italy, especially Pliny *NH*, 37.30–46; Williams 2001: 26–7, esp. n. 33. For Matelica see Chapter 3, pp. 78–80.

⁸⁵ *ET* Vs 1.165: *mi aviles katacinas* – I (am the tomb) of Avile Katacina (from necropolis of Canicella, Orvieto); *ET* Vs 1.87:] *vercenās* – of Vercena (?) (from necropolis of Crocofisso del Tufo, Orvieto). See also above, p. 119. De Simone 1978a; De Simone 1978b: 266.

⁸⁶ See Chapter 3, pp. 91–92. ⁸⁷ For an overview: Häussler 2007: 49; Bourdin 2012: 597–8.

⁸⁸ Häussler 2007: 50.

Transalpine trade, while passes north of Genoa served trade across the Apennines. Genoa itself was allegedly set up by the Etruscans as a trading post in 525 BC to establish routes into the Apennines.⁸⁹ The mixture of cultural material from the city gives it the feel of a gateway community not dissimilar to such trading hubs as Gravisca or Pyrgi in Etruria. These emporia were highly active in the same period, and probably formed part of the same exchange network of Archaic Italy. Part of this Apennine route, making its way through the Aemelia plain, was characterised by increasing Celtic dominance. The epigraphic evidence shows that sites such as Monte Bibele were heavily Celticised, with only a marginal Etruscan presence by the fourth century BC.⁹⁰ Whether this was a shift in authority and a matter of cultural trend rather than a major change of population is difficult to tell.

On the east side of the Po plain, there are high levels of cultural co-presence from an early date. A number of cities in the Veneto region, located on key land and river routes, such as Padua, Este and Vicenza, developed into autonomous entities with distinctive cultures and socio-political structures.⁹¹ At these sites, Celtic names are sometimes adapted or mixed with Venetic ones.⁹² Such intermixing is in part reflected in Polybius's statement that the Veneti and the Celts were in many ways culturally indistinguishable from each other, though they spoke different languages.⁹³ These sites had lively contact with communities to the south through land routes and along the seaways of the Adriatic; they had a pivotal role in the increasing Transalpine contacts of the fourth century BC.⁹⁴ This is visible in the large quantity of Etruscan material and Attic imports, which indicate strong links with the ports at Adria and Spina.⁹⁵ In this north-eastern region, Etruscan culture persisted alongside Gallo-Celtic material (unlike in Aemelia where the latter predominated).⁹⁶ It was part of a network that eventually encompassed Rome, with whom the Veneti had good relations. They were even allowed to subscribe to a Trojan lineage, unlike other northern neighbours, such as the Ligurians.⁹⁷ Williams suggests that the reason for this Trojan attribution

⁸⁹ Melli 2004. For communication routes through this region: Häussler 2007: 45–9; Bourdin 2012: 627.

⁹⁰ Bourdin 2012: 627–39. ⁹¹ Pliny *NH*, 3.20; Capuis 1993: 188–97; Lomas 2007.

⁹² See, for example, the inscriptions which include such names as Tivalos Bellenios (from Padua): Prosdociami 1988: 288–92; or Frema Boialna (from Este); Marinetti 1992: 150–60. For a list of names from sites in the area: Bourdin 2012: Annex 3, 1081.

⁹³ Polybius 2.17.5–6. ⁹⁴ Bourdin 2012: 612–27, 653–60.

⁹⁵ Capuis 1993: 197–209. Livy 10.2.4–15, tells of Cleonymus's visit to the region in 302 BC.

⁹⁶ Bourdin 2012: 591–700.

⁹⁷ Cato regarded Ligurians as unknowing liars: Cato *Origines* F34 (= Chassignet 2.1–2.2, Peter F31–32), a view propagated by later authors: Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 81; the Veneti of Trojan

may have been the fact that the Romans and the Veneti had been allies from circa 220 BC, or perhaps it was the residue of earlier myths of origin ascribed to them by Herodotus that filtered through the centuries.⁹⁸ Whatever story we want to believe, both the ancient literature and the material culture illustrate the extent of cosmopolitanism in the Veneto settlements.

Ancient authors comment on the meeting of Celtic and Etruscan cultures, and the growth of their influence in the northern region of Italy, by describing the presence of the Celts as invasion, and the Etruscans as imperial expansion and colonisation. The way ancient authors chose to convey their knowledge depended on the context in which they were writing and the role that the Gauls played in their narratives. Archaeologically, the influence of these two groups evidently led to the flourishing of some sites and cultural trends, and the decline of others. The history of these groups' early interactions in the north of Italy is not dissimilar to that of Greek encounters and the mixed populations at sites in the south of the peninsula, which we will consider next. They reflect elements of individual mobility and cultural contact, along with larger group interests that may have resulted in conflict and power changing hands. Either way, neither the spread of Greek culture and influence in the south of Italy nor the Gallo-Celtic in the north were the result of mass migrations or tribal invasions of the peninsula.

When Encounter Is Not Colonial

Colonisation is often presented as one of the most powerful mechanisms for mass distribution of people around the Mediterranean. But what this term means, and whether it is suitable to describe the multiplicity of encounters between different communities in the last millennium BC, is disputed. What do we mean by labelling a situation or a development as a migration or a colonisation? What criteria can be used to distinguish them? In the case of Etruscan and Celtic mobility, neither of these labels helps in understanding the multiplicity of encounters and the agencies that led to community transformation. In the [first chapter](#), the problems with using the contemporary meaning of migration, which assumes a mono-directional movement with a beginning and end, have already been considered.⁹⁹ Colonisation also

stock: Cato *Origines* F58 (= Chassignet 2.12, Peter F42). Polybius 2.17.5–6, thought it was nonsense and considered the Veneti autochthonous. For different versions of the Venetian Trojan lineage: Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 107–10.

⁹⁸ Williams 2001: 76–7. ⁹⁹ Chapter 1, p. 8ff.

proves challenging as an explanatory model, but for different reasons. By isolating a single part of a more extensive trajectory of movement, the idea of colonisation suggests a seemingly coherent and universally recognisable product – the colony. In so doing, it becomes de-contextualised from the wider process of mobility, negating the importance of preceding encounters and removing agency for that contact from the home community. There is a case to be made for colonisation as an appropriate description of certain historical episodes, but even these, as we will see, have only certain characteristics in common. What makes colonising narratives problematic is that they assume a period of stasis broken by initial contact. This discounts the preliminary and continuing inter-dependence between internal and external forces that produce societal change. The difficulties can be illustrated by the case of Pithekoussai, often presented as the earliest Greek colony in Italy. It will provide the starting point for the analysis of the Greek presence in south Italy, and the period considered to be the most intensive for the populating of the peninsula from the East, between the eighth and fifth centuries BC.

Pithekoussai as Emporion and Stepping Stone of Power

Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia, just off the Campanian coast, was home to a successful socio-economic enterprise that grew substantially in the eighth century BC. Initially, it was probably a centre for exchange, an *emporion* that linked the producers of metals on the mainland with the maritime traders and opportunists on the island.¹⁰⁰ Many of them may have come from Euboea judging by the dominance of Euboean material in the funerary evidence, but they were not the only ones.¹⁰¹ The variety of cultural trends represented in the archaeological record indicates that diverse communities participated in the creation of the site, including those ‘indigenous’ to the island, along with Phoenicians, Greeks and others from Italy. For example: an inscription dating from the seventh/sixth century BC on a locally made amphora in tomb 285 at S. Montano carries the name Δαζμῶ, which is believed to be a Hellenised version of the Messapic name Dazminas.¹⁰² Neither the heterogeneity of this settlement nor its

¹⁰⁰ Strabo 5.4.9 recounts the different peoples that settled the island over time, starting from the Chalcidians and Eretrians in the eighth century BC; Livy 8.22.5–6, states that those who came to found Cumae from Chalcis in Euboea first landed on Pithekoussai as well as other nearby islands. Questioning whether Pithekoussai should be seen as a colony rather than an emporion: Osborne 1998: 257–9; Cuozzo 2007: 246; Coldstream 1994; Riva 2010a: 53; Izzet 2007: 216.

¹⁰¹ The funerary practice and material remains from the burials at the site show strong links with Euboea: Buchner and Ridgway 1993.

¹⁰² Jeffery 1990: 453, C.

designation as an *emporion* mean that all contact was necessarily amicable. The ability of new settlers to embed themselves and gain authority can suggest a weaker or threatened home population, or that its elites have chosen new allies. As we will see, conquest and violence were part of the spreading influence of the more ambitious sectors of this community.

But the lines along which the conflict was drawn were not necessarily between insiders and outsiders, and neither were they ethnically defined, despite later authors' portrayals of these divisions. Pithekoussai's mixed population was not the outcome of a single state programme, but the result of a gathering of groups and individuals at what became a key access point in the increasingly interconnected and dynamic Western Mediterranean network.¹⁰³ Prospering hubs on mainland Italy, such as Tarquinii, contributed to this network and depended on it for growth. Etrusco-Carthaginian treaties and joint action ensured their authority in directing and enhancing the flows along it, and show how lucrative it had become by the Archaic period.¹⁰⁴ Pithekoussai was an early Western node in this network that brought strong Eastern influence at a time when advances in boat technology allowed for longer and more direct journeys across the seas.¹⁰⁵ For this to have been so successful, with a rapidly increasing population estimated at 5000–10,000 at its height,¹⁰⁶ we have to imagine constant mobility of groups and individuals. We must presuppose wide-ranging knowledge of the opportunities that led some to respond from distant shores, and we must assume they paused for a sufficient amount of time to create substantial settlements.¹⁰⁷ We also need to imagine individuals and groups who operated from the sea, such as the Homeric seafarers, distributors and middlemen who did not need an on-shore support base, but who ensured the flow of goods and the demand for services which the settlers provided.¹⁰⁸

Emporia, whether Pithekoussai, Gravisca or Delos, by their very nature were cosmopolitan centres of exchange, characterised by highly diversified groups of inhabitants, but they were not the only such sites.¹⁰⁹ Heterogeneous environments characterised most Italic settlements, Rome among them. What distinguishes harbours, ports and centres of

¹⁰³ Overview of the mixed populace of Pithekoussai: Ridgway 1994; Cuozzo 2007: 246–7; Riva 2010a: 53. For Pithekoussai as a Western Mediterranean hub: Broodbank 2013: 512–13.

¹⁰⁴ See discussion of joint enterprise above, especially in light of the creation of Massalia, pp. 115–16.

¹⁰⁵ For advances in boat technology see Chapter 3, p. 74ff. ¹⁰⁶ Ridgway 1994: 39.

¹⁰⁷ Osborne 1998: 257–8, 268. Erdkamp notes that mobility starts with communication and information: Erdkamp 2008: 421.

¹⁰⁸ Purcell 1990b: 53–4; Homer *Odyssey*, 1.179–86.

¹⁰⁹ For different forms of *emporia* in the context of wide-reaching networks: Riva 2010b: 211; Vlassopoulos 2007a: 13–19.

redistribution – the gateways or interfaces between regions¹¹⁰ – is that a more transient population allows multiple identities to be prominently visible, at times without a dominant majority. There is less pressure to integrate or assume local cultural habits. Such frontier zones are characterised by what Purcell and Brent Shaw define as recursivity.¹¹¹ They are conduits for multi-directional mobility channelling opportunities or hostilities from the sea into the interior, or, conversely, providing ‘the springboard through which people whose base has been the interior “become maritime”’.¹¹²

The populating of a site such as Pithekoussai could only have been the result of an environment in which institutions allowed for such mobility and which was intensely interconnected. But its creation was not wholly peaceful. In relation to the growth of the *emporion* Cuozzo investigates corresponding changes in Iron Age sites on the Italian mainland, in particular Cumae.¹¹³ She distinguishes between the initial peaceful and dynamic cultural interaction in the early eighth century BC, in line with the development of Pithekoussai, and the substantial transformations of the Cumaean community in the following period. The settlement at Cumae and its surrounding territory underwent a partial ‘archaeological silence’ which can only be understood in terms of a violent takeover. At around the same time, in the second half of the eighth century BC, Late Republican and Imperial writers record the founding of a Greek colony on the site of Cumae by the people of Euboea.¹¹⁴ But this was not simply an Italic versus Greek encounter, not least because of the mixed community of Pithekoussai itself, where the Euboeans are to have come from. More importantly, because of the continuing prosperity at neighbouring Italic sites. The significantly rapid decline of Cumae may be contrasted with the growth of the nearby sites of Pontecagnano and Capua which show continuing vibrant contact with Pithekoussai, and the epigraphic evidence reflects the integration of outsiders in those places.¹¹⁵ This suggests that these two communities would have had to give consent to whatever action prompted the destruction of their neighbour Cumae.¹¹⁶ They could even have favoured it, and we may reflect on the conquest of Veii some centuries later by its neighbour Rome as other Etruscan states looked on. Whatever way we interpret the demise of Cumae, and the relationship between these diverse communities, it is hard to call Pithekoussai a Greek colony, or associate the changes at Cumae with a state-sponsored colonising initiative.

¹¹⁰ On institutions and functioning of *emporion* and gateways: Purcell 2005c.

¹¹¹ Purcell 2005a; Shaw 2003–4. ¹¹² Purcell 2005a: 122. ¹¹³ Cuozzo 2007.

¹¹⁴ Livy 8.22.4–5; Strabo 5.4.4, 5.4.9. ¹¹⁵ Discussion in Cuozzo 2007: 227, 248–53.

¹¹⁶ Cuozzo 2007: 248.

That does not mean that individuals with Euboean origins and language did not come to take over the site and that this was probably the result of a violent encounter. However, it shares few characteristics with the later colonial creation of such Athenian outposts as Thurii in the fifth century BC. The transformations of Pithekoussai and Cumae were the result of connectivity that – albeit with different levels of violence – in each case led to the installation of a new authority, and the influx of a new population. Neither, however, was the result of a state-sponsored venture; nor did they feature encounters between opposing ethnic groups, even if that is how their story came to be told.

Colonisation as a Model – For Whom?

What ancient authors refer to as colonisation was by no means a homogeneous process. Nor did it necessarily involve large population transfers and evictions *en masse*, especially in the earlier phases. As a label it does not suggest the variety of encounters and processes that distributed people across the ancient Mediterranean. Hence, the use of colonisation as a descriptor in an ancient context has come under scrutiny.¹¹⁷ One of the ways that interrelated spaces, such as the colony, have been conceptualised is through the application of hybridity, a framework developed by White in the context of colonial encounters of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries between North Americans and Europeans in the Great Lakes.¹¹⁸ Hybridity, with its associated concepts of *metissage* and the ‘middle ground’, allows for the recognition that agency was lodged not only with the coloniser but also with the colonised.¹¹⁹ Such conceptions have highlighted the shared experience of the meeting of peoples in the ‘middle ground’ and the creation of a third or hybrid culture that includes a newly formed, mutual understanding of the world.¹²⁰ The development of these concepts in postcolonial thought was essential to move the interpretation of material culture beyond the colonial perspective. But the extent to which this model is applicable to the ancient Mediterranean is questionable.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Purcell 2005a wrote most directly that colonisation is a category in crisis in the study of the ancient Mediterranean. Osborne 1998 has argued for the organic process of settlement, especially in what has been referred to as early Greek colonisation. Case studies exemplifying the problems with the concept of colonisation for the ancient context: Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002; Gosden 2004; Bradley and Wilson 2006; Van Dommelen and Knapp 2010b; Stek and Pelgrom 2014.

¹¹⁸ White 1991. ¹¹⁹ Bhabha 1994; Gandhi 1998.

¹²⁰ With specific application to pre-Roman Italy: Malkin 2002.

¹²¹ Malkin 2011 is one of the strongest advocates for using the concept of the Middle Ground, in relation to Greek encounters in particular. For the implication of these concepts to ancient

One difficulty is that in its focus on the aftermath of the initial colonial encounter it does not acknowledge pre-existing contact that may have begun the colonising venture initially. Implicit, also, is the meeting of two distinct, homogeneous and coherent cultures at the first stage of interaction.¹²² In the context of the Mediterranean, where unbroken contact and mobility between its many regions was the norm and had been for millennia, it would be difficult to imagine the *ab initio* creation of a colony as a catalyst for connectivity, rather than as a stage within a wider and more complex process.

Prior to the Greek Classical period, the term ‘colonisation’ is not appropriate to describe the variety of Greek initiatives that resulted in the creation of new settlements and *emporia*.¹²³ While it is true that ancient Greek authors use the word *apoikia* and Latin ones *colonia*, both of which translate into English as colony, we need to be wary of the singular underpinning vision that is implied by the use of such terms to explain the founding of a settlement. It is difficult to apply to the ancient world the narrative of colonialism that requires distinct and easily identifiable colonisers and colonised, a colonising period with complex socio-cultural and political interaction leading to transformation, which is then seen through a phase of decolonisation (particularly in European colonial narratives). As Purcell observes, all these elements are missing in the ancient world.¹²⁴ Furthermore, colonisation perversely implies stasis as a goal, a permanent re-settlement to a new location that seeks to dominate the productive terrains and the human and material resources they contain. But the object of colonisation can be the web of connectivity itself. Drawing on Osborne’s findings, Purcell concludes that the concept of Greek ‘colonisation’ is anachronistic as a term for historical analysis: ‘It is the movements which count.’¹²⁵ Yet, it is a persistent model in Mediterranean history. Terrenato’s suggestion as to why alternative approaches have been overlooked for the last 150 years in favour of colonising manoeuvres is the need to find precedent and justification for modern colonialism.¹²⁶

world studies: Antonaccio 2005: 100, 107–12; Purcell 2005a; Isayev 2010; Gosden 2004; Van Dommelen 2002.

¹²² Feeney 2016: 10 also observes that there is no such thing as an independent autonomous culture.

¹²³ Osborne 1998: 252, 267–8. Keeping in mind that the homogeneity implied by the term ‘Greek’ is itself a cultural construct denoting ethnic cohesion in the group that founds a new settlement, as exemplified by: Vlassopoulos 2007. Malkin has demonstrated how it is the dispersal itself that codifies Greek identity and civilisation: Malkin 2011.

¹²⁴ Purcell 2005a: 133. ¹²⁵ Purcell 2005a: 124, 133, with reference to: Osborne 1998.

¹²⁶ Terrenato 2005: 66.

Early Greek Ventures and Power Hubs in South Italy

If not along the lines of the grand narrative of colonisation how do the *apoikia* and *colonia* fit into the net of connectivity within ancient Italy? Knowledge of the opportunities that Italy offered must have been circulating around the Mediterranean by the eighth century BC. In the three centuries that follow, Italy boasts the largest recorded number of externally initiated settlements in the Mediterranean. These sprung up along the south and west coasts, with recorded newcomers primarily arriving from the Greek East. The motives for the creation of these outposts are believed to be economic and probably the result of independent small-group initiatives in the early stages. But increasingly they acquired the role of regional powerbases to serve the interests of their founding states on the Greek mainland. The story of Sybaris as a Greek city with a south Italian empire is well attested. Yet its early history and the position of the first Greek arrivals are less well understood. According to tradition, Sybaris was an Achaean colony founded in the eighth century BC which exerted a hegemonic influence until its destruction in 510 BC by Kroton. Strabo (6.1.13), one of the main sources for this narrative, states that it ruled three tribes and twenty-five towns. Of the original colony, other than a few Archaic houses at Stombi, little remains due to the alluvial deposits covering earlier habitation layers near the coastline.¹²⁷ What evidence there is comes from territory further inland, which shows evidence of Greek material and practices across a number of sites. At Timpone della Motta, some 30 km away, there is evidence of Archaic houses of similar style and technique as at Stombi. The site also has remains of a sanctuary with Greek material. Another site at Torre Mordillo has similar remains, and evidence of settlement centralisation in the Iron Age. Other sites in the area, such as Amendolara, have evidence of Greek material dating from the early seventh century BC. For those who subscribe to the traditional narrative, this evidence provides further support for Greek hegemony from the start.¹²⁸ Early Greek material in the surrounding territory could be read as a sign of Sybarite expansion, while Timpone della Motta and Torre Mordillo may be interpreted as frontier sanctuaries created to defend the colonial territory.

These assumptions have been used to support the view that Greek influence not only triggered centralisation in the surrounding indigenous communities during the colonial period, but also settlement

¹²⁷ Attema 2008: 89–92.

¹²⁸ Guzzo 1987; De Polignac 1984; Osanna 1992: 122–32, 157–66; Greco 1993: 467.

transformation in the preceding phase.¹²⁹ While these interpretations match later literary accounts, they do not explain discrepant features of the material record. Centralisation at Torre Mordillo shows prominent aristocratic houses, with cult activities centred on a weaving deity. These preceded the Greek-style temple complex on the site in the seventh century BC. Instead, the earliest Greek material appears in cemeteries alongside indigenous material and suggests the presence of Greek migrants who may have been integrated into the community rather than arriving as hostile occupants. The evidence shows that native elites were prominent in the period of site transformation and that Greek influence developed slowly, without signs of initial violence. How Sybaris came to play a major role in the seventh century BC remains unclear.¹³⁰ Although, if the takeover of Cumae by the Euboeans and others from a base at Pithekoussai is anything to go by, we would expect that the growth of power in Sybaris would have had support from at least some of its Italic neighbours in the surrounding region. A dedicatory bronze plaque from Olympia is testament to these intricate relations in the late sixth century BC. It records a pact of friendship between Sybaris with her allies and the Serdaioi, whose settlement(s) were probably situated on the Tyrrhenian coast between Vibo and Poseidonia.¹³¹ Even if we do not know whether Sybaris obtained its power through a single hostile takeover, it is clear from the evidence that the process building up to such an event was drawn out and felt in a variety of interactions. At the very least, these would have included trade and exchange, but also the infiltration of migrants as residents into Italic communities. The Sybaris that came to lead an empire may have been a joint endeavour of a number of elite groups. These were not necessarily all of Greek background. Those who were not may have found it in their interest to support such a powerbase, using a polis model, with established links and better access to resources across the Mediterranean. In this way, they could gain significant advantage against competitors in Italy or elsewhere.

The initial slow infiltration of Greek settlers from the East Mediterranean is also to be found in the Salento peninsula on the south-east coast, although slightly later, with the founding of the key centres of Taras (Taranto) and Metapontion (Metaponto) to the west of it. Here the

¹²⁹ Guzzo 1987. ¹³⁰ Kleibrink 2001; Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 103–5, 119–23.

¹³¹ Meiggs and Lewis 1988: ‘Treaty between Sybaris and the Serdaioi’, 18–19, no. 10. See also: Greco 1990; Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994: 175–7, no. 42. Coins with the legend SERD are believed to have been minted by the Serdaioi, who are mentioned on the inscription: Arnold Biucchi 1993.

interest of the Italic elite in appropriating the latest Mediterranean trends is distinctly visible. There is no evidence that early colonial Greek objects proliferate in native contexts. Most Greek artefacts in the Salento are acquired from overseas as a result of trans-Adriatic exchange between Greeks and Italians. There is also no evidence to suggest that the Greeks dominated this exchange. Rather it is the local elite that increasingly appropriated Greek culture as indicators of prestige and integrated it into existing value systems.¹³² The nature of the evidence points to a framework of co-operation rather than domination in early Greek–native encounters. Some of these exchanges would have resulted in outsiders settling, as suggested by evidence of co-presence within communities such as at L’Amastuola.¹³³ Here, transformations in settlement structure and architectural norms cannot be seen as signs of destruction. The replacement of huts with houses in the Iron Age, for example, was more likely to have resulted from a desire to upgrade living quarters, a phenomenon witnessed across Italy in the period.¹³⁴ Links to external networks were essential for cultural transformations, but the motive to use them was internal.

The foundation of the earliest Greek sites on the peninsula was not the result of state schemes by city-states on mainland Greece. Malkin’s depiction of *A Small Greek World* charts the dynamic networks of interaction that, through small-scale enterprise, led to the creation of *apoikia* and *emporía*.¹³⁵ The early history of these sites reveals that many of them were not only the products of small-group initiatives but that it was a mixed or an ‘entangled’ community that was responsible for their growth. Expansion over wide tracts of land progressively became more intensely cultivated. Alongside the substantial Greek presence there was native continuity, and co-existence, with socio-cultural interchange. The extent of this ‘entanglement’ means that for some of the sites in the Sybarite hinterland, such as the sanctuary at Francavilla,¹³⁶ it is impossible to tell whether it was Greek or indigenous; and nor would such a categorisation be particularly useful. Among the studies that have shown this to be the case are decades of archaeological excavations and surveys in the countryside of Greek Metapontion.¹³⁷ Metapontion may have had a turbulent history but the Archaic centre had no fortification walls and its

¹³² Osborne 2004; Burgers 1998: 179–94; Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 131; Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989.

¹³³ Burgers and Crielaard 2007; Burgers and Crielaard 2011.

¹³⁴ Brandt and Karlsson 2001; Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 104–5.

¹³⁵ Malkin 2011. ¹³⁶ Papadopoulos 2003: 8–9.

¹³⁷ Carter 2006: chapter 2, 51–90, 230–2; Carter, Prieto and Trelogan 2011.

countryside, which stretched into the hinterland, was densely farmed, suggesting a lack of immediate threat from the surrounding populace. The piecemeal proliferation of Greek settlements and culture in south Italy shows affinities with the appearance of Gallo-Celtic influence in the north of the peninsula, except that the latter is rarely, if ever, characterised as a colonial process.

Entanglement from Within: The Founding of Italian Locri

The confused situation of how communities come to be what they are is demonstrated by the story of the foundation of Italian Locri (the later Locri Epizephyrii) by Greek Locrians in the seventh century BC.¹³⁸ No one knows what happened, not even the locals. But some three centuries after the first Locrian settlers allegedly arrived in Italy, divergent narratives were already circulating in Greece and being re-told by those not native to the city, such as Aristotle, Timaeus and Polybius. The story of the settling of this site is in many ways fantastical. Yet, it provides an alternative to the state-initiated, largely male-focused, colonisation narratives that make up the bulk of the story of how south Italy came to be populated by Greek settlers. The most detailed narrative of Locri's peculiar origins is given by Polybius, who provides a running commentary on the credibility of different versions (12.4d – 12.12a). He had first-hand knowledge of Locri,¹³⁹ which is probably what spurred his interest in the multiple stories of its foundation, and this gave him an authoritative voice when challenging Timaeus's account. Polybius's preference is for the version presented by Aristotle in the fourth century BC, which is also the one accepted by the Locrians themselves, and the one that most closely fits his Greek world view.¹⁴⁰ Briefly stated: the Italian settlement was founded in the first half of the seventh century BC by the wives of Greek Locrians and their slaves, who after initial friendly relations with the local Sicels expelled them. The explanation for this seemingly strange partnership was that the women had become intimate with their slaves, while their husbands

¹³⁸ On the myth: Walbank 1962; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974; Redfield 2003: 203–308.

¹³⁹ Polybius 12.5.1 notes that he visited the site and rendered important services. These visits took place during the Dalmatian campaigns in the 150s BC, probably 156/5 BC: Walbank [1967] 1999: 331. His interest in the city was also due to his Roman patron Scipio capturing it during the Second Punic War in 205 BC: the involvement of Locri in the Hannibalic War is outlined by Livy 29.6.2–9. That Locri was in Carthaginian hands after Cannae until 205 BC: Walbank [1967] 1999: 332.

¹⁴⁰ Bickerman 1952: 75.

campaign abroad with the Spartans. Also strange is that the new settlers in Italy continued to have good relations with the Spartans.

Central to the narrative of Locri Epizephyrii's formation is not ethnicity but a socio-political encounter between members of different communities and those of different status. Negotiation, trust, competition and adaptation are part of the process, in which some lose out, both at the site of origin in Greece, and in Italy. Itinerancy drives the story: the husbands are away on campaign, the slaves have no tie to the land, the women choose to find a new life elsewhere and the 'native' Italians are forced to move away. It is about the role of the outsider in the process of change and cultural transformation, and which rationalisation for this process is the most credible for later purposes. The diverging narratives do not hinge on whether there was a real possibility of such an emigration or encounter; there is no interest in the mechanics of the move. No questions are raised as to how this group of women and slaves managed to get passage on a boat that took them to south Italy, nor how they had enough strength to dominate and drive away the locals. The debate hinges on whose understanding of human nature in inter-group relations is more credible in respect of the choices made by the settlers on arrival, and the response of the locals.

Timaeus's points of contention, as described by Polybius, are that the new settlers in Italy continued to have good relations with the Spartans, and that they name their new site Locri. This Timaeus finds hard to believe if half of these settlers were slaves. His assumption is that, having found their freedom, the settlers would want no association with their former masters or anyone to whom they may have been allied, such as the Spartans. Polybius disagrees. He argues instead that slaves, having found themselves free, would not only adopt the friendly feelings of their previous owners, but, for reasons of status and authenticity, would strive more so than blood relatives to appear as descendants of their late masters. He insists that this would have been even more likely due to the advantage of distance from Greek Locri, which made it easier to conceal their true origins. As confirmation of this view, Polybius cites the naming of the new city Locri after their Greek wives. There is operational cunning, therefore, in their behaviour. Which of these versions is more correct is not a matter of historical detail. The local perspective of the Locrians could well be different again.

Confusion also surrounds the initial contact with the local Sicels who inhabited the site on the arrival of the Locrians. Polybius reports that it did not take long before the unfortunate Sicels were expelled. He tells us that

the Sicels' initial offer of friendship and agreement to share their country was due to fear of the new arrivals. As a result, they made a pact sealed by oaths, which the Locrians broke through trickery. Why these malleable Sicels would have to be driven out is unclear, as the Locrian re-settlement is not presented as either militaristic or hostile. The model of initial friendly relations that are then destroyed by the incomer turning aggressive is a model that persists in descriptions of many changeovers in ruling authority. It is applied in the takeover of Entella by Italian mercenaries, as will be explored in the [following chapter](#).¹⁴¹ The story of expulsion at Locri, however, does not quite match the fact that the incomers supposedly adopted and continued a native ritual: the leading of the sacrificial procession by a child of the noblest family. The only change the Greek Locrians are said to have made to this Sikel ritual was the substitution of a boy by a girl.¹⁴² The continuity of such ritual practices suggests that the two communities had a period of friendly cohabitation. The story is valuable for what it displays about how mobility and interaction were understood by ancient observers. Such a story with female protagonists may have been one way that the Italian Locrians explained their strong matrilineal traditions, such as, for example, the derivation of ancestral nobility through the female line.¹⁴³ They were keen for it to be a tradition brought in by outsiders who arrived from the East, not something that was internally generated. Such an explanation, as we saw in the [previous chapter](#), was typical of how innovation in Italy was perceived at this time. It also indicates the power of the narrative template of aggressive colonialism for later commentators.

The Final Phase of Greek Influx, Mainland States Get Involved

The ability of mainland Classical Greek poleis to have outposts in south Italy was wholly dependent on the efforts of Greco-Italic groups in the preceding period, who either chose or were coerced into adopting a Greek socio-cultural model of settlement organisation. The period of the sixth and fifth centuries BC is characterised by secondary colonies (*apoikia*), set up by pre-existing ones already established on the peninsula.¹⁴⁴ Trade and economy were no longer perceived as catalysts for these new sites. Instead, the stimuli for their creation were political and military. They were not there to protect 'Greek' interests from local neighbours in Italy, but were

¹⁴¹ Diodorus Siculus 14.9.8–9. See Chapter 5, pp. 169–70. ¹⁴² Polybius 12.5.9–11.

¹⁴³ Polybius 12.5.5–7. ¹⁴⁴ For an overview: Wilson 2006.

a way of carving up competing spheres of influence between rivals in the Greek East. Ancient authors describe how Sybaris, which had established intricate ties with other Greek and Italic communities and had a strong power base throughout the sixth century BC, lost her south Italian dominion to her Greek neighbour Kroton in 510 BC. In its place Athens created Thurioi in 446/444 BC. Another *apoikia* to suffer destruction at the hands of her Greek neighbours in south Italy was Siris, defeated by an alliance of Rhegion and Metapontion. Using the opportunity to shift the balance of power, Taras (a Spartan foundation) established Heraclea in its place in 433 BC. The power struggles on the Greek mainland that culminated in the Peloponnesian War were being played out in Italy. Unlike their predecessors, these re/foundations were the product of much shorter processes that took the form of pre-planned projects with a clear founding moment. They were not the result of a long accumulation of newcomers and more organic settlement growth, as was the case in the formation of sites along the Greek poleis-model in the preceding centuries.

In the Hellenistic period that followed, with the dwindling of Athens and Sparta, Greek communities in Italy no longer drew on their ties with Greek mother-cities. Instead, in the wake of Alexander the Great's success, they relied on newly emerging powers to maintain their position. *Condottieri*, the 'invited' Hellenistic generals such as Alexander the Molossian and Pyrrhus of Epirus, were brought in with substantial mercenary armies. For these ambitious commanders such enterprises were an opportunity to gain a foothold in Italy, but ultimately without much success. Some of their contemporaries had more luck in Sicily where they wielded power as tyrants. These *condottieri*, in trying to find a base on which to build dynastic empires, had little interest in transplanting communities except inadvertently through the promise of land for their mercenary armies. What mattered to them was having access to the human resource that was being propelled around the Hellenistic Mediterranean in the form of mercenaries.¹⁴⁵ The tyrants of Syracuse in Sicily were particularly successful and able to attract tens of thousands of mercenaries, including ones from Italy, and most notoriously the Mamertines from Campania. As we will see in the following chapters, these dynasts created opportunities for settlement in Sicily by handing over already inhabited sites in return for service and loyalty. They were also keen to increase their populations to counterbalance the Carthaginian hold on the west side of the island. By this point in the fourth century BC, poleis in south Italy were no longer seen as

¹⁴⁵ See [Chapter 8](#), and esp. pp. 296–300.

colonial enterprises of the Greek mainland. They had different ambitions and new rivals. The practice of settlement foundation continued but as the [next chapter](#) will show it had a different focus, with new forms and new agents.

Conclusion

Most of this chapter and the previous one have focused on understanding how mobility is perceived by ancient and modern authors in relation to community formation and change. They have highlighted the ways in which categorisation affects our perception of those on the move and the nature of the mobile events. Framing a process as either a takeover by an ethnic group, through *en masse* migration, or as a colonisation can obscure the diversity of interactions between locals and outsiders. It can also homogenise disparate phenomena, some of which may not have been initiated by any single entity, whether state or ethnos. The multiple stories of mixed origins and shifting intercommunity alliances, coupled with the evidence for ‘entangled’ cultures – linguistic and material – undermine the importance of ethnic consolidation, which dominates later narratives. Questions of whether external contact or internal forces caused societal transformation become more difficult in an environment of ongoing interconnectivity, where ‘initial contact’ episodes, of the kind envisaged by White, are present only in myths and legendary history. The transformation was not from a more static to a more mobile state or from homogeneous to more mixed communities. It was in the methods of how those communities were formed, and the nature of mobility that engendered them, whether piecemeal or through conflict. What this transformation entailed in the last phases of the first millennium BC is addressed in the [next chapter](#).

5 | Why Choose to Come Together and Move Apart?

Convergence and Redistribution of People and Power

Two of the key transformations in ancient Italy which are visible across the whole peninsula, although varying in scale and rates of change, are settlement centralisation in the early centuries of the first millennium BC and a further filling in of the countryside from the early Hellenistic period. They are products of people moving both from nearby and far away. There is evidence that these are not singular phenomena, and we need to look beyond the local context and specific historic events to explain the shifts. Recent developments in archaeological fieldwork methods, particularly landscape archaeology, have allowed for a wide-reaching sweep of the Italian peninsula, and the possibility of identifying moments of rapid settlement growth and contraction.¹ One of the challenges is to understand what the physical remains on the ground tell us about the formation and transformation of communities and the impetus for them. What were the driving forces behind site creation or abandonment? Were they expansive, as in a *synoecism* – a joining of communities – or the result of takeover or colonisation? Where did the inhabitants come from or disperse to? Thinking in terms of agglomeration, dispersal and relocation allows for a more meaningful understanding of developments than the abstract concepts of site rise and decline. It also highlights the primacy of human mobility in the process. The aim of this chapter is to bring these mobile practices to the fore and to show that the disappearance of one site, or the growth of another, need not always mean destruction or takeover and colonisation. This will be demonstrated primarily through charting the rise of settlement density from the fourth century BC. In particular, examples from south Italy and Roman settlement programmes will form the case studies for exploring the process of centralisation through harnessed mobility. These will help to locate Roman action, as an increasingly powerful agency in the movement of people, within a wider pattern of settlement change. We begin with a brief overview of the key features of

¹ Key projects from central and south Italy include: Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010; Carter 2006; Patterson 2004. For the impact of survey results on demographic studies: De Ligt and Northwood 2008; Witcher 2008; Yntema 2008; Gualtieri 2008.

centralisation, and approaches to understanding the internal and external drivers of settlement transformation.

A shift to large nucleated settlements on the Italian peninsula is evident from the period between the Final Bronze Age and the Iron Age. It is especially well attested in Etruria, Umbria and Northern Latium. In the Bronze Age, these regions already had a densely populated landscape characterised by a multiplicity of small sites of circa 1–15 hectares. Within a few centuries, fusion led to the creation of fewer but substantially larger settlements, some of 100–200 hectares, occupying broad plateaus that could accommodate populations in the thousands.² The most physically prominent Italic communities that flourished in the eighth to sixth centuries BC were Tarquinii, Caere, Veii, Volsinii, Vulci, Orvieto, Chiusi, Arezzo and arguably Rome. In the Pontine region of Latium, just to the south of these hubs, centralising tendencies had a different effect on sites such as Satricum and Lanuvium. These were significantly smaller, only 20–50 hectares, and they were also distributed more evenly through the landscape, especially around the Alban Hills.³ A comparable pattern of site distribution is evident in the south of Italy. Centripetal forces in the Salento peninsula led to the creation of equally modest centres measuring some 30–50 hectares, such as Oria.⁴ In the north of Italy, a region such as the Veneto saw the creation of both substantial towns, such as Este and Padua, and smaller sites in the mountainous hinterland. This was also characteristic of Liguria in the north-east.⁵

What this centralisation entailed, especially for the larger sites, is exemplified by the well-studied case of Veii, which we considered in the [previous chapter](#). The key features displayed there are also evident at other sites across Italy. They include the creation of fortification circuits, land division, spatial planning and the building of sacred structures. Other signs of early collective action may be added to this list such as specialisation of production and the control of common resources such as grazing lands, although such land-use is difficult to trace archaeologically. In the material record, where epigraphic texts are lacking, what we see are the products rather than the process of such decision-making, which is associated with state formation. The question is: did state formation precede such joint ventures or were they the catalysts for it? At the centre of the debate is the creation of the Roman Forum, which some see as a major initiative that led to state formation. Others argue that the necessary reclamation of marginal

² Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010; Smith 2007b.

³ Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 112–17. ⁴ Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 132.

⁵ For discussion of the region: Chapter 4, pp. 124–25.

land on which it was positioned in 600 BC would have required that some form of state already existed to pool resources and organise the substantial manpower needed to drain and infill the area.⁶ A further issue for this early period is to understand the way in which a central authority emerged through negotiation between dominant individuals and competing kin-groups.⁷ What is it that prompted them into this joint action to begin with?

Internal or External Impetus for Change and Competition

What is the role of external contact in sparking the change to nucleation and state formation at the start of the first millennium BC? Peña recently argued that forces set in motion by external trade destabilised society and led to the emergence of Etruscan states in 600–550 BC.⁸ His view is underpinned by studies of eighteenth and nineteenth-century encounters in Hawaii carried out by Kipp and Schortman, who focus on the role of trade in the transformation of chiefdoms to states.⁹ A key problem that we have already observed is that the ‘initial-contact’ scenario in Hawaii between groups that had no prior interaction is not transferrable to the context of the ancient Mediterranean. In Peña’s investigation concerning Etruscan states, therefore, it is not external trade itself that is identified as the catalyst at the moment of initial-contact, but the impact it has on the internal relationships between competing groups. According to Kipp and Schortman’s paradigm, trade begins with elite gift-exchange. Eventually, with intensified competition for control of resources and networks, traders choose or are encouraged to stay for longer periods near their market hubs, and at times to settle permanently, leading to what are termed ‘trade diasporas’. There are parallels in the ancient world of the elements outlined within this process of interaction, for example those to be found at such sites as Pithekoussai.¹⁰ However, the larger problem remains that for the paradigm to be applicable we would need evidence that communities, such as those in Etruria, had a phase without external interaction followed by a fundamental shift which transformed the contact environment and kick-started the process described by Kipp and Schortman. The evidence from the Mediterranean suggests instead a persistent interaction. Closed and

⁶ Ammerman 2011; Ammerman 1990: 643–5. ⁷ Smith 2007a; Terrenato and Haggis 2011.

⁸ Peña 2011: 180.

⁹ Peña 2011: 181–3, questions applicability of the Hawaiian case; Kipp and Schortman 1989.

¹⁰ See Chapter 4, p. 127ff.

conservative societies, where change is lacking, are more difficult to find.¹¹ Indeed, societies that were isolated and conservative tended to stagnate.

Peña's analysis tests the prevalence of external factors on social transformation; other studies concentrate on the strength of local impetus.¹² But these two sources of change need not be mutually exclusive. The model of *peer polity interaction* sees change as being initiated by interaction and competition between a large number of independent, and initially equally matched, polities.¹³ We may wonder to what extent the competition would have concerned access to, and control of, wide-reaching networks and the ability to attract such prospectors as Demaratus or his offspring. *Peer polity interaction* has been used to understand the shifting balance of power in Latium, where the significant rise of Rome led to a more hierarchical system of power relations oriented around a prominent central place.¹⁴ From this point on, a different model – of *core and periphery* – may be more suitable to explain continuing transformation, according to which change is driven by the interaction between unequal sectors of single systems.¹⁵

Both of these models, which have their critics and followers, are supported by rank-size studies that theoretically position a site within a hierarchy and project the extent of its territorial control. The results can then be visualised through the use of cartographic techniques such as Thiessen Polygons, and the more advanced XTENT model.¹⁶ These methods are helpful in providing indicative results of territorial divisions and hierarchies. But they cannot be taken as evidence of political or territorial dependency on their own, as the bonds between centre and hinterland varied over time, and clear evidence of their relationship is hard to find.¹⁷ One of the issues is that size alone does not mean that a settlement necessarily functioned as a coherent, autonomous polity, such as a city or state, exerting power over significant territory. Other signs are necessary, especially that of communal action, which could point to the presence of a central authority with decision-making power and institutions to enact the decisions by harnessing shared resources. It is not necessary to have a model urban centre for such communal action to take place. Put another way, the community that shares its resources and

¹¹ The Iron Age and Archaic communities of Hirpinia, in the Oliveto-Cairano area, may have been such a conservative society: Cuozzo 2007: 240–4.

¹² Izzet 2007: 232–3. ¹³ Renfrew and Cherry 1986.

¹⁴ Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 140–3. ¹⁵ Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen 1987.

¹⁶ Renfrew and Level 1979; Redhouse and Stoddart 2011; Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 26–9.

¹⁷ Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 151–2. See Chapter 9, pp. 336–36.

socio-political structures can encompass a number of settlements, which its members inhabit. Hence, attempts at locating settlements in ancient Italy, on a spectrum which employs standard definitions of city and state, have struggled. The parameters are too rigid to encompass the variety of organisational forms, which include elite-based power hubs that may have more in common with feudal lords than with any state organisation.¹⁸ Engagement with foreign cultures, individuals and ideas fuelled the process of centralisation but was not in itself the catalyst. This is in part because we struggle to find periods without engagement as a point of comparison. By joining together, disparate groups could exploit wider, mutually beneficial networks. This joining could be in the form of a single urban centre or an alliance of polities. Both were functional.

Far-reaching exchange networks allowed for an increase in the economic potential created by surplus goods through the exploitation of natural and human resources and access to a wider market and its distributive framework. The economic zones that existed in the Mediterranean and its surrounding regions were built on small-group enterprises.¹⁹ These, nevertheless, had wide remits and required communal treaties and military forces to control shared menaces such as pirates and enemy states. This will be explored in more detail in [Chapters 7 and 8](#).²⁰ Some groups, often through joint action, were more successful in exploiting these than others, and it is the products of their energies that are inscribed on the Italian landscape. Tombs and cemeteries with assemblages of prestige objects are one sign of success; another is the spread of influence and power visible in the proliferation of specific cultural models such as urbanism. For the communities who built Veii and Tarquinii, it was not the sudden contact with outside influences and markets, whether from Corinth or Gaul, which initiated development. It was the successful utilisation of available links, their reinforcement and through them access to new technologies and ideas that allowed for growth. In addition, expansion would have been fuelled through competition, resulting either in cohesion or hostility, propelling more ambitious powers to the forefront. Another way of understanding this process (keeping in mind the provisos outlined above) is as a shift from a model of *peer polity interaction* to one of *core and periphery*. What these models do not explain, however, is how the movement of people and relocation, as opposed to interaction, is related to community growth and development, which is what will be addressed in the remainder of this chapter.

¹⁸ Terrenato 2005: 66. ¹⁹ See [Chapter 3](#). ²⁰ Bederman 2001.

Centralisation and Infilling of Territory in the Fifth to Third Centuries BC

Inter-state competition through wars and alliances may be one of the key features of ancient and modern narratives, but they were not the only drivers of societal change. There were other supra-regional forces greater than the histories specific to individual sites and groups. Such forces and their inter-relationship with human mobility are manifest in the process of centralisation and infilling of territory across the peninsula in the fifth to third centuries BC. We will use the communities in ancient Lucania, who were Oscan speakers, to outline the key features of this process as a starting point to consider the possible drivers behind it ([Map 8](#)). Military or political episodes alone cannot explain why the pattern that we witness in this region is equally prevalent across other parts of Italy, particularly the south, and also in Sicily where competing Syracusan and Carthaginian powers are believed to have produced very different historical circumstances to that of the peninsula. The changes are detectable at sites defined by scholars as Italic, Greek and Punic, whether along coasts or deep in the hinterland. They occur within a relatively short time span of two centuries and follow similar trajectories. A pattern of three major shifts is recognisable from the material record: (1) at the end of the fifth century, there is diminishing visibility of archaeological material and the cessation of certain types of material culture and settlement; (2) in the mid-fourth century, by contrast, there is a substantial rise in archaeological remains, differing from the preceding period, with evidence of increasingly nucleated settlements and restructuring of pre-existing sites, as well as an extensive populating of the countryside; (3) in the second half of the third century there is evidence of decline at most sites, with cessation of settlement, a reduced occupation of the countryside and a change in the material culture.

These shifts are defined by the appearance, increase and disappearance of people. One of the aims is to find out what it is that brought them to these sites, and then took them away. There will always be exceptions to this pattern, particularly in the last phase, but its form stands, compelling us to find factors beyond the local to explain convergence. It may be that changes from the mid-third century are largely attributable to the growing hegemonic power of Rome, its military campaigns, systems of recruitment and alliance – in short its methods of controlling human resources. However, the changes of the fifth and fourth centuries cannot be so easily ascribed to this. By isolating the second element of the wider pattern, specifically the



Map 8 Ancient Lucania with sites noted in text.

dynamism of the fourth century, it is possible to show that despite variations in the modes of change and specific historical events, there were improved living conditions; an apparent demographic increase; and a re-organisation of land-use and resource distribution. We can trace all these elements in the region of Lucania. The three sites that will be the main focus of this study are

located at or near the modern towns of Civita di Tricarico,²¹ Torre di Satriano,²² and Roccagloriosa.²³ Although none are recorded in ancient texts, in-depth archaeological projects allow for comparison to be made between these and other sites in regions beyond Lucania.

Lucanian Sites in Context and Their Early Histories

All three sites are located on the inter-mountain plateaus of the Southern Apennines. Tricarico and Torre di Satriano, some 70 km distance from each other, are positioned in the hinterland at 1000 metres in altitude. Roccagloriosa is situated further to the west on the Cilento peninsula on a ridge, 500 metres in altitude, near the coast. Of these three sites, Tricarico is the largest, a settlement of 47 ha that was created *ex novo* in the mid-fourth century BC. It appeared in a seemingly unoccupied landscape.²⁴ Its situation is unlike many of the other sites that rose in the fourth century. The majority occupied the same positions as the Iron Age and Archaic settlements, or were near to them, whether impressive sites such as Serra di Vaglio or the much smaller Torre di Satriano. At Roccagloriosa, which has a slightly earlier foundation date, there is evidence of habitation from the late fifth century, coinciding with Archaic ‘Enotrian’ material at the nearby coastal site of Tortora/Polecastro. By the fourth century, an organised settlement appeared on the high plateaus, accompanied by dense populating of the surrounding countryside.

The history of human settlement at Torre di Satriano goes back to at least the eighth century BC, with a substantial increase in the number of habitations apparent in the sixth to fifth centuries (Figs. 8a and 8b). Some were located 200–400 metres from the main hill, but most were in its immediate vicinity.²⁵ At this early stage, rather than a single coherent settlement, habitation consisted of clusters spread across the plateaus and summit of the hill, accompanied by several dispersed small cemeteries. It may be best described as polycentric in its organisation, with a number of elite houses on individual plateaus displaying the latest cultural trends.²⁶ Architectural terracottas with knights on horseback adorned the outside walls, while gorgons faced outwards from roof tiles and a bronze griffin

²¹ De Cazanove 2004; De Cazanove 2008a.

²² Osanna 2005; Osanna 2008; Osanna and Serio 2009; Osanna 2011a; Osanna and Cappozoli 2012; Osanna 2005.

²³ Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990; Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001a. For overview: Isayev 2007a.

The three settlements will be referred to as Tricarico, Torre di Satriano and Roccagloriosa.

²⁴ De Cazanove 2008: 563. ²⁵ Osanna 2011a: esp. 91. ²⁶ Osanna 2012: 296.

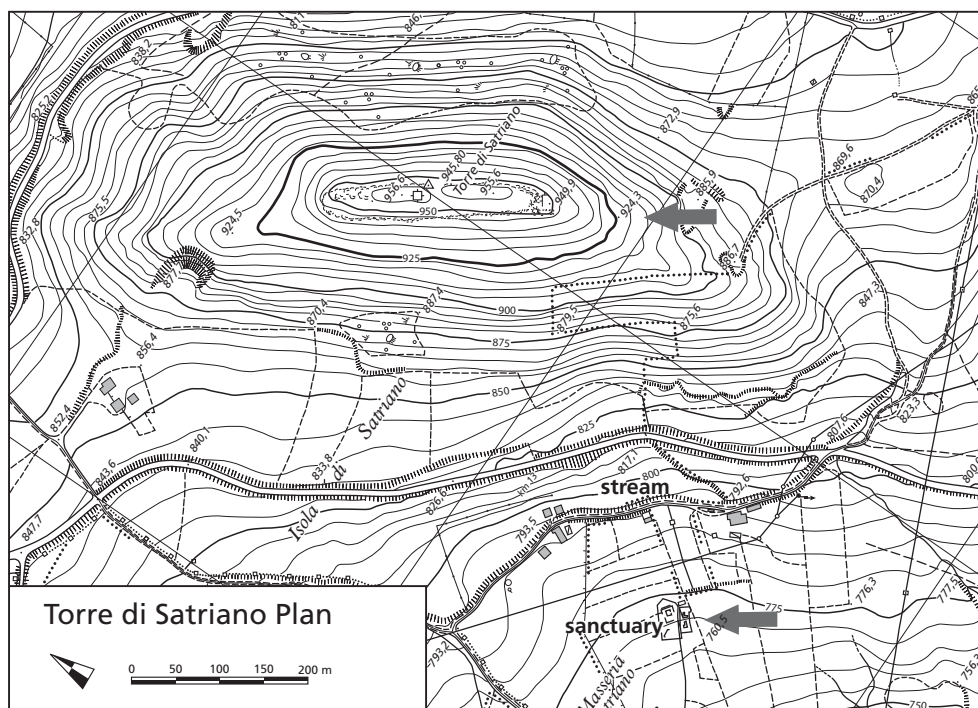


Fig. 8a Torre di Satriano site plan.



Fig. 8b Torre di Satriano view south-west.

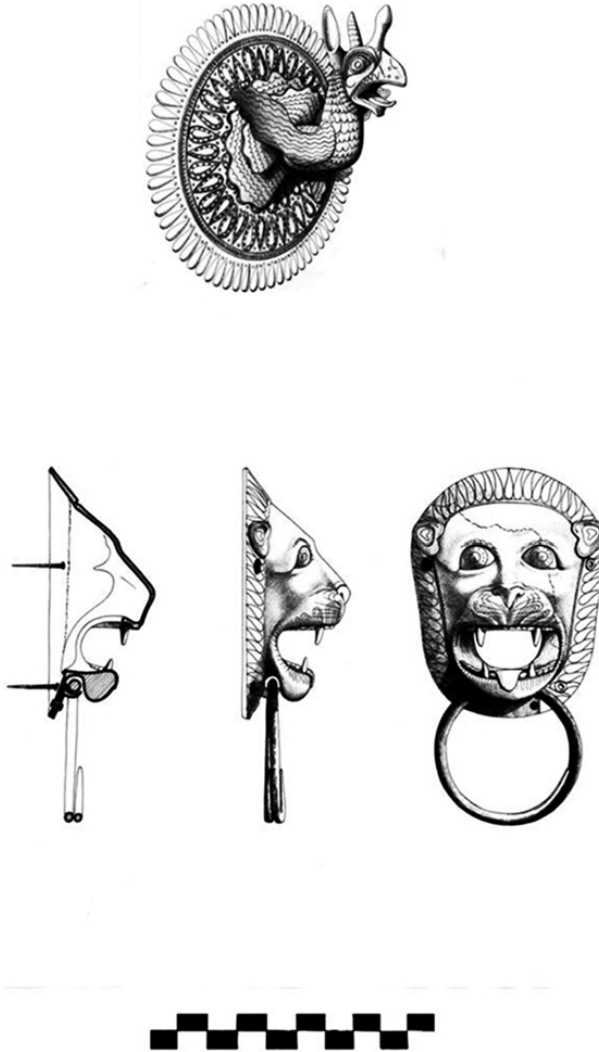


Fig. 8c Bronze griffin and lion door decorations – Archaic, Torre di Satriano (drawn by R. Pontolillo).

greeted the incomer at the door²⁷ (Fig. 8c). Extensive cultural links and access to craftsmanship of the highest quality are also visible in the funerary deposits at Torre di Satriano. Remains of banqueting equipment are one sign of sympotic dining practice within this community.²⁸ Such Mediterranean-wide elite symbols and decorative elements were part of a widely shared cultural language equally prominent at other Archaic sites

²⁷ Serio 2012: 33; Osanna 2012: 283, 292; Capozzoli 2012.

²⁸ Lanza 2012; Osanna 2012: 272.

in the region such as Serra di Vaglio and Braida di Vaglio, which lay midway between Torre di Satriano and Tricarico. This vibrant setting experienced a substantial change in the fifth century BC, often perceived as a time of crisis. It is characterised by a cessation of both the settlement and the cemeteries, which at Torre di Satriano may have been the result of seismic activity, with signs of an earthquake followed by a landslide on the plateau.²⁹ This did not result in the abandonment of the site, but rather a restructuring along a different organisational model in the following century.

Under what conditions did people come to create substantial settlements on these sites in the fourth century BC? In the case of Tricarico, it has been ascribed to a process of Lucanisation from the coast into the interior,³⁰ perhaps using such sites as Roccagloriosa as an initial base. This explanation seems consistent with ancient narratives of spreading Oscan/Samnite groups from the Apennines, especially to the south, where it was believed they splintered into Lucanians and then Bruttians.³¹ It implies that there was conquest and expansion, and that this was carried out by a defined group 'the Lucanians' who took the settlements and territories from the so-called native inhabitants – the Enotrians – who then disappeared from history. Even if we accept the rise of a new source of power, distinguishable linguistically and through the institutional system that operated under an Oscan authority (however that may be defined), and even if this rise was accompanied by conflict, the conquest model alone is not satisfactory. Other paradigms, to which we will turn below, incorporate the agency of local operators, some of whom would have engaged with this new power source and used it to their advantage. The Archaic form of settlement in the region, consisting primarily of multiple small sites, gave way to larger, centralised, fortified settlements surrounded by a more densely occupied landscape. Such a change implies institutional restructuring and a reconstitution of the ruling elite's identities along with their organisational capacity.

Evidence for increasing centralisation in the region may be compared to the earlier and better known case of Archaic Rome, which emerged from a number of villages or habitation clusters, with a forum at the centre. Similarly, Veii arose from a number of distinct villages.³² There is no suggestion that conquest had a role in the transformation of either of these two sites. Rather, the forces that facilitated their development were

²⁹ Serio 2012: 33 ³⁰ De Cazanove 2004; De Cazanove 2008a: 563.

³¹ For a critical analysis of ethnic identities: Isayev 2010; Bispham 2014; Bourdin 2012.

³² See Chapter 4, pp. 111–12.

internally driven. This could equally be the case for the forty or so known fortified sites in Lucania, or at least some of them. The creation of a brand new settlement at Tricarico, or the re/configuration of settlement structures at Torre di Satriano and Roccagloriosa, would have required a centralised form of organisation and decision-making, even if these were smaller than similar developments at Rome, Veii or Tarquinii.³³ The question is: who orchestrated the organisation and where were they based? In the case of Rome, or the Etruscan sites, it is assumed that the settlers were there already and chose to pool resources, leading to the creation of their cities: a positive, forward-looking development. Conversely, growth or embellishment of settlements in Lucania tends to be attributed to groups of newcomers or conquerors, and the transition is perceived as a crisis. This is not to negate the fact that there were conflicts that led to depletion of local populations and their displacement. But we must imagine other alternatives as well. In the case of Torre di Satriano, environmental factors, perhaps climate, may have caused the restructuring of the settlement, and the amalgamation of resources to create a single site. The settlements at Tricarico and Roccagloriosa too may have been the result of a process not unlike a *synoecism* that saw the joining of communities, or rather elites in the area or from further afield, who chose to build new settlements together in the fourth century. The results of these endeavours will be outlined in the [next section](#), as will the forces that fuelled them.

Arrivals and the Fourth-Century Boom

Throughout the latter half of the fourth century BC, the landscape of Lucania was transformed into a series of fortified settlements surrounded by an increasingly populated countryside, dotted with rural sanctuaries, some of a substantial size. These centres, along with pre-existing Greek-speaking cities such as Velia and Poseidonia, formed part of the same integrated network that stretched throughout South Italy and also encompassed Sicily. Among the new establishments in the region, Tricarico was the largest ([Figs. 9a–c](#)). From the outset it had a fortification wall that enclosed an area of some 47 hectares. The intramural settlements closest in size were Serra di Vaglio at 24 hectares, Laos at 20 hectares and Roccagloriosa at 15 hectares (excluding its extramural habitation of another 15 hectares in the immediate vicinity).³⁴ Tricarico's size and its position in the landscape – at some

³³ Isayev 2007a; De Gennaro 2005. ³⁴ De Cazanove 2008a: 117–18.

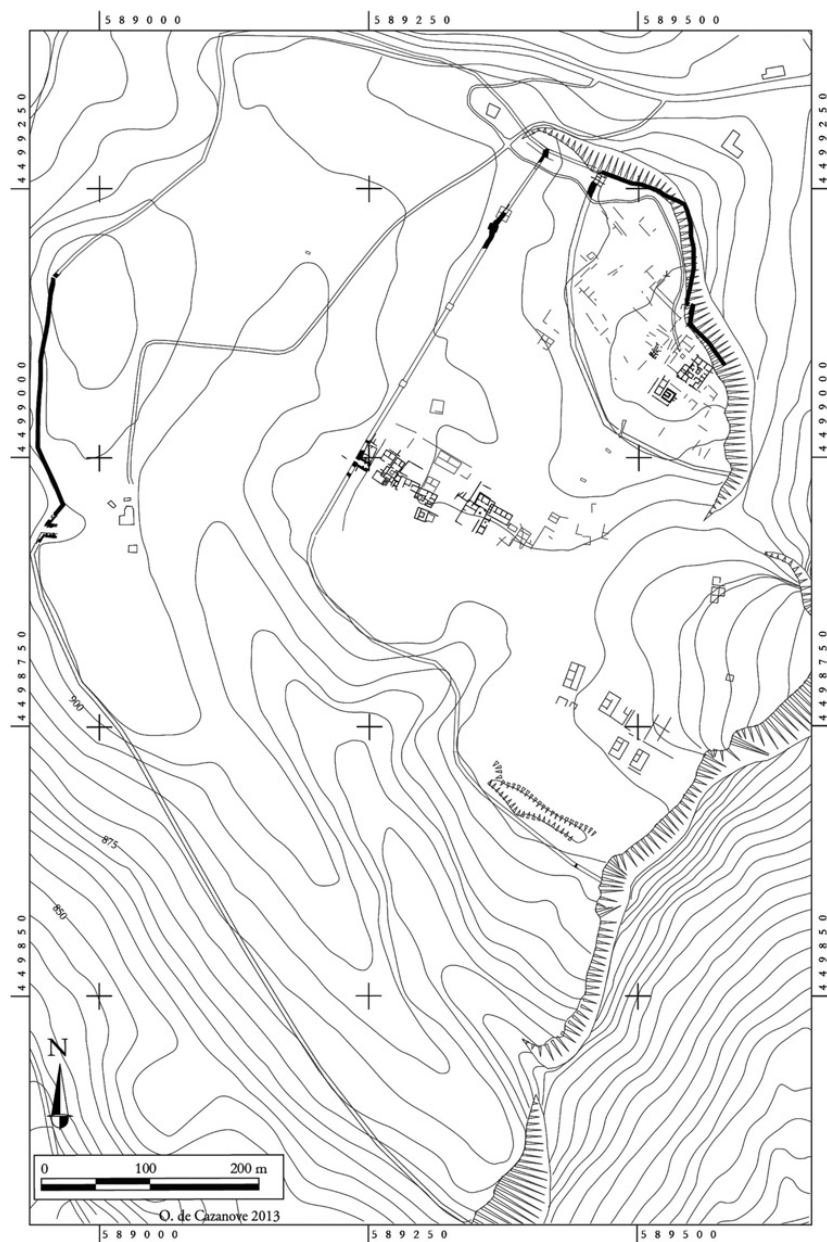


Fig. 9a Civita di Tricarico overview of ancient settlement.

distance from other sizeable nearby settlements – suggest that it had a socio-political role as an administrative centre for a substantial area that may have been hierarchically organised. Its position furthermore indicates that those who founded the site were newcomers, but from how far away and from how



Fig. 9b Civita di Tricarico central plateau settlement and intermediary fortification wall. House of the Monolith (in black phase II B, fourth – early third century BC). Temple Complex in grey on bottom right.

many different locations is unclear. Only a few signs, such as later tiles with Oscan stamps, give any indication that Oscan speakers were in the area.³⁵ We have no direct evidence for the ‘type’ of foundation at Tricarico. Perhaps it was also the result of a *synoecism*, or the outcome of other processes that could equally be described as colonisation, veteran settlement or land promised to mercenaries and their families. Whichever way we define it, the effort required a centralising capacity from the outset, as the settlement was conceived in its entirety on a large scale at the moment of creation. These newcomers built two fortification walls, one around the settlement plateau, the other around the *arx* (acropolis). The houses inside the walls were

³⁵ The tiles were recovered from the so-called *domus italica* and the nearby temple on the *arx* dating to the second century BC. The inscription reads *Fe Kar: Imagines Italicae*: Vol. III, Potentia 42, p. 1428–9, which includes references to other similar stamps found in Lucania.

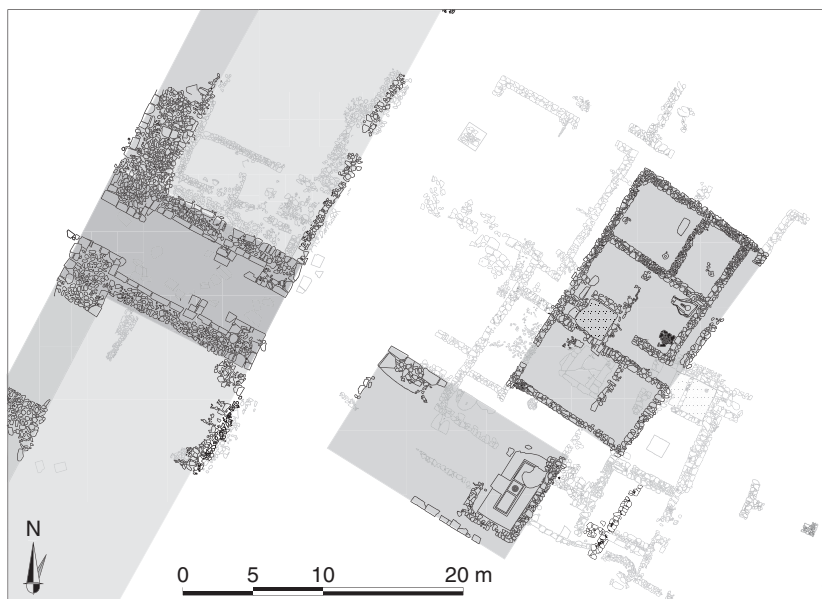


Fig. 9c Civita di Tricarico central plateau with intermediary fortification wall with gate and Banquet Complex with restructured House of the Monolith (shaded – Phase IV – third century BC).

steadily constructed over several generations with increasing wealth evident in the size, architectural style and materials. These are most well documented for ‘house of the monolith’, which had a key role in the last phase of the site’s existence.³⁶ It is this steady growth that may have been the reason that, despite the holistic conception of the site layout, it was not based around an orthogonal plan, as common at other sites of the same period, both Greek and Italic. This urban model may have been unsuitable for Tricarico and we may note that the south Italian Greek cities of Velia and Hipponion, for example, adopted such urban forms only in the second half of the fourth century BC.³⁷ Tricarico’s layout has more in common with settlements that grow organically;³⁸ but it also has evidence of communal planning recognisable in the creation of fortification walls, a canalisation system and standardisation of house types in the first phase of occupation.

³⁶ In Phase 2, circa 300 BC, some of the houses, such as House E, were expanded and converted into courtyard houses (at which point House E became the house of the monolith), and later peristyles, a process evident at other sites in the region, e.g. Serra di Vaglio: De Cazanove 2008a: 34–5; De Cazanove 2009: 173–4.

³⁷ La Torre 2009: 190. ³⁸ De Cazanove 2009: 173–4.

At the much smaller site of Torre di Satriano, following a period of uncertainty at the end of the fifth/early fourth century, a new centre replaced the individual Archaic clusters. The fortified core of the settlement, some 6.7 hectares, was built on the summit and the higher terraces of the ridge.³⁹ We would expect a different socio-political structure accompanying the shift from a polycentric settlement to one focused on a single centre.⁴⁰ The persisting question is whether there was continuity from one phase to the next or whether the newcomers, if that is what they were, arrived at an already declining or empty site.⁴¹ Unfortunately, little is known about the structures of this second phase, as the medieval settlement lies on top of it. But what is known suggests that they were comparable to the impressive contemporary residential complexes, verging on Macedonian palaces, preserved at the fortified site of Cersosimo.⁴² The substantial rise of occupation at Torre di Satriano is best documented by the surveys in the surrounding territory, which have revealed that numerous sites were flourishing in the fourth and third centuries, some at considerable distance from the settlement. Although the distribution pattern would have been affected by the topography, Osanna notes that it is not dissimilar to what we find in the Greek *chorai*.⁴³

A densely populated landscape and equally impressive aristocratic houses were also prominent at Rocca gloriosa in the middle decades of the fourth century⁴⁴ (Fig. 10a). Courtyard houses occupied the main plateau, which at this time was encircled by a fortification wall (Figs. 10a and 10b). Preceding these developments, the organisation of streets and town planning, with different areas reserved for habitation, crafts and a necropolis, already existed a generation earlier.⁴⁵ In the surrounding countryside, surveys over recent decades show that there was a substantial increase in habitation density from the fourth century.⁴⁶ The variety of sites within a 5 km distance from the centre included individual isolated farms and village settlements further away, interspersed with towers that allowed for better lines of sight and communication.

³⁹ Osanna 2011a: 91–3.

⁴⁰ Osanna 2009b; Osanna and Serio 2009: 110–11. Osanna's research goes beyond the question of whether or not a particular site can be called urban. His arguments about 'central place status' have much convergence with what is argued here (and in Chapter 7), in that increasingly sites had an administrative role with the capacity of centralising power. What remains questionable is whether they provided a form of territorially based identity, as for example that of city-states: Isayev 2013; Isayev 2011a.

⁴¹ Osanna and Serio 2009: 110–11. ⁴² Cossalter and De Faveri 2009. Osanna 2011a: 97–100.

⁴³ Osanna 2011a: 101. ⁴⁴ Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990.

⁴⁵ Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 131. ⁴⁶ Gualtieri and Fracchia 1990; Fracchia 2001: 59–60.

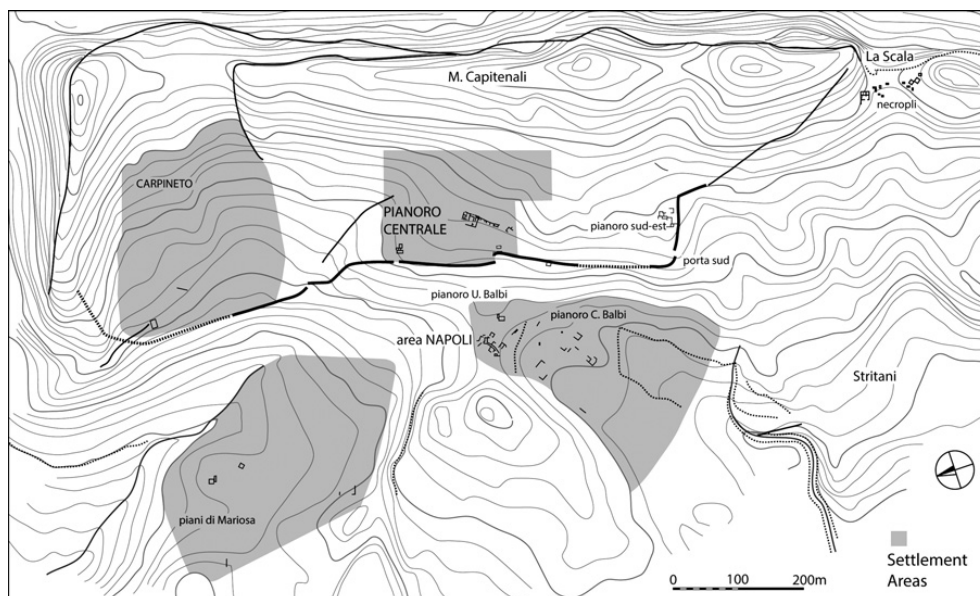


Fig. 10a Roccalgoriosa site plan.

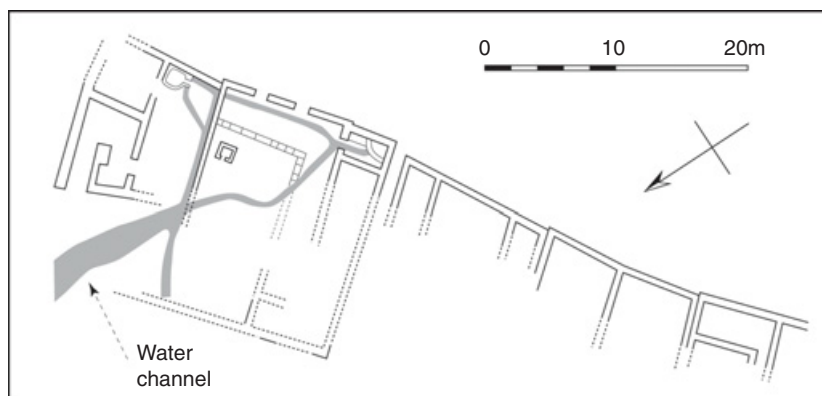


Fig. 10b House 'Complex A' with shrine, at Roccalgoriosa. Schematic drawing by Adam Wainwright after Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 223, fig. 5.

Again, it is unclear where the people who built Roccalgoriosa and populated its hinterland came from. Was it a form of *synoecism*, a decision taken by those who inhabited the smaller sites in the territory? Did they come from much further afield or was it a mixture of both? What we do know is that by 300 BC the site was governed by an Oscan-speaking power. This is explicitly demonstrated by the recovery of a bronze tablet, with the



Fig. 10c House 'Complex A' courtyard with shrine, at Roccagloriosa.

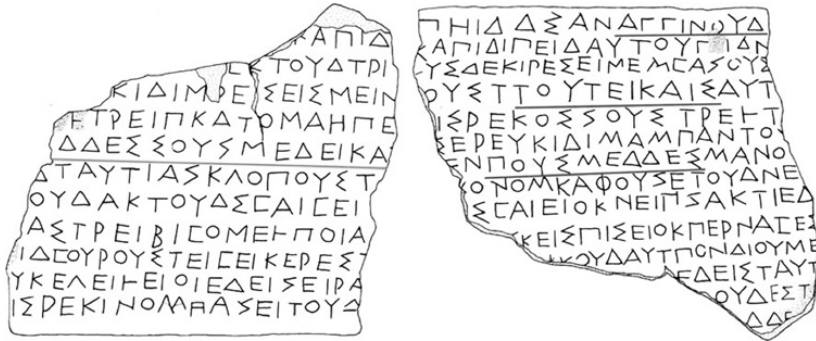


Fig. 11 Bronze tablet with a *lex* in Oscan, sides A and B, from Roccagloriosa, Central Plateau (drawing by Paolo Poccetti).

fragmentary remains of a *lex* – a law – which was written in Oscan using the Ionic Tarentine alphabet⁴⁷ (Fig. 11). Within it are noted *meddices* (magistrates), and the *touta* – a term designating a community, roughly equivalent to the Latin term *civitas*. Another symbol of statehood found at the site was an object believed to be a *caduceus* (a type of sceptre), inscribed with the letters DH, the short form for *de(mosion)* or *de(mosia)*, indicating that it was public property⁴⁸ (Fig. 12). From these features we may conclude that Roccagloriosa had an administrative role overseeing a *touta*,

⁴⁷ Gualtieri 2000; Gualtieri and Poccetti 2001; Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 131–3.

⁴⁸ Gualtieri 2011: 85–6; Fracchia and Gualtieri 2009: 127–8; Gualtieri 2010.



Fig. 12 Caduceus (or *Kerykeion*) from Roccagloriosa.

which was based at least partially at the settlement, and probably incorporated the outlying sites. The institutions explicitly represented at Roccagloriosa employed an Oscan model that integrated Hellenistic aspects – its system of symbols and tools – as demonstrated in the choice of the alphabet, the written law and the *caduceus*. These are not representative of the ethnic identity of the people who inhabited the site, but are the key cultural characteristics of its ruling body. Whoever was living at Roccagloriosa in the fourth century, as at Tricarico and Torre di Satriano, whether or not they were all under the aegis of an Oscan authority, had a shared elite language prevalent across the Mediterranean.

Some of the latest Hellenistic trends were picked up by these hinterland ‘Italic’ sites even before they appeared at Greek centres in Magna Graecia. For example, the late fourth-century bath found at a courtyard house at Moltone di Tolve has its nearest equivalent at Gela in Sicily dating to 280 BC.⁴⁹ The impressive black and white pebble mosaic with leaping dolphins at S. Stefano near Buccino is one of the earliest examples of a black and white pebble mosaic floor known from the peninsula.⁵⁰ In the private sphere, there are many parallels between the settlements in Lucania and other centres in Italy and Sicily, whether Greek or ‘indigenous’. The main differences appear in the articulation of public spaces and

⁴⁹ Russo Tagliente 1992: 178–80. Her comparative material for Moltone di Tolve includes structures from Delos, the Maison de la Colline and Maison du Trident. Osanna 2011a: 99 notes that Heracleian peristyle houses only date from the third century BC.

⁵⁰ Johannowsky 1990.

structures. Few of these, if any, are recognisable within the fortified enclosures of Lucania. The most impressive public structures in the region exist at large rural sanctuaries, which we will explore in [Chapter 9](#). The most prominent one in Lucania is Rossano di Vaglio – a sacred complex which is located at some distance from any single fortified site. Nothing corresponding to its size or monumentality existed at any of the fortified settlements. In comparison, the size of sacred enclosures within sites are miniscule: Complex P at Tricarico – a tripartite temple-shrine, is 10.73 x 7.85 metres ([Fig. 13](#));⁵¹ the small sacred enclosure at Torre di Satriano is only slightly larger at 13.20 x 13.20 metres ([Fig. 14](#)).⁵² Their size and constrained space mean that they are unlikely to have been used for large gatherings. Meetings inside the settlements, judging from the available space, would have been confined to a select group, perhaps within such buildings as the banquet room (next to ‘house of the monolith’) in Tricarico, or the houses of the elite. Community-wide assemblies, representing the *touta* for example, would have had to take place within non-permanent structures, possibly on the sides of hills that formed natural auditoria. They may have also been conducted at sanctuary sites such as Rossano di Vaglio, or what became the impressive theatre-temple complex of Pietrabbondante in the Central Apennines.⁵³ The people who came to populate these regions in the fourth century BC developed particular settlement models that best fit the landscape. Their communities were not just made up of poor mountain dwellers but had a sophisticated structure, plugged into the latest cultural trends, that grew into a powerful force in the period.

Departures in the Third Century BC

The restructuring and growth of settlements visible across Lucania in the fourth century continued at least into the early decades of the next one. After that, forces that seem to affect the whole region led to a decline in the quality of life at most sites by the mid-third century, with a visible contraction of settlement inside and outside the fortified areas. At most sites this resulted in complete or near abandonment within a generation, as was the case for Torre di Satriano. Surveys around the settlement show that of the sixty-nine sites identified in the survey only eleven remained in the ‘Roman’ period, and of these only two were continuously occupied from

⁵¹ De Cazanove [2004](#): 252–3; De Cazanove [2008a](#): 560. ⁵² Osanna and Serio [2009](#): 102.

⁵³ These are discussed in detail in Chapter 9, p. [326ff](#).

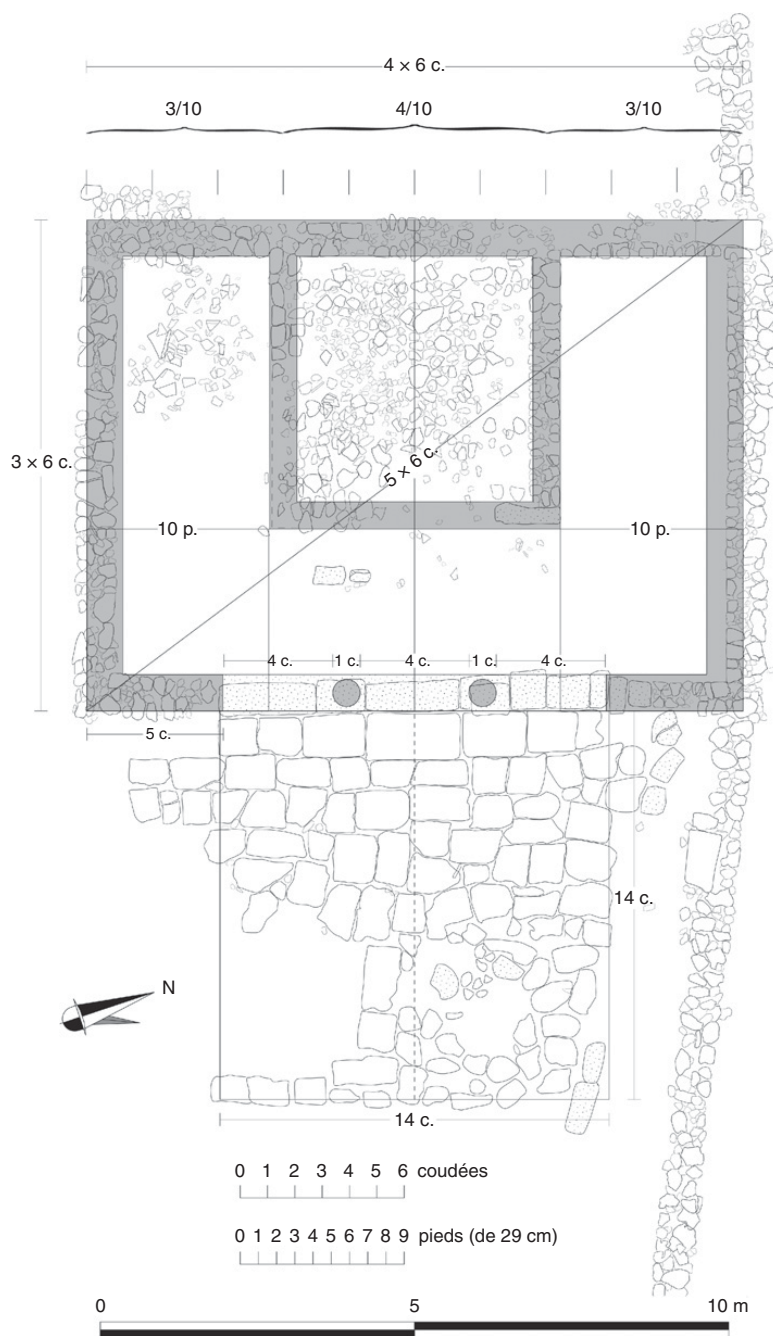


Fig. 13 Civita di Tricarco, Temple – Complex P (Basemap – J. Dutertre, A. Laurens; Design – O. De Cazanove; Drawing – N. Monteix).

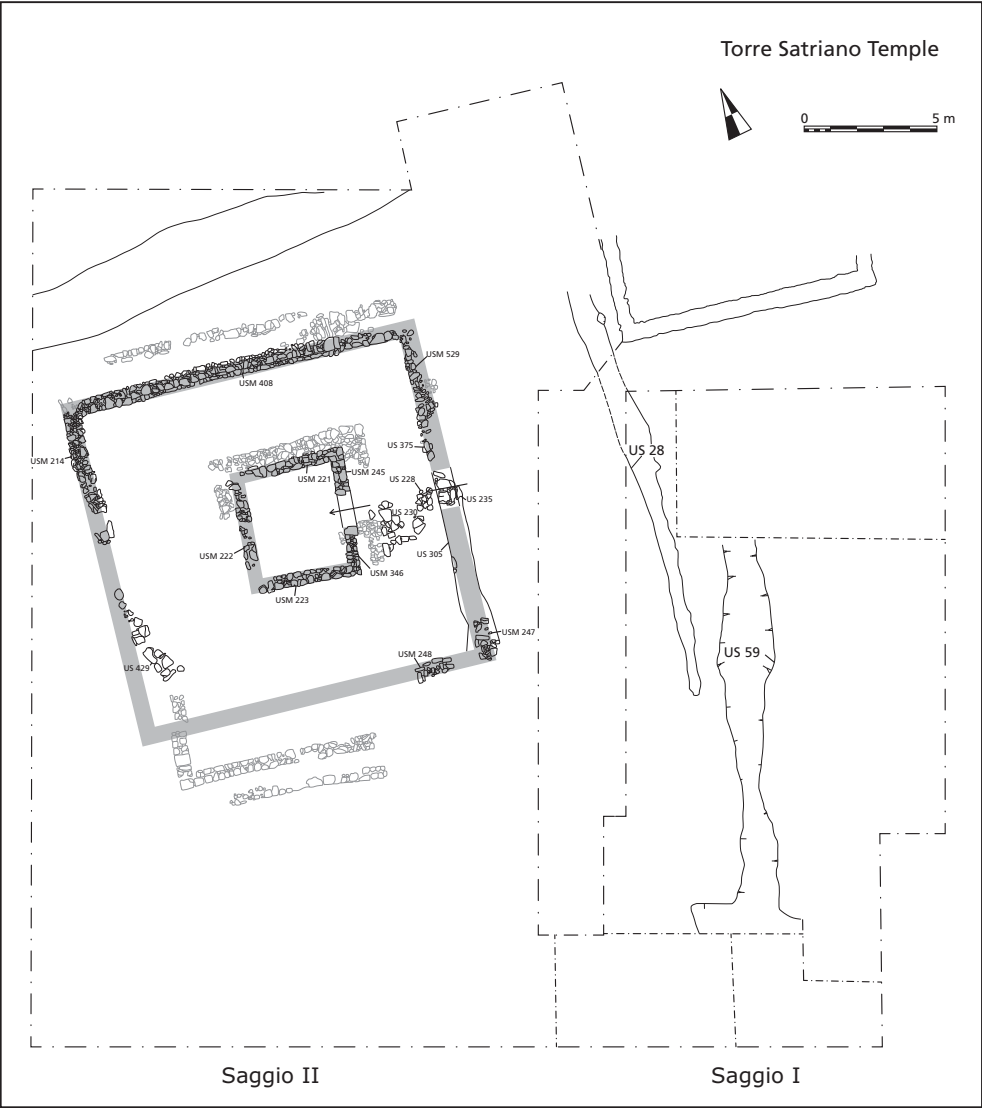


Fig. 14 Torre di Satriano Sanctuary Plan – first phase in grey – fourth century BC.

the fourth century into the Republican period.⁵⁴ At Roccagloriosa, eventual abandonment may have coincided with landslides, which could have been its cause, or a consequence of a shortage of resources and investment. As the centre declined so did the number of sites in its immediate hinterland, but those further afield continued at a reduced level into the second

⁵⁴ Osanna 2011a: 101.

and first centuries BC.⁵⁵ The material from these centres and their hinterland reflects stark changes in the quality of life. At Tricarico, the evidence allows for further insight into the plight and hopes of its inhabitants.

A century after its creation, Tricarico's residents were still keen to rebuild and enhance their living quarters and evidently had the resources to do so. 'House of the monolith' was extended not long before the most drastic restructuring of the site took place between 240 and 225 BC.⁵⁶ The decision to build an intermediary fortification wall, which severely reduced the size of the enclosed area of the settlement to some 17 ha, could not have been taken lightly. It may have been a coercive act as it necessitated the destruction of some of the houses on the plateau. As a consequence, 'house of the monolith' now found itself positioned right in front of the gate of the new fortifications, and it was not long after that this residence may have changed its role, in the last decades of the third century. Near it was constructed an impressive banquet room complex which faced the fortified gate. This banquet room very likely had an official or public function, judging by its positioning, its separation from other buildings and also by the high-quality finewares that formed part of the dinner set that was found within it (Fig. 15). While the creation of the new fortification may signal a period of uncertainty and fear, the newly built banquet room and the monumentalisation of the small sanctuary, Complex P,⁵⁷ reflects a time of confidence, just before an almost complete abandonment of the centre. What little evidence of activity remained on the site during the second century BC mainly comes from the *arx*, where a new courtyard house or *domus* was built, and an Italic temple, which survived at least into the first century BC.

It is tempting to link the transformed environment of the third century to known historic events. At Tricarico, the intermediary fortification wall is believed to have been constructed 240–225 BC, placing it in the period immediately following the First Punic War (264–241 BC). Not long afterwards, the banquet room complex was constructed, perhaps during the Hannibalic War. It may have been built during the renewed Punic confidence following the Roman set back at Cannae in 216 BC, when a number of sites seceded from Rome to join Hannibal. Although as de Cazanove acknowledges it is difficult to tell on whose side the settlement would have been.⁵⁸ Its abandonment in mid-dinner, judging by the distribution of the

⁵⁵ Fracchia and Ortolani 1993: 235; Gualtieri and Fracchia 2001a: 127–59.

⁵⁶ De Cazanove 2008a: 34–5.

⁵⁷ De Cazanove 2008a: 560; De Cazanove 2004. The date given for monumentalisation is c. 200 BC.

⁵⁸ De Cazanove 2008a: 570.

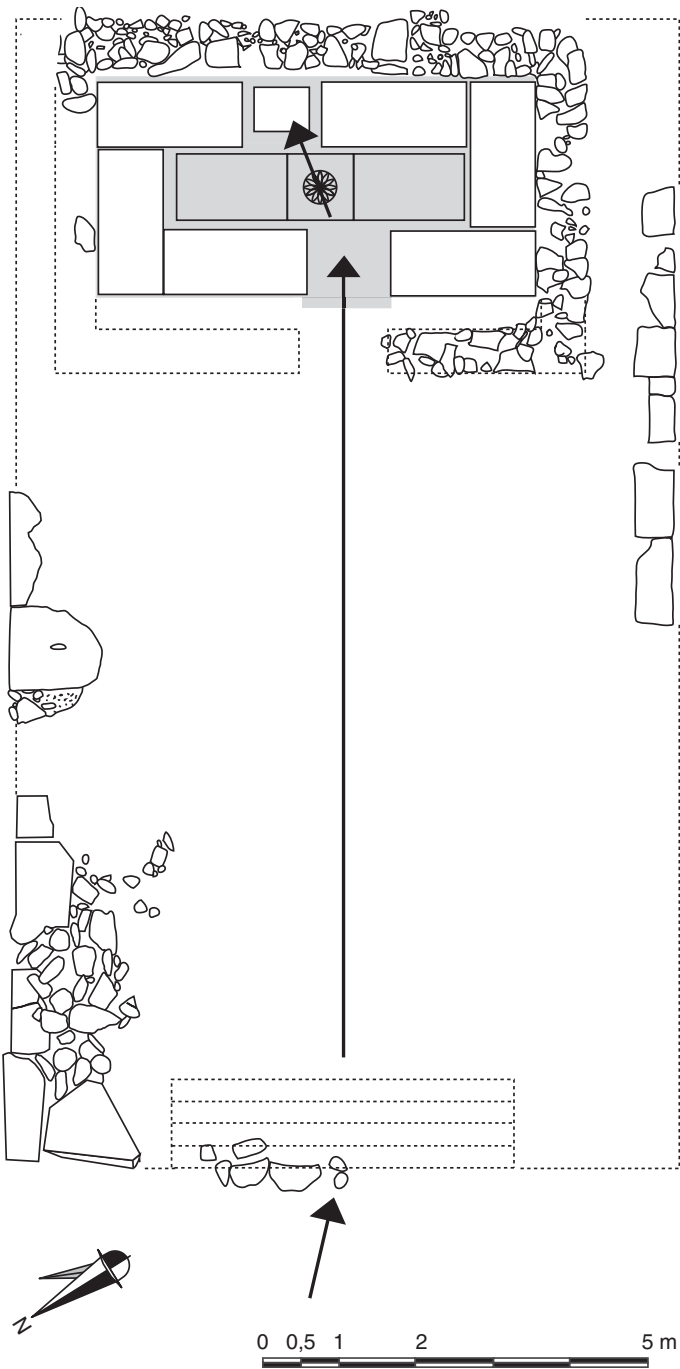


Fig. 15 Civita di Tricarco schematic drawing of Banquet Room Complex – third century BC (drawn by O. De Cazanove).

pottery that remained untouched, is doubly poignant, since the destruction of the rest of the city soon followed. Was this the work of Roman forces and their allies extinguishing remnants of Hannibalic support? Did the inhabitants die fighting? Were they enslaved and sold off? Or did they manage to get out, and if so where did they go?

The historical events connected to the different phases of site transformation and abandonment outlined above are largely attributed to Roman penetration of south Italy. This includes the following episodes: the foundation of the Latin colony of Venusia on the confines of Apulia and Lucania (291 BC), the Pyrrhic War (280–275 BC), soon followed by the foundation of the Latin colony of Paestum at Poseidonia (273 BC), and the takeover of Taras (Tarentum) (272 BC), with the associated triumphs over the Lucanians (282–272 BC). There is no doubt that these events changed the equilibrium and the network of alliances in the region, which was transformed during the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) when the south served as its main theatre of operations. That there was devastation is indisputable. But how much of it occurred prior to the Second Punic War is debatable, especially if we take into account that some 30,000 soldiers and 4000 knights were registered from the region to support the Roman war effort in 225 BC.⁵⁹ Recent investigations at sites such as Tricarico have forced reconsideration of the chronology that assumes a cessation of sites before or during the middle decades of the third century BC. De Cazanove's analysis of the material from Tricarico allows a rethinking of the dating of ceramics from the second half of the third century, suggesting that sites that were believed to have stopped functioning early in the third century may have continued to be occupied several decades longer than originally thought. It is therefore plausible that more sites in the region have absolute chronologies that are in line with those proposed for Tricarico.⁶⁰ What followed the Hannibalic War was likely a demographic decrease, not least because of the number of battle dead. To these we need to add those who would today be labelled 'collateral damage'. We also need to include those affected by the inevitable economic downturn resulting from uncertainty and the devastation or appropriation of harvests, as well as the withdrawal of the labour of those captured, and the enslaved. Site-abandonment was also a consequence of population displacement and migration. This would have taken different forms, for example forced migration of hostages and prisoners, but also relocation as in the case of thousands of Hannibal's Italic troops to Africa. Others may

⁵⁹ Polybius 2.24.10–12. ⁶⁰ De Cazanove 2008a: 569–70.

have chosen to move to larger centres in Italy. In the region of Lucania, the newly established Roman city of Potentia would have been a draw for the dispersed population, but possibly not until the first century BC, as there are few remains at the site pre-dating the Social War.⁶¹

A Pattern of Population Growth and Decline beyond Lucania

Finding reasons for decline seems straightforward, especially when we have ancient narratives full of ongoing warfare that engulfed the south Italian landscape for all but the first quarter of the third century BC. However, trying to link these narratives to the settlements that are known to us only from the archaeological record is challenging. While we do not know the exact role these sites had in the campaigns, we would expect that by the second half of the third century BC their fortunes were tied to the growing hegemony of Rome. It is more difficult to explain what fuelled the periods of dynamism such as those of the fourth century, especially when no clear event or powerbase can be identified as responsible for it, and when the dynamism is prevalent across a wide and seemingly disparate landscape. The archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that there is a considerable increase in settlement with a substantial rise in the mid-fourth century, followed by further extension and restructuring over the next three generations.

We have seen how this manifested itself in Lucania, but the pattern is equally prominent in other parts of south Italy and in Sicily. Recent studies of these regions in the volume *Krise und Wandel* (Crisis and Change) reveal just how widespread it was.⁶² In Bruttium, the south-west corner of Italy, as in Lucania, there was a rise in the number of fortified centres with evidence of organised planning and increasing wealth, accompanied by an infilling of the countryside attributed in part to the growth of Oscan influence.⁶³ Challenging the image of Bruttians as brigands who overran civilised Greek communities, Guzzo's contribution highlights the flourishing of such sites as Hipponion despite its 'conquest' by the Bruttii in the mid-fourth century. This suggests a more complex interpretation.⁶⁴ We may compare it to the 'conquest' of Poseidonia by the Lucanians, which equally saw building and dynamism at the site rather than suppression or decline,⁶⁵ or the takeover of Capua by the Samnites.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Isayev 2007a: 177–8. ⁶² Neudecker 2011. ⁶³ Mollo 2009; Guzzo 2011.

⁶⁴ Guzzo 2011. ⁶⁵ Crawford 2006a; Isayev 2010.

⁶⁶ Strabo 5.4.2 (242). For Capua's history and archaeology: Frederiksen 1984; Cerchiai 1995; Cerchiai, 2005. For Capua's early phases see reconsideration by Cuzzo 2007.

The prominent Greek city of Kroton too shows little sign of crisis when taken over by the tyrant Dionysius I. Spadea's analysis demonstrates how archaeology presents a context of development and continuity in Kroton through the fourth and into the third century BC.⁶⁷ The tyranny seems to have had a positive effect, with evidence of growth and restructuring in the second half of the fourth century. Spadea suggests that access to resources in Bruttium, and good connections with Syracuse, enhanced the flowering of Kroton and allowed the funding of impressive projects such as the fortification walls, stretching some 17 km, and public spaces embellished with monumental structures. Improved housing shows that the wealth penetrated beyond the elite and ruling sectors. By the first half of the third century, as at other sites, there is evidence of increasing destitution and abandonment, supported by finds of hoard deposits which are presumed to be connected to Agathocles' campaigns preceding the Roman conquests. By the end of the third century, the settlement was a shadow of its former self.

In the south-east corner of the peninsula, Messapia, a region with different models of habitation, where large extensive settlements on flat plains predominated, such as Valesio and Muro Tenente, the situation was also one of change in societal organisation. There is evidence of centralisation and a substantial populating of the countryside. In some areas there is a fourfold increase in the number of sites, which is then followed by declining numbers in the third century.⁶⁸ For this region, we know most about the power-hub and cultural metropolis that was Taras, a jewel of fourth-century Italy. Lippolis' recent study of the site highlights the multiplicity of socio-cultural phenomena that engendered a period of immense flourishing in the city.⁶⁹ Greek and local populations were both actors in a transformative process of reciprocal integration. Here, as at many other sites at the end of the fifth century, there is evidence of decline and change in certain cultural trends, which is particularly visible in the funerary sphere. There is a reduction of luxury display that may be connected to a much broader trend throughout Italy.⁷⁰ At Taras, this may also be related to a prohibition law, and interestingly, a reduction in Attic imports, coupled with progressive uniformity in the funerary deposits that continues into the fourth century. By the middle decades there is uncompromising evidence of economic growth and social dynamism. These have been attributed to Archytas and local Pythagorean traditions. The second

⁶⁷ Spadea 2011.

⁶⁸ Burgers 2009; Semeraro 2009; Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010.

⁶⁹ Lippolis 2011

⁷⁰ Scopacasa 2015.

half of the fourth century saw an explosion in material exhibition, with quantitative increase of material goods, their production and design innovations that celebrated ornament. New models from Macedon and Epirus contributed to renewed prestigious burial displays, while other influences underpinned the change in votive culture and the sacred landscape. The changes reflect openness to new models and a resurgence of the aristocracy, fuelling growth of the craft economy. The integration of the city into the Roman political system in the third century seems not to have interfered with this buoyant production. The real end point to the Tarentine cultural and economic boom coincided with the Hannibalic War, which undermined the city's regional role and internal organisation.

Beyond Italy, over the Strait of Messina, the Syracusan powerbase in Sicily had to compete with another formidable Mediterranean player – Carthage, which set up an Epicracy that embedded itself on the west side of the island. Hence, important Archaic Greek centres such as Selinunte took on new roles under Carthaginian authority.⁷¹ Although this situation in Western Sicily presents a substantially different historical context, the pattern of settlement growth and contraction still holds. A text book example of the three shifts outlined above may be found in the transformation of the hinterland of Himera following Punic takeover in the late fifth century. Vassalo has shown that decline and site abandonment in the fifth century was followed by growth in the fourth.⁷² The boom era is particularly evident at sites such as Montagna dei Cavalli. Here, complex inter-community relationships resulted in the construction of a fortification wall around a centrally planned town whose mixed population drew on Hellenistic models in their choice of material culture and architecture. The most impressive structure was a mid-size stone theatre, some 52 metres in diameter, built in the second half of the fourth century. The site was abandoned only a century later, in the period of the Hannibalic War and takeover by Rome. The pattern is typical not only of other sites in the Punic hinterland but also of those on the Syracusan part of the island.⁷³

Punic supremacy from the late fifth century in western Sicily was based on a different model to that employed by the Greeks on the eastern side of the island. As Helas points out, it did not result in the occupation of the region by Punic rulers to match the tyrants of Syracuse. Alongside a military presence to maintain its position of power and influence, it

⁷¹ Thomsen 2011; Helas 2011. ⁷² Vassalo S. 2011: 64–72.

⁷³ The Greek site of Iatas, for example, also flourished in the fourth century BC, despite its location in the Punic region during the Epicracy: Isler 2011: 147.

was crucial for Carthage to have alliances and treaty arrangements which allowed different levels of local Sicilian autonomy.⁷⁴ This *imperium* style is also recognisable in the clauses of the Romano-Carthaginian treaties which we will consider in some detail in [Chapter 8](#). After the initial takeover, Carthage asserted its dominance in Sicily through a series of forts (*phrouria*), manned either by Carthaginians or mercenaries. However, this situation, which required importing soldiers, was not sustainable long term. Hence, Helas argues that there was a considerable influx of Punic civilian settlers from the second half of the fourth century BC to enable a lasting presence of military troops in the Epicracy. This may be evident in the increasing settlement density at sites such as Selinunte. In the first half of the fourth century, Selinunte was either empty or sparsely populated. But by the end of the century there was clearly a substantial population occupying the site, whether as a military colony or a Punic civilian outpost. Then a downturn in the early third century, perhaps connected to the Pyrrhic campaigns, was followed by an archaeological silence from the mid-third century BC. What we observe in Sicily, despite the very particular historic circumstances that led to such transformations as Selinunte becoming a major Punic outpost, is that the changes are in line with the three shifts we have seen elsewhere.

Communities under Oscan Authority: Mamertines and Poseidonia

Between the Syracusan and Punic operators the Sicilian landscape was home to numerous mixed communities hosting populations with origins across the Mediterranean. Some settlements were under Oscan authority. The best known of these is the site of Messene (modern Messina also known as Messina), which became home to the Mamertines – the so-called Campanian knights and mercenaries.⁷⁵ They are notorious in ancient narratives for drawing Rome onto a collision course with Carthage. When the Mamertines came to request Roman support, an action ancient authors would depict as leading to the First Punic War,⁷⁶ the request did not come from a group of disaffected soldiers. These mercenaries had by then gained a powerful presence in Sicily in the form of autonomous communities. When

⁷⁴ Helas 2011.

⁷⁵ Polybius 1.7.1–2; 1.8. For mercenaries and Mamertines see Chapter 8, pp. 293–300.

⁷⁶ Polybius 1.10. For ambiguities in Polybius's narrative and its creation (especially his sources Philinus of Agrigentum and Q. Fabius Pictor): Champion 2013: 148–57. Rood 2012: 54–7 finds comparison between Polybius's narrative of the episode and Thucydides' account of the escalation of hostilities that led up to the Peloponnesian War (1.23–44), with Epidamnus playing the role of Messene.

they had occupied Messene in the early third century BC, while in the employ of Agathocles,⁷⁷ they were the latest embodiment of the Campanian cavalry that had been serving in Sicily from the fifth century.⁷⁸ During their sojourn on the island they infiltrated Sicilian settlements. Some, such as Entella and Messene, they apparently took on their own initiative, others, such as Catania, were transferred to them almost as a form of additional payment for their successful campaigns.⁷⁹ Land grants and offers of citizenship were just some of the mechanisms used to compensate and entice the services of these hired troops, at the expense of local populations.⁸⁰ According to Diodorus, when the mercenaries came to occupy Entella, at the end of the fifth century BC, they were initially welcomed as *synoikoi* – fellow settlers. But once the site became one of their permanent outposts the mercenaries reverted to brutality and annihilated the male citizen body.⁸¹ This story of welcoming locals who suffer at the hands of brutal foreigners abusing their hospitality is a well-known trope. We have already come across it in the legend of the Locrian women and their slaves, who, once established in Italy, expelled their Sicel hosts.⁸² The story is particularly prevalent in descriptions of Oscan takeovers, including those of Capua, Cumae, Rhegion and Naples.⁸³ Violence would have inevitably accompanied some of these encounters, but at what level and in what context is difficult to ascertain. It is likely that, rather than necessarily a suppression or expulsion of the whole local population, these stories allude to resistance of the imposition of a new governing authority.

The archaeological evidence from the Sicilian towns of Entella and Messene reflects the deep penetration of the newcomers, who were in a position to mint their own coinage with legends KAMPANON and MAMERTINON, respectively.⁸⁴ They also introduced their own socio-political structures. Inscriptions from the third century BC attest to the use of the Oscan language and the application of Italic institutional forms with references to magistrates as *meddices* and the community as *touta*. On the architrave of the temple of Apollo at Messene, a dedication using the Greek alphabet gives the names of two *meddices*: Stenius Calinius Statis and Maras Pomptius Numsedis, of the Mamertine *touta*⁸⁵ (Fig. 16). The same Oscan institutions that appear on the mainland, as at Roccagloriosa, are

⁷⁷ Polybius 1.7.1–2. ⁷⁸ Diodorus Siculus 13.44.1–2.

⁷⁹ Nicolet 1962; Frederiksen 1968; Tagliamonte 1994. ⁸⁰ Chaniotis 2005: 80–5.

⁸¹ Diodorus Siculus 14.9.8–9. For the first Campanian settlement at Entella: Lee 2000.

⁸² Polybius 12.4d – 12.12a. See Chapter 4, p. 135ff.

⁸³ A point already observed by Frederiksen 1968. Tagliamonte 1994: 28, n. 46.

⁸⁴ Tagliamonte 1994; Sästrom 1940; Lee; *Imagines Italicae*: Sicilia/ MESSANA 1, p. 1511.

⁸⁵ Crawford 2006b; Tagliamonte 1994: 258–59; Sicilia/ MESSANA 4, p. 1515–16. For the cult: Costabile 1979: 536–7.



Fig. 16 Inscription from the temple of Apollo, Messene (Messana) c. 250 BC.

also to be found in Sicily. From the onomastic evidence at Messene, it is evident that the Mamertines, whose origins are still disputed, were a heterogeneous group, with roots not only in Campania but spanning across much of central and south Italy. Their members even included such well-known *gens* names as the Claudii.⁸⁶ It is significant that the presence of these Italians or Oscans at Messene preceded the date given for the city's takeover. This is demonstrated by a fourth-century BC painted inscription on a vase found in a funerary deposit. The inscription in Greek alphabet is of a woman's name, Pachia Promptia.⁸⁷ Her gentilical name matches that of the *meddix* on the third century dedication to Apollo from the same city.⁸⁸

These enticing fragments of evidence only allow a glimpse of how the Mamertine *touta* came into being and who was part of its remit. Was its formation and operating capacity similar to that of the *touta* at Roccagloriosa? Presumably, the Mamertine *touta* emerged once the Oscan/Italic mercenaries gained positions of power, perhaps by force, and we may assume that the pre-existing population of Messene was incorporated into it and governed by its laws. The influx of the new population brought with it a change in the way the city was governed

⁸⁶ *Imagines Italicae: Sicilia/ MESSANA* 6, p. 1519–20. Tagliamonte 1994: 260. For the presence of a Tiberios Klaudios son of Gaius Antias, recorded on an inscription from Entella, (probably of the First Punic War), suggesting that he was a Roman citizen, and that his Antias heritage superseded the Roman identity: Bispham 2012: 243–5. For Mamertines' mixed origins: Zambon 2008: 45–54.

⁸⁷ Tagliamonte 1994: 196. ⁸⁸ *Imagines Italicae: Sicilia/ MESSANA* 4, p. 1515–16.

and its institutions organised. Could its formation have been that different to the formation of a Latin colony? The key distinction would have been in the driving forces behind its creation, even if the process of installing a new authority and integrating a mixed population may have been the same. Unlike Latin colonies, in the case of the Mamertines there was no single state entity on whose behalf, or in the interests of which, the site of Messene was taken over and an Oscan power installed. A similar situation may have been the case in Poseidonia.

Poseidonia

The actions of these mercenary groups were not dissimilar to the infiltration of Oscan influence into other settlements in south Italy, including Poseidonia, and they have affinities with what ancient authors define as colonising ventures that occur in the same period. According to Strabo, writing some 400 years after the events, the Greek city of Poseidonia was conquered by the Oscan-speaking Lucanians in the fourth century BC.⁸⁹ This nicely fits a Hellenistic trope of land-hungry and jealous barbarian natives from the hills, attacking the more cultured and prosperous urban communities on the plains. The model is not dissimilar to what we observed in narratives of the Gauls infiltrating north Italy noted in previous chapters. Strabo's depiction of Poseidonia's conquest by the Lucanians is problematic in terms of its single event narrative. The rich material remains from the site tell a more intriguing story.⁹⁰ Italic warriors on horseback, wearing distinctive Italic armour, three-disk breastplates, 'Samnite belts' and feathers flowing from their helmets, are one of the prominent images which appear on wall paintings in the tombs of the cemeteries around Poseidonia in the fourth century BC. In this period, a number of new cemeteries were created with a substantial number of painted tombs, many of which exhibit new stylistic features, most notably in the type of armour, novel ceramics and the use of the Oscan language. A more subtle change is revealed in the choice of subject. Pontrandolfo and Rouveret have shown that the scene most frequently depicted is of a warrior on horseback in 'native' dress, distinguished particularly by the three-disc breastplate with his weapons

⁸⁹ Strabo 5.4.13 (251); 6.1.3 (254).

⁹⁰ For the changes in Poseidonia: Crawford 2006a; Isayev 2010. Key studies of Poseidonia: Greco and Theodorescu 1980; Greco and Theodorescu 1983; Greco and Theodorescu 1987; *Poseidonia* 1988; *Poseidonia* 1996; Greco 1999. For an extended bibliography and summary of the research: Mello and Libero Mangieri 1996.



Fig. 17 Warrior returning home, from Andriulo Necropolis, Tomb 12, Poseidonia (Paestum) fourth century BC. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

and shield, greeted by a woman moving towards him with a vessel, probably for a libation (Fig. 17, Plate 4). This type of scene construction is well known from Attic pottery. Yet, while Attic pottery shows a departure scene (a leaving for battle), the position of the characters in

these tomb images reflects a triumphal return.⁹¹ The combination of such cultural stylistic changes, with an increase in the number of burials at new sites, suggests that there were individuals with a different cultural background moving into the settlement rather than simply alteration in cultural trends.

Outside of the funerary context there seems little significant transformation of the city itself. None of it reveals a Lucanian takeover;⁹² there is no destruction and only a slight change in the coinage, which is still puzzling, as it is not definitively Lucanian.⁹³ The most explicit sign of Oscan presence in the ruling hierarchy of the city is found on a painted Stele that stood in the ekklesiasterion.⁹⁴ On it is a thank-offering to Zoves. It was written using the Greek alphabet but with Oscan elements, dedicated by Stasis – a magistrate with what is likely an Oscan name – known also from other inscriptions.⁹⁵ The prominent position of the inscribed stele within the ekklesiasterion indicates that the Oscan speakers had reached positions of power in the city.⁹⁶ But contrary to what later authors suggest, they did not replace or drive out the Greek inhabitants, who remained as prominent in the city as they had been previously, even perhaps flourishing.⁹⁷ There are clear signs of continuing use of Greek, with many more Greek inscriptions at the site after 400 BC than Oscan ones.⁹⁸ There is also a persistence of cultural trends in votive deposition and in the ritual practice at the sanctuary of San Nicola di Albanella, dedicated to Demeter and Kore, which was active 450–300 BC.⁹⁹ These features coincide precisely with the period of dynamism we have witnessed elsewhere in the region.

⁹¹ Greco, Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1983; Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992. For recent studies of the tomb paintings, see Benassai 2001, with the review by Horsnaes H. 2003. *Acta Hyperborea* 10: 544–5. The distinctive three-disc breastplates with star motifs date to the end of the fourth/beginning third century BC, and may be associated with Macedonian motifs: Viscione and Bianco 1996: 231–4, 232, 253–4, no. 3.36. Two types of Italian cuirass, one with the discs and another of the anatomical type, are identified by: Guzzo 1993: 160.

⁹² Crawford 2006a.

⁹³ Along with the puzzling pattern of coin minting, one of the coin issues of the mid-fourth century BC contains the additional signature by, or of, DOSSENNOS, believed to be an Italic name: Zancani Montuoro 1958; *HN*: 108–17, 111, no. 1142, with Crawford 2006a: 60.

⁹⁴ *Imagines Italicae*: Lucania/ PAESTUM 1, p. 1321–2. See also: Pocetti 1979: 116–17, no. 152; Greco 1981.

⁹⁵ The praenomen Stasis, of a quaestor, appears on an inscription from the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio: *Imagines Italicae*: Lucania/ POTENTIA 3, p. 1367–8. See also: Lejeune 1971: 52–3.

⁹⁶ For the extent of a language shift in a community, and its relationship to identity: Langslow 2012.

⁹⁷ Isayev 2007a: 110–17.

⁹⁸ Crawford 2006a: 61. There are few inscriptions from Poseidonia before the Roman period: Mello and Libero Mangieri 1996: 303–5.

⁹⁹ Cipriani 1989; Cipriani 1994.

An external critical witness to the changes in Poseidonia, Aristoxenos, complained about the influence of what he calls barbarian trends. He is particularly scornful about the decline of traditional music and the Greek language in the city.¹⁰⁰ But there is no mention of conquest, occupation or takeover of the site in the few extant fragments of his work. His comments are presented as part of a reflection on the evolution of his own situation at home in Taras, which he compares to that of Poseidonia. His aim is simply to outline the negative influence of prevailing fashions, but in doing so he implicitly points to co-existence of culturally different communities. We have no way of knowing how the Oscan speakers came to inhabit the site so visibly, whether through private or more organised initiatives. Although we do know that groups in Lucania had strong links with the Syracusan tyrants who were in conflict with Poseidonia. Perhaps by giving these tyrants support they were able to exert influence in Poseidonia, in a way not dissimilar to that of the Italian mercenaries, such as the Mamertines who took over the sites in Sicily. It may have even been part of the payment for their services. We have no idea what pressures the Greek community in Poseidonia would have had to endure. The initial encounter may have been violent. But the persistence of Greek cultural trends without interruption suggests that even if there was aggression at the start some sort of agreement to coexist was reached. The case of Poseidonia has many features in common with other settlements which succumbed to new ruling powers who brought with them additional settlers. The system of Latin colonies, which integrated local populations as, for example, at Alba Fucens,¹⁰¹ may have been part of the same model as that applied by the Oscan speakers in their takeover of Poseidonia and Messene. Soon the Greco-Oscan community of Poseidonia itself became the Latin colony of Paestum in 273 BC.

The difference between the Oscan and Roman initiatives was in the scale and purpose of the enterprise. The Roman approach, which we will consider at the end of this chapter, incorporated an intricate mechanism that differentiated levels of membership of the new communities and their status in relation to Rome, and the system became progressively more entrenched during the second century BC.¹⁰² Depending on whether the inhabitants were part of a Roman citizen colony, Latin colony or one which had *civitas sine suffragio*, the status determined their obligations to Rome,

¹⁰⁰ Aristoxenos Fr. 124 Wehrli: Isayev 2007a: 17–19, Appendix I.

¹⁰¹ For an overview: Mertens 1981, with Bispham 2006: 105–8.

¹⁰² For the multiplicity of community statuses, and increased systematisation of Roman colonial foundation, (although *colonia* was not a fixed category before the second century BC): Bispham 2006: 122–3; Bispham 2007a, chapter 2.

their voting rights and their legal privileges. Although this political hierarchy did not necessarily affect the inter-city relations in practice,¹⁰³ increasingly evidence suggests that some of these categories may have been fictions prior to the second century BC. Indeed they may be constructs created by Late-Republican historical writers trying to make sense of the complex and fluid situation of previous centuries.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that at a time when Oscan-speaking communities were at the height of power they had their own equivalent system for spreading their influence and controlling human resource. Their model of takeover and hegemony, however, may not be as easily recognisable to us in the remaining evidence. Its diffuse form lacked a central authority, which makes it difficult to track, at least until the Social War, to which we will return in [Chapter 9](#).

Drivers of Expansion

The transformative forces which shaped the pattern of settlement in the fourth century cannot be attributed solely to local factors, nor to any single historical circumstance. We need to look beyond these for a better understanding of the processes that brought these people together and fuelled the development of their communities. Whatever may have been the immediate causes, there are a number of features shared between all examples, most prominently in the region of Lucania. For a large sector of the population there was a significant improvement in living conditions during the fourth century. This is evident from the increased quantity, and spread, of certain types of material culture, which implies higher rates of consumption across different societal sectors, coupled with an upsurge in the level of habitation both inside and outside the settlements. One explanation for the preceding fifth-century decline, and subsequent rise in quality of life, may be a change in climatic conditions.¹⁰⁵ It is conceivable that an increased growing season and levels of precipitation may have increased agricultural capacity and hence the demography of Italy at the time. This research strand has yet to be fully examined, but, with new projects that incorporate environmental data, it should be possible to ascertain. An improved economic base, whether due to climatic or other reasons, could have encouraged the centralisation

¹⁰³ For inter-community interactions, not necessarily determined through a formal political hierarchy: Morley 1997: 48.

¹⁰⁴ Bispham 2006 argues for a lack of distinction between Roman and Latin colonies. Mouritsen 2006 concludes that *civitas sine suffragio* did not exist as a cohesive legal category before the second century BC.

¹⁰⁵ See below, pp. 183–84.

and distribution of resources and enhanced division of labour. We see traces of this in the high number of communal projects, whether through central planning of sites and territories, construction of fortification walls and monuments, or the organisation of institutional systems. Communal pooling of wealth would have also meant improved capability to withstand such calamities as food shortages and war. The dense occupation of the rural landscape is a sign of central rethinking of land ownership,¹⁰⁶ and we can envisage an interest in centralised management and distribution of agricultural land. Diffusion of new technologies and agrarian knowledge at the time may be gleaned from evidence such as the translation and circulation of agricultural writings, for example those of the Carthaginian Mago on Punic landholding.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the *lex Hieronica* is perceived to be a reflection on agrarian concerns in third-century BC Sicily, following a preceding period of prosperity.¹⁰⁸

We may also look to new political ideologies that controlled and distributed resources, perhaps introducing new systems of land use and encouraging the diffusion of new technologies. For example, the prominence of Pythagoreanism in Taras,¹⁰⁹ and notably among Italic communities in Lucania,¹¹⁰ is believed to have engendered a more equitable distribution of wealth. We have briefly considered this influence in Taras, where the severe reduction of luxurious tombs¹¹¹ suggests a narrowing gap between the rich and poor. The growing wealth of a wider sector of society in Taras and in Lucania more generally is visible in the increased number of peristyle houses that were inspired by Macedonian elite culture. In part, it may have been the favourable conditions that allowed for certain models of authority and governance to spread. Oscan influence, with its flexibility and adaptability to different environments, may be both a product and a facilitator of such a setting. It accommodated itself to diverse conditions, at small inland fortified sites in the hinterland of Italy, in the cities and Greek poleis of the Tyrrhenian coast such as Poseidonia, Neapolis, Capua, Pompeii and among the Greco-indigenous settlements in Sicily. Oscan power drew on a number

¹⁰⁶ Osanna 2009b.

¹⁰⁷ Varro, *De Re Rustica* 1.1.10; Pliny, *NH* 18.22 [1], cf. 1.18; Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.249; Columella, *De Agricultura* 1.1.13, 12.4.2; Lancel 1992: 273–80.

¹⁰⁸ Cicero *Verrines* 2, 3; Bell 2011. ¹⁰⁹ Lippolis 2011: 128–9.

¹¹⁰ Pythagorean writings by an Okellos from Lucania: Diogenes Laertius *Lives of the Philosophers*, 8.80, also see 8.14; Plutarch, *De genio Socratis* 13 p. 583a–b, notes that a Pythagorean party fled to Lucania in 440 BC. Iamblichus *De vita Pythagorica* 34.241, Porphyry *Vita Pythagorae* 22; Stobaeus *Anthologium* 1.49.27 (Wachsmuth). For the tradition of philosophers and pythagoreanism, among the central Italic communities: Horkey 2011.

¹¹¹ Colvicchi 2009.

of sources without explicitly giving it a unique name, or tying it to a single ethnic entity. It was diffuse and could be carried or transferred via a human chain, not defined by birthplace or ideologies of belonging, and which had no central base. It was not an ethnic group as such, but a socio-political culture that incorporated into itself the most useful elements, whether Greek, Italic, Roman, even perhaps Macedonian, and built on them. What created the context for such a fluid power structure to grow and take hold may have been the preceding period of stagnation, possibly caused by climatic changes, which combined with a power vacuum left by the decline of Etruscan supremacy in the fifth century. In the centuries following this decline, we see what Terrenato describes as the tipping point, which favoured those Italians who saw large-scale integration as a positive development. It engendered mutual frameworks of defence, communication and authority within a longer process of increasing cultural convergence.¹¹² Yet prior to Rome's offer of what Terrenato terms 'a widely acceptable package' that culminated in a Roman Italy, there were other possibilities of which the 'Oscan' model was one. The socio-political framework of 'Oscan' power provided one alternative to competing city-states; other versatile regimes included mercenary armies and the mobile court of Alexander the Great.

The shifting demographics suggest favourable conditions for human mobility at this time. As the Sicilian examples demonstrate particularly well, ruling powers were keen to amass populations that served as a support base for both military and agricultural capacity. Both the Syracusan Tyrants and the Carthaginian Epicracy depended on tens of thousands of mercenaries brought over to the island, not simply to fight their cause, but also to populate and create a presence favourable to each power. Of these, the Mamertines were just one group. Timoleon recruited tens of thousands into Sicily in the mid-fourth century as mercenaries and then as settlers. According to Plutarch, some 60,000 came from Corinth, Greece and Italy to revive the cities that were part of his dominion.¹¹³ Not to be outdone, the Carthaginian Epicracy would have been importing people from North Africa and possibly the Western Mediterranean as well, to populate such sites as Selinunte.¹¹⁴ No doubt there were opportunists who chose to take advantage of these initiatives and relocated to these by now thriving settlements, no matter what their background. Oliver observed that the Hellenistic period is distinctive for the significant extent of the discourse to

¹¹² Terrenato 1998: 26.

¹¹³ Plutarch, *Timoleon* 22–24, 23.6; Diodorus Siculus, 69–70; 82.3–5: Westlake 1942: 79–86; Isler 2011: 154–5.

¹¹⁴ Helas 2011: 187.

attract mobile people, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, and that the language of this discourse was homogenous.¹¹⁵ Although we have little textual evidence, there is nothing to argue against policies similar to those used by the elites in the settlements in Lucania which led to the dense population of the countryside. Aside from state-incentivised mobility, there was probably an equal number of private, individual movements. We can glimpse these in, for example, the records of Semitic/Punic names at Capua, Roccagloriosa and Laos (just down the coast from it).¹¹⁶ An individual named Phoenix was clearly not a very popular resident of Roccagloriosa, or perhaps he was too popular. In either case someone wished him ill, as his name appears on a fourth-century BC *defixio* (curse tablet) from the site.¹¹⁷ The extensive circulation of merchants and entrepreneurs, including pirates, is implied in the Romano-Carthaginian treaties of the fourth and third centuries BC, which we will consider in [Chapter 8](#).¹¹⁸

The examples presented here of the transformations in south Italy and Sicily may not provide us with the definitive account of events within this changing pattern. But they demonstrate that such events may have been secondary to greater forces that operated in spite of them. The environment within which these sites functioned was not dissimilar to what we find elsewhere; it was part of the dynamism of the fourth century BC. Timoleon and others were keen to re/populate Sicilian settlements, but this was not at the expense of sites in south Italy, as they too were thriving at the same time. Multiple factors affected the human and natural landscape of Italy and Sicily in the period between the fifth and the third century. While there are exceptions, notably in Daunia, a similar case could be made for northern Italy and other Italic regions as well.¹¹⁹ A preceding period of contraction gave way in the fourth century to a rapid expansion of settlements, new forms of material culture and transformed societal organisation. This was then followed by another period of contraction in the third century, with occupation of different sites in the landscape, introduction of new material culture and societal organisation that superseded previous trends. The similarity in this pattern of change over a wide area demonstrates that intra-state power politics, individual ambitions and specific conflicts are not enough to explain its extent. There were positive and neutral processes as well.

¹¹⁵ Oliver 2011: 358. ¹¹⁶ La Torre 2009: 191.

¹¹⁷ Poccetti 1990, with Campanile 1992. For the Italo/Roman attitudes to Phoenicians and Carthaginians: Chapter 6, p. 200ff.

¹¹⁸ Polybius 3.22–27, for the Romano-Carthaginian treaties, with Chapter 8, p. 269ff.

¹¹⁹ See [Chapter 4](#).

Rome the New Mover of People – Centralising, Colonising and Infilling Territory

From the perspective of Roman history it would be easy to believe that conflict was the primary cause of settlement change and the redistribution of people around Italy. When considered retrospectively from the viewpoint of the Imperial centre, without the wider context presented in these last chapters, Roman colonial enterprise appears from the outset exceptional in its vision and scope. The surviving records of new foundations that had a Roman label further enhance this picture. Rome founded fifty-five colonies on the peninsula in the period from the start of Latin colonies (*coloniae Latinae*) in 338 BC, through to Rome's victory against the Latins, and into the second century BC. By the end of the first century BC, Rome was responsible for some 150 colony-type settlements in Italy alone.¹²⁰ Presented in this way, the process looks homogeneous as well as separate and distinct from other settlement initiatives. Defined as colonisation, it appears to be the result of a coherent central policy, masking the fluid and diverse nature of practices that operated well into the Mid-Republic.¹²¹ Terrenato's metaphor of *bricolage* has gone some way to challenge this perceived homogeneity.¹²² Coloniae founded by Rome were not 'little Romes' as had been previously supposed, but incorporated a variety of community types.¹²³ It is not until the second century BC that the Roman settlement system can be termed statist and programmatic – a state-organised activity designed to meet public aims – culminating in the rolling out of *municipia* by the first century BC.¹²⁴ Despite the different impetus and their increased intensity, these projects were still part of a wider trend of centralisation and harnessed mobility, but now orchestrated from a single centre.

¹²⁰ Salmon 1969; Sherwin-White 1973: 76–80, with additional references and estimate: Patterson 2006a: 189. For Roman Republican colonisation, and the impact of Salmon's work on the subject: Stek and Pelgrom 2014.

¹²¹ This is addressed by: Bradley and Wilson 2006; Bradley 2006; Bispham 2006; Patterson 2006a.

¹²² Terrenato 1998: 23–6.

¹²³ The idea that Republican colonies were set up as 'Little Romes', as suggested by Gellius *Noctes Atticae*. 16.13.8, has been rejected, particularly based on the investigations of the colony of Cosa, which Fentress argued was still organised much as a military camp in the second century BC, and there is little evidence that it would have had a Capitolium on the site at this time, and probably not until the end of the first century BC: Fentress 2000; Bispham 2006: 95–105; Pelgrom 2008: 334–6. For the rarity of such *Capitolia* even in the provinces: Crawley Quinn and Wilson 2013. Sewell 2014, reflecting on the shape of Latin colonies, notes the links between the expansion methods of Rome and Philip II of Macedon.

¹²⁴ Bispham 2006; Bispham 2007a.

A Latin colony (*colonia Latina*) was a large enterprise involving thousands of people that from its inception had to accommodate a mixed community, but which was given a new common Latin status replacing previous civic identities and allegiances. It was quite different from the category of the Roman citizen colony (*colonia civium Romanorum*), a small venture based around a core group of some 300 Roman citizens. Such terminology, however, was not always used consistently by ancient authors, and, as Bispham has shown, before the second century the meaning of *colonia* was quite fluid.¹²⁵ The initial premise for the Latin colonies was to allow the members of the Latin League, consisting of Rome, Latins and the Hernici, to share jointly conquered land and its booty by forming a new sovereign political community with its own citizenship and a tie to Rome.¹²⁶

Such a project did not result in a territorial entity but, as Pelgrom has highlighted, a *colonia* was in the first place a body of *coloni*.¹²⁷ Furthermore, these colonies were largely created on, or within, pre-existing settlements and would have incorporated the local inhabitants along with the new settlers – a group theoretically made up from the League members. The foundation of Alba Fucens in 303 BC, for example, integrated the original inhabitants with the new 6000 settlers.¹²⁸ Venusia, founded in 291 BC, had a population of some 20,000, we are told, which if true must have included the original community.¹²⁹ Horace embodies this multiple identity in his Satire (2.1.34–5) by remarking that he is not sure whether he is Lucanian or Apulian, as he is from the colony of Venusia. He overlooks the fact that he was the son of a freedman – a slave from somewhere else.

How different were such enterprises from the establishment of Oscan Messene or Poseidonia? The creation of the Latin colony of Paestum in 273 BC on the takeover of Poseidonia would have added a Romano-Latin element to the Greco-Oscan mix that was already there (and these are just the ones visible to us). The new status, and with it a new authority, is evident in the introduction of a new coinage and an almost immediate shift to Latin, visible in the epigraphic evidence. Despite this, Crawford argues against an aggressive takeover. Instead, he suggests that the archaeological

¹²⁵ Bispham 2006.

¹²⁶ *Foedus Cassianum* – Cassian Treaty of 493 BC: Cicero *Pro Balbo*, 53; Livy 2.33.9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 6.95. Hernici entering treaty: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 8.69.2. For overview: Cornell 1995: 299–305, for settler figures p. 381; Bradley 2006: 167–76; Bispham 2006.

¹²⁷ Pelgrom 2014. ¹²⁸ Livy 10.1.1.

¹²⁹ The figure of 20,000 colonists given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus 17–18.5, would otherwise be problematic: Torelli 1999: 94, 116. For an example of the integration of colonists and locals: Roselaar 2011.

evidence shows continuity and a slow process of integration and physical transformation of the city in the centuries that followed its new Latin status.¹³⁰ The transformation of these sites into Latin colonies would have affected the local elite most profoundly, as well as most visibly, in comparison to the rest of the local population. Still, the extent of this effect would in part depend on the local circumstances and the nature of the new settlement, not only in terms of its official status but also its composition, each ‘producing a different *bricolage*’.¹³¹

Administratively, a Roman citizen colony (*colonia civium Romanorum*) was distinct from a Latin colony in that it was small and largely founded *ex novo* as a Roman outpost. Buxentum, created on the coast just south of Roccagloriosa in 197/194 BC, is one such example. Often located in what was considered hostile territory, the role of these colonies was more explicitly military and hence carried less possibility of integration or linkage with the surrounding populace. Several years after its foundation, the Roman colony of Buxentum was discovered to be deserted, by chance it seems, and in need of *supplementa* – new recruits.¹³² The difficulties in maintaining these sites, whether due to surrounding hostility or their small capacity, contributed to the cessation of such citizen colonies after 177 BC.¹³³ Large colonial ventures could suffer a similar fate. The simple distinction between the two colony types, Latin and Roman, breaks down if we take into account the foundation of colonies at Placentia and Cremona in Cisalpine Gaul in 219 BC. Polybius states that these fortified towns were to house 6000 new colonists who were told to be there in 30 days.¹³⁴ Walbank remarks that Polybius’s phrasing suggests that the colonies were founded on the sites of existing settlements, but no mention is made of what happened to the original population.¹³⁵ Perhaps little of it remained as a result of preceding events. Could the substantial death toll in the Gallic Wars of 225–221 BC, which according to Polybius was some 40,000, have decimated the settlements in the north?¹³⁶ We would expect that such a high number would have left a profound demographic scar in an area whose total population is believed to have been about one and a half million. Within such circumstances the colonies of Placentia and Cremona would be more akin to military outposts in hostile territory.

There is much debate surrounding the extent of demographic variability that may have resulted from these campaigns in the north of Italy, and whether the Roman colonisation ventures that followed would have

¹³⁰ Crawford 2006a. ¹³¹ Terrenato 1998: 26.

¹³² Livy 39.23.3–4. For the difficulty of finding recruits: Chapter 2, pp. 42–44.

¹³³ Flower 2010: 66.

¹³⁴ Polybius 3.40.3–5. ¹³⁵ Walbank [1970] 1999: 374; Polybius 3.40.5.

¹³⁶ Polybius 2.31.1.

replaced the local populations who were killed, deported or imprisoned.¹³⁷ At Cremona and Placentia, the situation is made more complicated by the fact that these sites too, like Buxentum and other colonies, had to have *supplementa* in the early second century BC, due to the large number of colonists abandoning them. According to Livy, some 6000 families were sent afresh to both of the colonies.¹³⁸ But the similarity of this figure to Polybius's estimate for the original number of colonists makes it suspect. Whatever the exact figure may have been, these *supplementa* were carried out in the early second century BC at the same time as Rome was forcibly relocating tens of thousands by other means, from one end of the peninsula to the other. One of the more substantial ventures was the displacement of 40,000 Ligurians in 180 BC to the south of Italy, followed by another 7000 that same year.¹³⁹ Such large figures for those moving through the peninsula, although questionable in their accuracy,¹⁴⁰ rarely appear prior to this period in the written sources. For most of these moves, excluding the recruitment of troops, the Roman state is presented as the primary agent of human redistribution within Italy, a position it would have increasingly gained throughout the third century BC.

These Roman activities fit into the wider pattern of centralisation and the infilling of territory also evident in the material record of south Italy and Sicily. Recent analysis of the Pontine landscape, and its early colonisation by Rome, reveals a similar pattern of reclaiming previously unfarmed land in the fourth century BC, but here it is attributed to colonising initiatives.¹⁴¹ Notable is the date of the first Latin colony in 338 BC coinciding with the 'boom' across Italy in the second half of the fourth century. The different spheres of influence, whether Oscan, Greek (in Italy and Sicily), Punic or Roman, all flourished concurrently in the same 100-year period. To this list we may also add the prominence of the Gauls in north Italian settlements, considered in the [previous chapter](#). The many conflicts, alliances and treaties recorded by ancient authors are a testament to the fine political balance that must have been maintained to allow for power sharing to exist. The break came in the third century BC, which in the archaeological record appears as a reversal of the previous pattern.

¹³⁷ Brunt [1971] 1987: 166–203; Bandelli 1999; Broadhead 2000; Migliario 2008. For later population figures of Cisalpine Gaul: De Ligt 2008.

¹³⁸ Livy 37.46.10: Placentia and Cremona. Aquileia is to have received 1500 in 169 BC: Livy 43.17.1.

¹³⁹ Livy 40.38.1–7; 40.41.3–4; Briscoe 2008: 504–7; Torelli 2002: 70, 130–1. Ancient authors note that some Picentes were moved from north-east Italy to the west coast, an area which became the Ager Picentinus: Strabo 5.4.13 (251); Pliny NH 3.70; 3.110.

¹⁴⁰ Patterson 2013: 64–5. ¹⁴¹ Attema, de Haas and Termeer 2014.

In some regions it is characterised by the disappearance or severe drop in habitation both in the centres and the countryside. The example of Cremona and Placentia suggests a phase of depopulation, which also fits into the wider pattern of site abandonment and contraction. Can it be a reflection of a wider demographic decrease in this period? As Purcell and Horden point out, we need to be wary of depopulation scenarios in the ancient Mediterranean, as historical demography, developed outside of this context, is prone to consider static populations rather than creating models for how populations re-adjust by lateral movement in circumstances of great mobility.¹⁴²

If not depopulation, or not depopulation alone, then redistribution must have been responsible for the creation of a new settlement network. It is true that sites arose in new locations such as Potentia and Grumentum in the south, at the expense of others that disappeared. But it is also a continuity of the centralisation that began centuries earlier. Centripetal migration – the draw or relocation of people to key centres – is perceived to be the dominant mobile force in this period, although with different levels of consistency across the peninsula.¹⁴³ Regional differences are visible from field survey studies. For example, those conducted at the large settlement sites, characteristic of the Messapic region, show that already by the third century BC some 80–90 per cent of the population lived in urban-type environments.¹⁴⁴ This situation may be contrasted with that of Cisalpine Gaul. Here in the north, small settlements continued to pepper the landscape into the Late Republican period. It implies that a largely non-urban environment persisted, seemingly by choice, despite Rome's best efforts to invigorate larger sites such as Placentia and Cremona.¹⁴⁵

From the end of the third century BC there is a sense that movement happens more quickly, or rather there seems to be a rapid disappearance of certain sites at the same time as there is growth of settlement elsewhere. A region such as Campania experienced the most growth, while the hinterland in Hirpinia and centres on the high inter-mountain plateaus in Lucania had a higher rate of site turnover. This is different from the preceding period, where there was simultaneous growth across multiple regions, rather than the development of one area at the expense of another. A number of different factors may have contributed to the second-century BC preference for larger lowland sites in most areas. Of these, climate is the most elusive. Could a drop in temperature along with other conditions, such

¹⁴² Horden and Purcell 2000: 380.

¹⁴³ For centripetal migration see Chapter 2, pp. 27–28, and especially Morley 1997: 49–51; Morley 1996.

¹⁴⁴ Based on figures presented by: Yntema 2008: 379–84. ¹⁴⁵ De Ligt 2008: 139–42.

as a drop in the water table,¹⁴⁶ have caused a reverse migration away from the highlands? Until core samples are examined systematically across Italy it is difficult to tell. But the rise of water level at some sites in the preceding centuries, such as Metapontion in the fifth century BC (making it largely uninhabitable), followed by a resurgence of activity at the site in the fourth century BC, make such a scenario plausible.¹⁴⁷ Preliminary investigations suggest that there may have been a rise of about 1 degree Celsius by circa 300 BC in the Mediterranean region.¹⁴⁸ More work is needed to understand the extent of regional difference of this change. That the Italian lowlands were made productive is evident through the proliferation of rural settlements in the second century BC, and this could be one long-term result of the climatic shift. In part, the increased settlement has been attributed to the development of agricultural technologies coupled with colonising strategies that led to a more intensive exploitation of the landscape and reclamation of marginal territories.¹⁴⁹ While there were local variations and diverse causes for this spread it was evident in most of the regions of Italy.

Much less elusive is the effect of Rome's rise to power, and the ability of a single authority to enlist and move populations through a landscape it had made its own, either by direct conquest or through alliances. Roman colonial practices did not inaugurate the movement of large numbers of individuals, but they did help inspire, harness and direct it. Rome's ability to do this with increasing speed and force was made possible by the spread of the road network which privileged sites on flat and low terrains. It not only made mobility easier, both for the recruiting power and the individuals on the move,¹⁵⁰ but reshaped the flows and consequently the settlement pattern within Italy. The massive investment in a network of roads enhanced communication between certain nodes, while completely bypassing others that by the end of the Republic dwindled away.¹⁵¹ Laurence, in his study of Roman roads, shows how they created a new space economy and an artificial unity through joining disparate places together.¹⁵² They strengthened already existing ties and stimulated new ones, redirecting them to flow through Rome, the centre of highest demand. Cato's view of the peninsula is precisely from a centralising position, from which he surveys the best places where products, supplies and machinery could be purchased,

¹⁴⁶ Geomorphic and archaeological evidence at Lacus Velinus, for example, shows that it reached its highstand in the Iron Age which then declined, indicating a drop in water table prior to 270 BC, hence before any human modification of the basin: Mensing et al. 2015: 85–86.

¹⁴⁷ Carter 1992; Carter 2006. ¹⁴⁸ De Ligt 2012: 27–30.

¹⁴⁹ Attema, Burgers and van Leusen 2010: 161–5. ¹⁵⁰ Laurence 1999: 18, 22–3.

¹⁵¹ Morley 1997: 51. ¹⁵² Laurence 1999: 1–2, 78–80, 197. See also Coarelli 1988b.

especially those on the main super-highways running through Campania and South Latium.¹⁵³ The interaction between the different nodes was not wholly dependent on trade and exchange, but overlaid other networks of power and influence that functioned irrespective of the status of a particular settlement in relation to Rome.¹⁵⁴ As we will see in [Chapter 9](#), elite personal ties, patronage and friendship systems continued to be influential and could supersede formal status and patronage of towns.¹⁵⁵

These competing spheres of influence, co-existing with Roman hegemony, led to interregional links across the peninsula, enhanced by a road network that gradually tied it into a single web. In part, such a presumed coherence could have focused attention on Italy as a single landmass with a finite territory available for exploitation. Such a perception is implied in the Roman agrarian laws and the second-century BC land reform policies of the Gracchi that aimed at redistribution and placed limits on landholding. The transformation of the Italian coastline into a notional cordon around a unified population, in possession of Roman citizenship from 89 BC, was the result of a newly formed method of organisation. For the first time, there was an overarching structure that, by the Late Republic, bound all those inhabiting the peninsula to each other through the central authority in Rome. It became the director of resources, both human and material, shaping the Italian landscape to orient itself around the centre.¹⁵⁶ It is the tangibility of such a centre that we will explore in the [final part](#) of this book.

Conclusion

Whether relocating individually or *en masse*, a persistent pattern throughout the first millennium BC is that of increasing centralisation and infilling of territory in Italy. The process was not linear, nor was it uniform across the peninsula, but it did have a clear trajectory. The city-states that rose in the Archaic period, such as Veii or Rome, were the result of a combined effort by small groups who chose to pool resources. But it was more than that. Unlike previous joint ventures that bound the groups through elite ties of guest friendship and reciprocity, or other alliances, it now bound

¹⁵³ On where to source the necessary products and equipment for agricultural production: Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 6.4, 22, 135.

¹⁵⁴ Bispham 2007a: chapter 2.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 9, pp. 317ff. and Morley 1997: 48–9. In reference to the Mid-Republic, Terrenato shows the continuing agency of individuals and small groups, with a particular focus on the Plautii: Terrenato 2014.

¹⁵⁶ For the results: Morley 1996.

them physically. The power sharing was to be conducted from a single site, the commitment to which was evident through relocation and investment into a unified habitation that brought together leaders and amalgamated their followers. The archaeological evidence provides a record of the products of such coming together: the urban centres themselves; their monuments; fortification walls; and communal amenities such as water drainage systems. As part of this process we need to also include those coming from further afield. Groups such as those of Demaratus and his Corinthian followers were channels for exchange of resources and ideas, but they could also become key partners in power sharing, or conversely, competitors. The takeover and reconstruction of Iron Age Cumae by Euboeans, and others who were operating from a base in Pithekoussai, may be one such example. But it is not simply one of a hostile incomer. The evidence from nearby sites of continued growth and active links with Pithekoussai suggests a more complex set of relationships between the ruling powers of these communities, for whom the restructuring of Cumae may have been of mutual benefit.

From the material evidence alone it is difficult to tell whether the creation or re-creation of a site is the result of peaceful or coercive processes, or whether the change is the result of local initiative or driven from further afield. Traditionally, the tendency has been to present centralisation that occurs in the Greek, Etruscan and Latin contexts as the result of positive communal efforts or colonisation. And outside of these contexts, such as for example those examined in relation to Oscan or Gallo-Celtic power, change is presented as the result of infiltration, takeover and destruction. A combination of both would have existed across all contexts and would have involved the relocation, displacement and enticement of people, with a balance between state, group and individual agency. In the period of the fourth century BC, these different forces favoured the creation of more centralised sites and led to an increased overall population in the countryside and its already existing centres. This occurred alongside a visible change-over of authority, with the decline of Greco-Etruscan influence and the rise of Romano-Latin, Oscan and Gallo-Celtic powers, which drew on newly emerging socio-cultural models. Which of these had the upper hand in any particular settlement would determine the character of that site, and also the way its authority was seen by ancient authors. It could be perceived as a manifestation of imperial endeavours of a single city-state – such as Rome or Carthage; the result of tyrannical ambitions – as in the case of Syracuse; or a more fluid dispersal of hostile groups that lacked any central base – such as those from the Apennines or the Alps.

However these developments may have been portrayed, and despite the multiplicity of specific historical circumstances that led to them, the wider picture indicates that they were part of the same process. One in which a variety of agents were responsible for the mass movement of people, whether of one's own community or that of others. It is the location of this agency and its concentration that was to change in the period following.

Multi-polar Italy gave way to a peninsula that could be recognised as a coherent entity centred on Rome by the end of the first millennium BC. From the end of the third century BC the flow of people through Italy follows a different pattern from that of earlier periods. Mass movement appears on a greater scale and was now orchestrated from a single power-base – Rome – through an interconnected territorial unit – Italy – which allowed for rapid and targeted channelling of human and other resources. The challenge for any authority was how to get the right group of people to an optimum location where they can contribute most productively, and be enticed to remain, until needed in other ways. Latin and Roman *coloniae*, viritane settlements, *municipia*, military recruitment, the census, enslavement, forced relocation and an interconnected road network were all mechanisms that the Roman elite developed to address this challenge under a Roman label. The source of power was not diffuse in the way it was in the context of Oscan influence and authority; it was increasingly embodied in the city of Rome and its symbols. These enterprises were the main components in an administrative system geared for the collection of resources, especially in the form of manpower, to fuel the aspirations of the Imperial centre's elite.¹⁵⁷ That does not mean they were always successful, or that it prevented the co-existence of other forms of movement. As demonstrated in the [second chapter](#), individual or private mobility driven by different agents is likely to have contributed to an equal or greater number of movements as the statist agenda, which could have been profitably used or subverted.

To conclude these three chapters of [Part II](#) we return to the stories of populating Italy presented by the ancient authors. These do not present the entirety of the mobile trends that affected Italy in the last millennium BC. They portray Italy as the receiver of people and hence also ideas and culture, which has affected the way societal transformation is understood. The material evidence allows us to see not only that Italic communities

¹⁵⁷ Its wide extent and intensity, causing vast population movements across Italy, has been exemplified by Pina Polo [2006](#).

were also contributors to Mediterranean-wide networks but that an impetus for change, outside of conflict, came from within communities and it need not have been externally motivated. Furthermore, ancient conquest narratives often overshadow unquantifiable, small-scale and individual mobility. However, it is precisely this small-scale mobility that would have made up the vast majority of the movement in this early period. In the periods that follow, the ratio between independent and *en masse* movement would have shifted, with a larger portion now being of the latter kind, especially in the last phase of the first millennium BC. But despite this shift it is unlikely to have affected the overall high rate of mobility that persisted throughout the centuries. We may speculate that in the earlier period extra-Italian mobility would have been primarily oriented towards the north-west and the south, with increasing eastern mobility in later centuries. The challenge remains, however, as to whether we can tell if in certain periods there was less movement. For example, would this have been the case in the 300s BC, once the proliferation of new settlements stabilised? Or, conversely, does the flourishing evident in most communities represent increased mobility and exchange, which is what scholars argue was the case for the Hellenistic period in general?¹⁵⁸ Although we may not be able to address this challenge directly, the remaining chapters will show the anticipated and quotidian nature of mobility, and the absence of closed or static communities in the literary sources. Contemporary writings by those who witnessed the changing atmosphere and the pivotal events, which appear in the last two centuries BC, reflect the sheer diversity of co-existing patterns of mobility. We will explore these next in the [third part](#) of the book through the eyes of two of the earliest observers on the peninsula whose works remain: Plautus and Polybius.

¹⁵⁸ Archibald, Davies and Gabrielsen [2011](#); especially Archibald [2011](#).

PART III

Plautus and His Comedies

The Plautine corpus of twenty-one extant plays, created in the late third to early second century BC, provides a unique insight into Italo-Roman society, just as its power and influence was extending rapidly across the Mediterranean. Within the comedies, mobility is all pervasive. But there is little interest in the state-initiated mass migrations that are the focus for demographers. Instead, the plays are explorations of the unquantifiable, everyday movements of individuals and their entourages around the cities of the Mediterranean. Such mobility is otherwise veiled, and hard to access in the records of population figures. This is why the comedies are central to an investigation of mobility during the Republican period. They reveal an anticipation of people on the move and the comic plots depend on it. In the prologue of Plautus's comedy *Menaechmi*, performed in Rome in 215 BC,¹ an actor's metatheatrical introduction animates the simple theatrical set of two house doorways on a street:² 'This is the city of Epidamnus while this play is acting; when another shall be acted, it will become another town; It is quite like the way in which families too, are wont to change their homes; now a pimp lives here, now a young gentleman, now an old one, now a poor man, a beggar, a king, a parasite, a seer . . . '. The towns are mobile as are their inhabitants – on and off the stage. In an instant, an expanse emerges, geographically prompting the audience around places they know first-hand, or have witnessed in performances, or encountered through the stories of those who inhabit their city and their imaginations. The characters' movements, sometimes across vast distances, are multi-directional, cyclical and

¹ Plautus *Menaechmi*, prologue 72–6: *haec urbs Epidamnus est, dum haec agitur fabula: quando alia agetur, aliud fiet oppidum; sicut familiae quoque solent mutarier: modo hic habitat leno, modo adulescens, modo senex, pauper, mendicus, rex, parasitus, hariolus.*

On the ambiguity of *familia*, Gratwick 1993: 134 has argued that it should be read as a reference to households (of characters) and not troupes (of actors). Its use is similar to other contexts where it refers to members of the household: *familiarium* – of the household, in *Menaechmi* 623; *familia*, in *Poenulus* 168; and *familiaris*, in *Amphitruo* 353. Christenson 2000: 208.

² For staging and sets: Goldberg 1998; Manuwald 2011: 55–79; Marshall 2006.

meandering. Plautus's world map is a dense web of trajectories darting across the Mediterranean, especially its Eastern half, connecting the many coasts and territories beyond them. Mapping the journeys in *Curculio*, *Persa* and *Poenulus* shows how in these three plays alone one could cover an expanse from North Africa to India, and into the reaches of the Black Sea³ (Map 9, Fig. 3 (Plate 9) and Fig. 18 (Plate 5)).

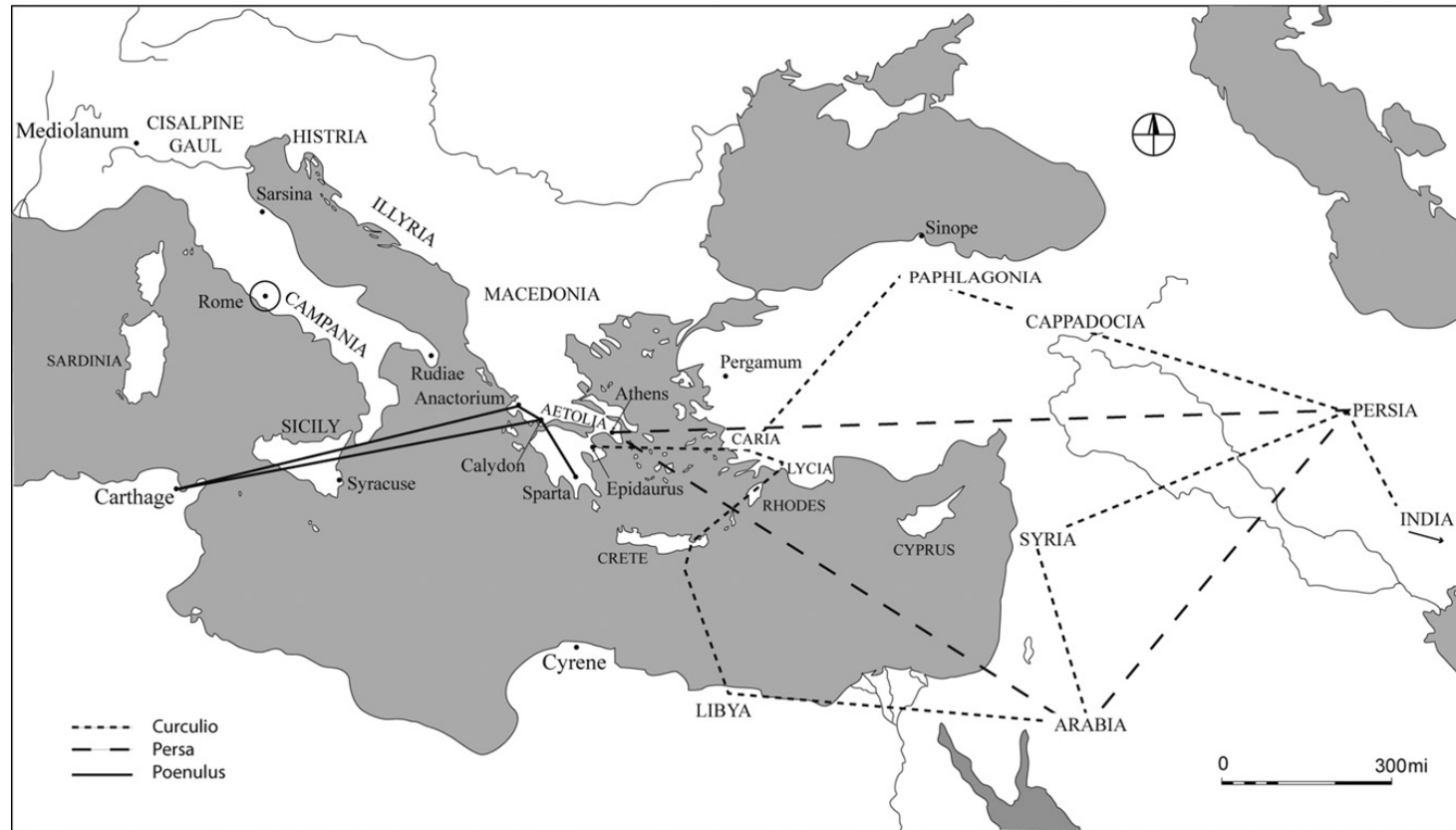
Using these comedies as a historical source requires a cautionary note. Most significant is the fact that the plays are based on earlier Greek plays, known as New Comedy, prevalent in the Hellenistic period (circa 325–250 BC), some generations before Plautus began writing. The Latin adaptations therefore use their antecedents' backdrop for the main action primarily in the Hellenistic maritime cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Plautus's comic creations, however, are not simple translations, nor even close adaptations of the original texts.⁴ They are products of his time and reflect Romano-Italian concerns and the societal frameworks within which he operated. Indeed, the differences in attitude or approach allow glimpses of variance between the two societies. Travel and movement is more pronounced in the Plautine comedies than in the Greek originals on which they are based. In the Greek plays, mobility is incidental rather than crucial to the plot. Plautus's imaginary world also feels bigger and more global, lacking any single centre, whereas the Greek comedies operate with more local networks that use Athens as the primary hub. Plautine characters seem to travel further and for longer periods of time. Despite such differences, the extent to which Plautus altered the Greek originals is debated. Some studies, especially those conducted by Lefèvre's Freiburg School (as the group became known), assert that the Plautine corpus was highly innovative and largely in the Italian dramatic tradition, with only a veneer of Hellenism.⁵ In this his plays are unlike the comedies of the later Roman playwright Terence, who followed the Greek originals much more closely, and whose work was targeted primarily at an 'aristocratic coterie'.⁶ A different, more controversial view was taken by Zwierlein, whose aim was to show that the Plautine texts, as we currently have them, are the product of substantial later revisions, and that initially they would have been closer to the Greek originals.⁷ The extent of Plautine originality was

³ Richlin 2005: 18. For routes around the Mediterranean presented in the Plautine comedies, including one between Cyrene and Capua (in *Rudens*): Knapp 1907.

⁴ For the context of translation and interpretation in the third and second centuries BC: Feeney 2016, esp. 53–6.

⁵ Lefèvre 1991; Benz and Lefèvre 1998. For an overview: Lowe 2007: 113; Drevikovsky and Muecke 2007: xiv–xv.

⁶ Segal 1987: 7; Habinek 1998: 56–7. ⁷ Zwierlein 1990–92.



Map 9 Journeys in three plays of Plautus as depicted on a conventional modern map: *Curculio*, *Persa*, *Poenulus* (adapted from Richlin 2005: 18).

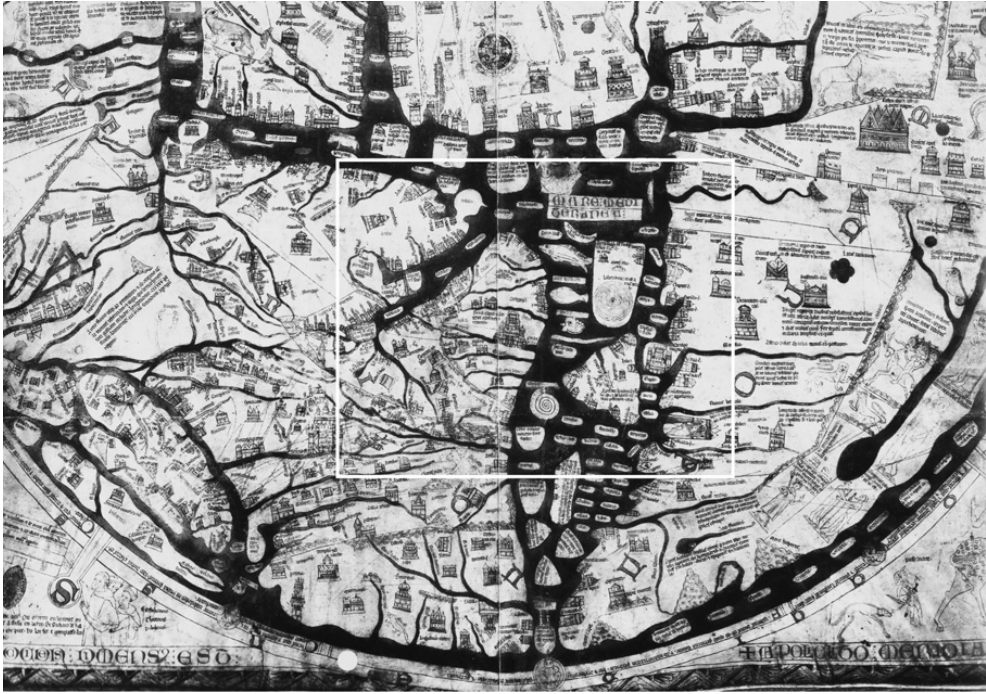


Fig. 18a Detail of Mappa Mundi dated to circa 1300, Hereford Cathedral. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

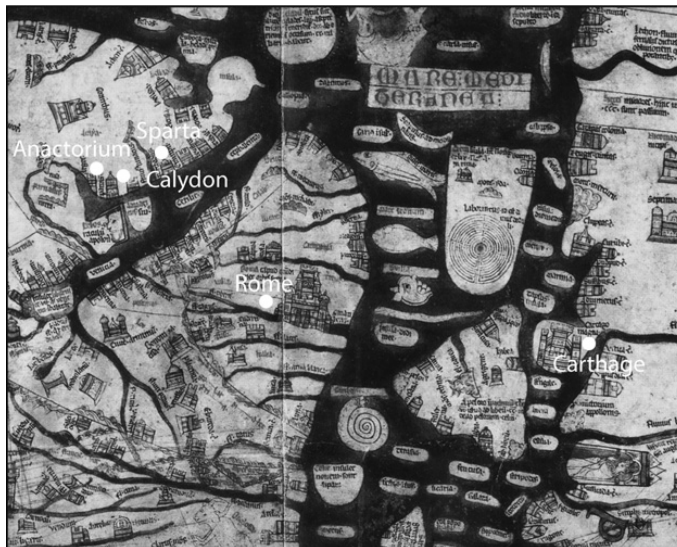


Fig. 18b Detail of Mappa Mundi dated to circa 1300, Hereford Cathedral. Indicating the sites in Plautus's *Poenulus*: Rome, Carthage, Anactorium, Calydon, Sparta.

first extensively explored by the work of Fraenkel in the milestone volume *Plautinisches im Plautus* (*Plautine Elements in Plautus*), which continues to be formative in the understanding of these texts.⁸ It underpins the works of scholars such as Segal, Harvey, Gruen and Leigh, who have demonstrated the importance of the corpus as a source for Romano-Italic history of the period.⁹ Building on these studies, the main aim here is to ascertain the extent to which the highly mobile environment depicted in Plautine comedies is a reflection of his contemporary Italic context, and to examine historically the different types of movement presented in the plays. The most common forms of mobility in his comic corpus are summarised in [Appendix A](#).

Plautus rarely comments explicitly on events in his own lifetime, and the state does not provide the main stimulus for the exploits of the characters. Agency tends to lie elsewhere. What drives the comic plots are individual choices (or lack thereof) that are dependent on networks of obligation which can be subverted for dramatic effect.¹⁰ Within most of Plautus's extant plays, a character coming from abroad, whether a foreigner or a family member returning home, is central to the plot. Their absence and the resulting lack of local and up-to-date knowledge provide the necessary opportunities for comic scenarios, many of which involve elaborate schemes of deception, identity switching and theft. 'I am celebrating the Eleutheria (feast of freedom) in royal style... because master's abroad', so runs the cheerful refrain of the slave Toxilus in *Persa* as he prepares for the festivities.¹¹ Segal's observation that 'the departure of father or wife is always the occasion for a Plautine party', sums up the joy with which some absences are greeted.¹² Plautus's *Mostellaria* is a particularly good example of the dangers of leaving the youth to their own devices. The dramatic framework allows for subversion of status and the granting of agency to such characters as the courtesan and the *servus callidus*¹³ – the trickster slave – who, despite their lowly status, are often

⁸ Fraenkel [1922] 2007.

⁹ Segal 1987: especially chapter 1, demonstrates that Plautine comedy does reflect contemporary Roman society. For topicality in Plautus: Harvey 1986; and Gruen 1990 on approaching topicality more widely. Leigh 2004 explores new historical themes in the corpus. For the Plautine tradition: Manuwald 2011: 225–33.

¹⁰ Freedom of mobility should not be mistaken as a sign of liberty. Mobility as driven by structures of obligation: Horden and Purcell 2000: 386; Moatti 2006: 118–19.

¹¹ Plautus *Persa*, 28–32. ¹² Segal 1987: 27.

¹³ Slaves in the Plautine corpus: Leigh 2004: 24–6; Parker 1989; McCarthy 2000; Richlin 2005: 30, 111. For the literary technique of how this is achieved: Wright 1975; Wright 1974. The trickster slave in *Poenulus*: Maurice 2004. The trickster slave and the 'Hannibalic Moment': Leigh 2004: chapter 2, 24–56.

the true drivers of action.¹⁴ It is a predicament of which the ‘free’ characters are fully aware, as conveyed by the youth in *Poenulus*, Agorastocles, who bemoans that ‘... love has bid me to be obedient to a slave, free man though I am’.¹⁵

The status of an individual as slave or free would determine the nature of his or her mobility. But when considering members of the free citizen body, there is little discrimination between the different sectors of society. Unlike the Greek comedies, where there is greater interest as to whether someone was rich or poor,¹⁶ in the Plautine corpus wealth is not necessary to start or end mobility. Nor were one’s decisions dependent on class or whether one was a city or country dweller, although civic status can play a role. In choosing to move, individuals did not necessarily set out with the goal of becoming members of new communities. Plautus’s characters seek freedom and generic citizenship rather than citizenship of any particular state. This is different to what we find in the earlier Greek plays of Menander, some of which form the basis for Plautus’s works. Within these earlier comedies it is specifically Athenian citizenship that matters.

In the comedies of Plautus, the choice of whether and where to go mainly has to do with necessity, new opportunities and the potential that a certain location offers. Some places are good to escape to; others provide good business prospects. Whether to take or seek out the opportunities on offer in part depends on one’s stage of life, as it determines the propensity for movement. People do not only become mobile under stressful conditions or when they have no choice. Mobility is part of our nature and can be welcome and sought after at certain points of our lives more than others, as noted in [Chapter 2](#).¹⁷ The Plautine comedies provide an outline of the ideal mobility pattern over a lifetime. Simply sketched out there is an anticipation of mobility in the earlier part of one’s life, with the expectation of a more stable existence in middle or old age, and a final coming to rest at a home, which need not be one’s place of origin. Wandering, for example, that does not allow for this final resting place is a fate to be avoided. For

¹⁴ Segal 1987: 104 stresses that Plautine comedy is not there to simply break class boundaries, making every man a citizen, but instead ‘creates a new – albeit temporary – aristocracy, in which wit, not birth distinguishes the ruler from the ruled.’

¹⁵ Plautus *Poenulus*, 449: *Amor iubet me oboedientem esse servo liberum*.

¹⁶ Olson notes that the fundamental divides in Athenian political rhetoric, between the rich and the poor, and the city and the country, were prevalent in the comedies, especially the works of Menander and Alexis; exemplified in the following fragment: ‘Don’t you realize that the right of free speech is poverty’s armour? If a man loses it, he’s abandoned the shield that guards his life.’ Nicostratus Comicus Fr. 30, from unidentified play (IV): Olson 2007: E1, 195, 440.

¹⁷ Chapter 2, p. 22.

dramatic purposes, the ideal pattern may be subverted when an individual's agency is removed; whether through slavery, crime or state conflict and imposition (examples of which are given in [Appendix C](#)).

In Plautus's comedies, another target for subversion is the position of being an outsider or insider. Individuals from abroad and especially guests (*hospites*) who have the least knowledge of the local context, or those least well-known (*ignoti*) become the drivers of action, overturning the role of their hosts.¹⁸ Travelling characters arriving from foreign parts, or setting off on journeys, are comic motifs. Some plays have few characters of local origin, and in *Poenulus* none are citizens of Aetolia, where the action takes place.¹⁹ The intersections that provide the setting are strong evidence that the plays reflect a highly mobile environment and one familiar to the audience watching them. We know from direct addresses to the spectators, especially in the prologues, that the audience was itself cosmopolitan and of mixed status and origin. Watching the plays would have been the young, the old, citizens, freedmen, slaves, men and women from here, there and everywhere.²⁰ This audience included foreigners of different varieties, whether resident aliens, merchants, exiles or hostages such as Polybius. There would have been travellers passing through or holidaymakers who came especially for the *ludi* – the festivals in which the comedies were performed,²¹ primarily, but not exclusively, at Rome.²² What we lack in the Plautine corpus are 'locals'; all we have are 'inhabitants', some more temporary than others.²³

¹⁸ Especially evident in the case of the following Plautine characters: the twin in search of his brother recently arrived in Epidamnus from Syracuse in *Menaechmi*; Hanno the uncle from Carthage in *Poenulus*; the courtesan from Ephesus taken to Athens in *Miles Gloriosus*; the shipwrecked Palaestra, who is the slave girl of Labrax in *Rudens*.

¹⁹ For lists of characters and their origins: Fantham 2004: 237–8.

²⁰ The prologue of *Poenulus* 16–35 directly addresses the slaves, the free, nurses, matrons and their husbands. Christenson 2000: 35 observes it is 'misleading to use a monolithic expression such as the "Roman audience".' On the diversity of the audience in terms of social class and origin: Manuwald 2011: 98–108; Feeney 2016: 180 argues that the audience would have been small, and questions whether it would have been such a cross-section of the city populace.

²¹ Plutarch *Life of Aemilius*, 39.7–8 records that there were Spaniards, Macedonians and Ligurians watching the funeral games of Aemilius Paullus in 160 BC. Richlin 2005: 24–7, argues for the diversity of those watching the plays. Whether Plautus's Rome was more heterogeneous than Menander's Athens, as suggested by Fraenkel [1922] 2007: 260, may not be easy to prove.

For the *ludi*: Wiseman 2008: chapter 8, 167–74. For the topsy-turvy world which the *ludi* inspired, see discussion below and: Segal 1987: chapter 2, 42–70.

²² While there is little evidence for shows on tour, Richlin argues that performances would have taken place throughout Italy, and outside the official *ludi*: Richlin 2005: 22–3. The festivals noted within the plays of Plautus and Terence (when theatrical performances would have been staged) include: the *ludi Romani*, *ludi plebei*, *ludi Megalenses* and the *ludi funebres Aemili Pauli*: Taylor 1937: Leigh 2004: 2–4. For the staging of performances in Rome: Goldberg 1998; Manuwald 2011: 41–8, 55–79; Marshall 2006.

²³ See below, pp. 217–19.

Six Plautine Elements of Mobility

Plautus's comedies present a nonchalant attitude to the widespread movement that characterises the majority of his plays, suggesting a level of familiarity among his audience with that dynamic environment. We know that the interests of Plautus's contemporary audience were incorporated into the plays from the exceedingly metatheatrical nature of the corpus.²⁴ Whether this can be used to argue for the prevalence of high mobility in the Italian sphere needs to be examined in light of the dramatic context and the ambiguous relationship between the Plautine comedies and their Hellenistic counterparts. In all likelihood, the main plots are adapted from Greek originals. Furthermore, the comic and tragic genres encourage the presentation of scenarios that are extraordinary to everyday life. Segal has shown that the topsy-turvy world of the festival allows such an escape, which is embodied in the plays.²⁵ The following analysis, therefore, will be primarily directed at material which is inconsequential to the main action of the play, including secondary narrative strands, embellishments, throw away comments and the Latin terminology itself. An examination of this material from the perspective of mobility brings to the fore six elements that are part of the fabric of the plays, but not directly connected to the main comic plot lines: (1) scenes of homecoming; (2) indifference to the foreignness of culture; (3) proof of identity mechanisms; (4) knowledge, information and exchange networks; (5) mobility as a form of conflict resolution; (6) Latin terminology in reference to movement and the outsider. Cumulatively, and in light of the evidence presented elsewhere in this study, it will be argued that these elements reflect the extent to which a highly mobile culture was embedded in the Romano-Italic context in which the Plautine comedies were produced and consumed.

Homecoming

Two slaves appear on the stage to open the first scene of Plautus's *Epidicus*. Thesprio, just returned from campaign laden with his master's equipment, is greeted by Epidicus, a fellow slave. Their dialogue runs as follows:²⁶

²⁴ See especially the study on *Pseudolus* by Slater 1985: 118–46; Slater 1992. In reference to metatheatricity in *Poenulus*: Maurice 2004. The highly metatheatrical nature of Plautus's performances meant that unlike Menander, who kept audience at a distance, Plautus broke down the barriers and invited them in: Christenson 2000: 131.

²⁵ Segal 1987: chapter 2, 42–70.

²⁶ Plautus *Epidicus*, 1–10: 'EP: *Heus, adulescens* . . . TH: *Salve*. EP: *Di dent quae velis. venire salvom gaudeo*. TH: *Quid ceterum?* EP: *Quod eo assolet: cena tibi dabitur*. TH: *Spondeo* – EP: *Quid?* TH: – *me accepturum, si dabis*. EP: *Quid tu agis? ut vales?*'

EP: Hi there young fellow! . . .

TH: Good day to you.

EP: God grant your wishes. Glad you are safely back.

TH: What about the rest?

EP: What's normally added to this: you shall be given a dinner.

TH: I promise –

EP: What?

TH: – to accept if you give me one.

EP: What about yourself? Are you well? . . .

These two servile characters satirically enact the rituals expected upon a free-man's return. Many of the plays have extended scenes of homecoming or the welcome and greeting of a guest, which are often accompanied by mockery of such rituals of hospitality ([Appendix B](#)). The stock sequence consists of recognition of the traveller, then a greeting followed by an expression of pleasure for their safe return, continuing with an enquiry after health, and finally an invitation to dinner.²⁷ Such flamboyance has no place in the Greek plays of Menander, where homecomings are expressed primarily in passing reference consisting of a simple greeting. Their transformation into whole comic episodes is believed to be largely a Plautine addition.²⁸ This is particularly true of *Stichus*, about which Lowe observes that 'Menander's play seems to have been taken apart and reassembled into a virtually plotless montage of festive variations on a theme of homecoming.'²⁹

In Italy, images of homecoming scenes appear in the tomb paintings from the cemeteries of Poseidonia, which date to the fourth and third centuries BC. Most frequently, as we saw in [Chapter 5](#), they depict a woman with a libation greeting a warrior on horseback, who is at times shown wearing distinctive 'Italic' armour, such as the three-disc breastplate.³⁰ Pontrandolfo and Rouveret have pointed out that this type of scene construction is well known from Attic pottery, but while Attic pottery shows departure for battle, the tomb images are of a triumphal return³¹ ([Fig. 17](#), Plate 4). Perhaps a focus on homecoming, rather than

²⁷ Barsby 1986: 114 provides the stock sequence of the homecoming in Plautus's comedies.

²⁸ Compare, for example, the brief exchange of greetings between Moschos and Sostratos, just returned from abroad, in Menander's *Dis Exapaton*, 102–7, with Plautus's extended greeting with an invitation to dinner in his adaptation of that play under the title *Bacchides*, 535–7. For discussion see: Barsby 1986: 140.

²⁹ Lowe 2007: 110. Gomme and Sandbach 1973: 6 note the lack of plot and Plautus's extension of the role of the parasite in *Stichus*.

³⁰ See Chapter 5, pp. 171–73.

³¹ Greco, Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1983; Pontrandolfo and Rouveret 1992.

departure, was a cultural trait associated particularly with communities in Italy. The Greeks, on the other hand, may have preferred to dwell on the emotions of leave-taking. Indulgence in such scenes of leave-taking is the reason it takes so long for the Argonauts to set out on their voyage in Apollonius's *Argonautika*.³²

The homecomings and greetings in Plautus are a mixture of returning soldiers from campaign, the arrival of merchants and relatives from business trips or the countryside, and the visits of *hospites* and prominent foreigners from further afield.³³ Part of the repertoire also includes the arrival of slaves,³⁴ courtesans and parasites, who partake in comic role reversals by offering hospitality which they could not fulfil.³⁵ There would have been no incentive for Plautus to revel in these scenarios unless they enhanced the comic effect. To function, this would require the audience's familiarity with the rituals, in order for them to be subverted.³⁶ The implication is that such scenes were a frequent occurrence and that there was a shared etiquette to which the spectators could relate.

Indifference to Foreignness: The Case of Poenulus and the Carthaginians

Considering the frequency and variety of welcome scenes, it is strange that the Plautine characters show little curiosity about the foreign aspect of the incomers' journeys, the places visited or their origins. There is also no sense that there was ever a problem in the language of communication.³⁷ The exception is when such information, and especially the birthplace, is necessary to establish the character's position in society and his or her status as slave or free ([Appendix B](#)).³⁸ Otherwise, for the internal logic of

³² For commentary: Thalmann 2011: 54–6.

³³ See [Appendix B](#), for a list of homecoming scenes in the Plautine comedies.

³⁴ Sosia the slave in *Amphitruo*, 161–2, makes reference to *hospitium publicum*, a sarcastic comment on the public hospitality offered to visiting foreign officials in Rome: Christenson 2000: 168. The famous 'historic' example of *hospitium publicum* – official state guest-friendship, was given to Caeretans because of their willingness to give refuge to the priests and sacred objects during the Gallic Sack: Livy 5.50.3.

³⁵ Most notably, the parasite in *Stichus* 480–90. For courtesans in that role, the *Bacchides* has the best examples.

³⁶ For parodies of the ideals of friendship: Maurice 2003; Burton 2004.

³⁷ We hear surprisingly little about language difficulties in antiquity, even though there is plenty of evidence for interpreters: Balsdon 1979: 137–45, esp. 137. Feeney 2016.

³⁸ Scenarios in which origins are important for establishing identity include the recognition of the twin brothers from Syracuse who had been lost to each other in *Menaechmi*, 1068–95; an attempt to pass off a parasite's daughter as a stolen freeborn courtesan from abroad, whose origins are being questioned in *Persa*, 595–648; revelation that Agorastocles living in Claydon is

the plays it seems to matter little which city the characters came from, particularly if they were slaves. As the pimp Labrax in *Rudens* emphatically states: 'I paid out money to their owner for the pair of them. What's it to me whether they were born in Athens or in Thebes, so long as they are rightly slaving it as slaves of mine?'³⁹ The portrayal of the 'other', of the kind presented in Hartog's *Mirror of Herodotus*,⁴⁰ does not exist in these comedies. Plautus does keep telling his audience that the plays are on foreign soil, *palliata* – in Greek dress, as in the prologue to the *Menaechmi*: 'This story is quite Greek-ish, but to be exact, it's not Athen-ish, it's Sicil-ish, in fact.'⁴¹ The comment, however, does not concern geography. There are no distinguishing ethnic characteristics given to his Greeks.⁴² There is also nothing about the scene or the two Syracusan brothers that is 'Sicil-ish'; instead they are all members of Plautopolis, as Gratwick aptly terms Plautus's imaginary settings, which could be anywhere.⁴³

Foreign cultural traits do become direct comic targets in the plays *Persa* and *Poenulus*. Funny sounding long names, Persian and Carthaginian exotic dress habits and the Punic language itself are paraded to elicit laughter.⁴⁴ But there is little within these caricatures that fits the category of xenophobic ethnic labelling. There is nothing as direct as the Greek playwright Alexis's characterisation of Boeotians as slow, boorish and gluttonous in *Trophonius*, for example.⁴⁵ Nor are there contrasting stereotypes as in Menander's *Aspis*, of the virile and vigorous Thracians who are pitted against the unmanly, cowardly Phrygians.⁴⁶ In Plautus's comedies,

originally from Carthage, as are the girls living nearby, who are Hanno's lost daughters in *Poenulus*, 1040–85; the questioning of the shipwrecked slave girl Palaestra to reveal that she is a freeborn citizen from Athens and the daughter of the old exile Daemones living near Cyrene in *Rudens*, 735–45, 1130–53.

³⁹ Plautus *Rudens*, 746: *Argentum ego pro istisce ambabus cuius erant domino dedi; quid mea refert, haec Athenis natae an Thebis sient, dum mihi recte servitutem serviant?*

⁴⁰ Hartog 1988.

⁴¹ Plautus *Menaechmi*, 11–12: *atque adeo hoc argumentum graecissat, tamen non atticissat, verum sicilicissat.*

⁴² Segal 1987: 37.

⁴³ Gratwick 1993: 8–15. Gratwick 1982: 112–13. These often combine a Greek backdrop and Romano-Italian customs, as for example in *Persa*, 474–5, with reference to increasing the citizen body by freeing a slave, which could happen under Roman law, but not under Athenian, where freed slaves did not become citizens: Richlin 2005: 173.

⁴⁴ *Persa* 330, 473, 690; *Poenulus* 975–1040. For a discussion of Carthaginian attributes that would have been funny to the Roman audience: Palmer 1997: 31–52. For clothing worn by Romans and others, and the cultural stereotypes associated with them: Balsdon 1979: 219–22.

⁴⁵ Alexis *Trophonius*, fr. 239 (237K): Arnott 1996b: 673 provides other ancient references for the stereotype.

⁴⁶ Menander *Aspis*, 240–5.

negative cultural stereotyping is present, but it primarily exists in the metatheatrical context, where it is addressed at his audience and the Italian communities of his day. Rome's closest neighbours, the 'arrogant' Praenestines,⁴⁷ seem to be a favourite target; the Apulians in south Italy also get a share of the jibes.⁴⁸ There is even a taunt at smelly Roman oarsmen, the only direct reference to Romans in the surviving plays.⁴⁹ Duly in keeping with the Greek setting, Romano-Italic habits, people and places are called barbarian, a term often used by Greeks (and even Polybius) in reference to them.⁵⁰ At the same time, *pergraecare* – to 'Greek it up' – becomes a slur on the luxury-loving habits of urbanites in the comedies.⁵¹ In part, these mock-derogatory comments are there to create a sense of dramatic distance in time and space. They also, ironically, provide amusement at the expense of the Hellenistic communities of the Mediterranean who, in the world outside the plays, were beginning to feel the reach of Roman hegemony. Such a self-deprecating label as barbarian, made from a position of confidence and power of the kind embodied by Cato, subverts the implied cultural gulf and instead redirects attention at shared trends, not least the creation and performance of the Plautine comedies themselves.

Expressions of xenophobia and ethnic stereotyping are hard to find in the comedies. The one play where a strong case has been made for their manifestation is *Poenulus*. It stands out from the existing Plautine corpus because of the protagonist's Carthaginian origins, and the play's performance in 191 BC soon after the Second Punic War. The comedy may have been based on a much earlier Greek original with a similar plot, probably by Alexis.⁵² But the appearance on a Roman stage of Hanno, a hero descended from the same stock as Hannibal – the recently defeated enemy – could not have been a neutral decision by the

⁴⁷ *Bacchides*, 21–2; *Truculentus*, 690; *Captivi*, 884. Jokes about Praeneste were common in Roman comedy: Barsby 1986: 96.

⁴⁸ As in Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*, 648.

⁴⁹ Plautus *Poenulus*, 1313–14: ... *tum autem plenio ali ulpicique quam Romani remiges*. With Gruen 1990: 154–5.

⁵⁰ Latin described as a barbarian tongue: *Asinaria*, 9; *Trinummus*, 18. Praeneste as a barbarian city: *Captivi*, 884. The Latin Naevius as a barbarian poet: *Miles Gloriosus*, 210. On the ironic use of barbarian: Segal 1987: 34–7 notes that in the Plautine context the adjective *barbarus* means not only Roman, but unfestive as well. By calling certain forms of behaviour Greek, Plautus licences un-Roman behaviour. For the use of *barbarus* in the comedies: Rochette 1998. For Polybius's references to Romans as barbarians, see Chapter 8, pp. 291–92.

⁵¹ *Mostellaria*, 23, 64, 960; *Poenulus*, 603.

⁵² For Alexis's *Karchedonios*: Arnott 1996b: 284–7; Arnott 2004. For Menander's *Karchedonios* see: Arnott 1996a. Alexis' interest in Carthage may be because he was born in Thurii around 375 BC. On Alexis and drama in Magna Graecia: Feeney 2016, 94–8.

playwright.⁵³ There must have been a reason why he chose to write a play with Carthaginian characters, but without allusion to the recent history of their defeat. Allen, in his work on hostage-taking, suggests that we owe aspects of the plot of *Poenulus* to the presence of the Carthaginian hostages in Rome and Italy, especially with a Punic child a long way from home as one of the protagonists.⁵⁴ We will return to consider the position of these hostages in more detail in the next two chapters. In addition, as we will see below, we need to take into account the significant number of Carthaginians and their descendants that must have been in Italy as a result of centuries of trade, joint military ventures and other interactions that culminated in their treaties with Rome. The vilification of the Carthaginians took time. Even in Polybius's narrative there is a shift from presenting Carthage, both morally and in terms of power, on a par with Rome, and then tracing the decline of the Punic Mediterranean power.⁵⁵

Franko has argued that the depiction of the Carthaginian characters in *Poenulus* can be read as partially derogatory, and that this echoes actual Roman xenophobic attitudes towards Carthaginians in the post-war period.⁵⁶ The argument is based on a combination of references to Hanno as *Poenus*, which is perceived to be a pejorative ethnic label, and in connection with it, the depiction of him as crafty, reflecting his deceitful nature.⁵⁷ The strongest relational link between these two descriptions appears in the prologue of the play, which introduces the character of Hanno: 'He knows all languages too, but knowing hides his knowledge. A Carthaginian complete! (*Poenus plane est*) Why say more?'⁵⁸ However,

⁵³ Henderson 1999: 8 investigates the performance context, and its difference from the Greek original, which would have focused on the Carthaginians as part of a Mercantile power.

⁵⁴ Allen 2006: 52, 161–3, noting that the performance in 191 BC would have followed soon after the Carthaginian slave rebellion. As Franko 1992, Allen sees the framing of the Carthaginian protagonists as negative and the play as a celebration of empire, militarily and culturally, as we will see below.

⁵⁵ Polybius 1.64.5.6, on the similar virtues of Romans and Carthaginians, and in 1.13.12, their equal strength and morals, which may be contrasted to the decline of Carthage as presented in the Mercenary War narrative: Gibson 2013: 177. For the Mercenary War: Chapter 8, p. 300ff.

⁵⁶ Franko 1994; Franko 1995a; Franko 1995b; Franko 1996. His views have been accepted by Starks 2000, Maurice 2004 and more cautiously by Leigh 2004.

⁵⁷ Franko argues that at the time of Plautus the neutral term for a citizen of Carthage would have been *Carthaginiensis*, while *Poenus* was a more general term meaning Phoenician and with pejorative connotations. He also argues that the characterisation of Hanno as *servus callidus* – the trickster slave, further supports the negative portrayal of the Carthaginian: Franko 1994; Franko 1996: 435. But see below and Prag 2006 for an alternative perspective.

⁵⁸ Plautus *Poenulus* 112–113: *Et is omnis linguas scit, sed dissimulat sciens se scire: Poenus plane est. quid verbis opust?*

there is some debate as to whether the term *Poenus* would have carried a particularly negative subtext in the early second century BC. Prag's analysis of the way in which the term *Poenus* was used, acquiring specialised meanings in the last centuries BC, makes it less likely that it was a pejorative ethnic label at the time of Plautus.⁵⁹ His conclusion, in line with that of Thiel, is that the label *Punica fides* – Carthaginian perfidy – is essentially a *political* claim.⁶⁰ What's more, *Punica fides* was not to be outdone by references to the Greeks, who are similarly characterised in the comedies: more than seventy-five different expressions are used by Plautus in reference to it.⁶¹ The proclamation *Graeca fides*, as used in *Asinaria*,⁶² was enough to transform honesty into its opposite. Why say more?

Odysseus's wiles were well known, and made a fitting comparison for Plautus's scheming slave-hero Pseudolus.⁶³ Neither *Poenus* nor the attribution of craftiness can be taken as a sign of xenophobia, especially if we take into account that in this period, perfidy, or its Greek version *athesia*, was associated primarily with the Celts.⁶⁴ Polybius even states that Hannibal had to guard against the *athesia* of his Celtic allies.⁶⁵ However, in his *Histories* such a characterisation is also applied to Philip V, Aetolians and the Carthaginians themselves. What they all had in common, it seems, is an indulgence in allegedly senseless warfare against the Romans.⁶⁶ In relation to *Poenulus*, Franko argues that Hanno's negative image is further enhanced by the apparent allusion to his licentious and incestuous nature. Yet even Franko acknowledges that it is based on a number of ambiguous passages, and would depend on how the play was acted.⁶⁷ If the

⁵⁹ Prag argues that the picture offered by Franko is too black and white, and that the evidence for the use of such terms as *Poenus* and *Carthaginensis* does not lend itself to a clear rigid division between ethnic (pejorative) and political (neutral) contexts: Prag 2006: 5–8, 14–15, 30.

⁶⁰ Thiel [1954] 1994: 129.

⁶¹ Plautine ways to denote Greek perfidy: Lejay 1925; Segal 1987: 38–9.

⁶² Plautus *Asinaria*, 199: *cetera, quae volumus uti Graeca mercamur fide* – everything else we wish to use we purchase on Greek Credit: De Melo 2011: 163.

⁶³ Plautus *Pseudolus*, 1063 and 1244. ⁶⁴ Williams 2001: 83–5. ⁶⁵ Polybius 3.49.3; 3.70.4.

⁶⁶ Williams 2001: 83–5. Pédech 1964: 223 notes that the term is associated with people who are unreasonable and what they do futile and irrational.

⁶⁷ It depends on interpreting, for example, the phrase *ducit noctem*, at *Poenulus*, 108, to mean that Hanno, in searching for his children, spent the night with the courtesans, whom he questioned about their origins, in case they turned out to be his daughters. For alternative interpretations: Starks 2000: 168–9; Zwierlein 1990: 223; Maurice 2004: 278–9.

Franko, and Stark 2000, 168 both acknowledge the importance of the actors' gestures in conveying such an attitude: Franko 1995b: 251–2; Franko 1996: 427, 429–30, 433, 437–8.

One example used by Franko to argue for incestuousness is the scene starting at *Poenulus* 1296, when Hanno embraces his daughter on their recognition, an act mistaken by the girl's lover, who does not know Hanno's relation to the girl: Franko 1995a: 252. However, a similar scene is played out in Menander's *Misoumenos*, 610ff: Demeas, a father just returned from

playwright's intention was to characterise Hanno negatively and to attribute these qualities to his Punic-Carthaginian origins, it would mean that *Poenulus* presents a unique example of ethnic, as distinct from cultural, stereotyping within the Plautine corpus.

There are good historical reasons why we would expect this kind of attitude to prevail in this comedy, but it is precisely the absence of such an unambiguously negative stance that makes the play so intriguing. For most of the twentieth century, Hanno was perceived as a wholly sympathetic character, especially by Duckworth and Gratwick.⁶⁸ The foreign hero displays pious and noble traits, which cannot be argued away, and are acknowledged even in Franko's negative reading.⁶⁹ Hanno's devotion to his family and reverence for the gods are exemplary of a virtuous Roman. How the ancient audience would have reconciled these extremes in one character has yet to be fully resolved. One cunning solution, proposed by Maurice, is that rather than trying to understand Hanno as pious or stereotypically Carthaginian or Punic, we need to see him in the context of deception which runs through the play in metatheatrical terms. She argues that Hanno succeeds as a hero because, just like a good actor, he is able to play multiple roles through the course of the play.⁷⁰ Hence, he does what the actor delivering the prologue of the *Poenulus* is about to do: 'I am going: I must now become another man.'⁷¹ Maurice's approach is more compatible with the Plautine context and directs attention away from the issues of ethnicity. Even if we were to accept some vilification of Hanno because of his ethnic origins, it would be a struggle to present the other Carthaginian characters, his daughter and his nephew Agorastocles, in a similar negative light. Such inconsistency does not fit the way in which ethnic and racial stereotyping function, which requires that the traits ascribed to a particular ethnic origin are exhibited by all those who share that ethnicity. In other words, if Hanno is deceitful and licentious because he is a Carthaginian, we would expect his daughters and Agorastocles his nephew, to also exhibit those characteristics. These young cousins, however, are no more Punic-ish than the Menaechmi brothers were Sicil-ish.

abroad, embraces his daughter on recognition, an act equally misinterpreted by an onlooker. For a comparison of the two misunderstandings: Arnott 1996b: 28; Arnott 2004: 68.

For a nuanced depiction of the women in *Poenulus*, and especially the embracing and recognition scene: Fantham 2004: 249, who turns the discussion to the licentious expectations of the audience, for which also see Henderson 1999: 31–3.

⁶⁸ Duckworth 1942: 725; Gratwick 1971: 32 note 5; Gratwick 1982: 94.

⁶⁹ Franko 1996: 441. For reasons to support a positive interpretation of Hanno: Maurice 2004: 268; Hanson 1959: 92–5.

⁷⁰ Maurice 2004: 269. ⁷¹ Plautus *Poenulus*, prologue 126: *ibo, alius nunc fieri volo*.

It is possible that the surviving text of this play does include the beginnings of ethnic stereotyping which appear more prominently in later Latin literature, but it is certainly not developed to the extent that Franko's reading suggests. For scholars over the centuries, the problem with *Poenulus* has been that it is too much like Plautus's other comedies. If it indulges in stereotyping there is simply not enough of the stereotype, the fear and hatred of the 'other', that we might expect in a play whose main characters are from the same background as the recently defeated enemy who threatened Rome's very existence. A direct reference to the Roman victory appears in Plautus's *Cistellaria*, performed just as Italy was emerging from the defeat of Hannibal. 'Let the conquered *Poeni* suffer your punishment' are the final words of the direct address to the audience at the end of Act I.⁷² Using this as a starting point, Leigh has argued for a pervasive Hannibalic impact on the entire Plautine corpus, especially through the adaptation and expansion of the role of the *servus callidus* – the trickster slave. He asks whether the 'explosion of tricksterism in the Plautine version of the comic slave can be taken as a manifestation of the Hannibalic moment.'⁷³ He does not deny that the same negative characterisations are applied to Greeks and other foreigners by Plautus.⁷⁴ But he is less interested in ethnic stereotyping than in uncovering how the historical moment of Hannibal shapes the plays. His answer is that it may lie in the 'celebration of the slave as trickster a compulsive reperformance of traumatic shared disaster'.⁷⁵ However, there are no other direct (or indirect) references to the war itself in the *Poenulus*, despite its production a decade or so after the Hannibalic War.⁷⁶ Nor is there any hint that the subject matter of *Poenulus* may be uncomfortable for the audience. It does not read like a trauma.

Sources do provide glimpses of debates in the Roman senate about how Carthage should be treated after her defeat, which came to a head in the mid-second century BC, culminating with the destruction of the city. These imply that in the intervening years between the Second and Third Punic Wars there were strong opposing views about the Punic city. In such

⁷² *Cistellaria*, 202: ... *ut vobis victi Poeni poenas sufferant*.

⁷³ Leigh 2004: chapter 2, 24–56, esp. 29.

⁷⁴ Especially noted by: Segal 2001: 37–9. In *Poenulus*, the personal insults that are inflicted on Hanno at lines 1312–14 by the soldier, who has misunderstood the situation, are also found in Alexis's Greek comedy. Hence, they should not be read as a specifically anti-Carthaginian slur: Arnott 2004: 83.

⁷⁵ Leigh 2004: 55–6.

⁷⁶ As to why a mid-190s date has been favoured for the production of *Poenulus*: Arnott 1996b: 246–7.

a context, the production of a seemingly ‘neutral’ play as *Poenulus*, about an explosive topic, may have been enough to make a robust statement without the necessity of any direct reference to the conflict in the comedy itself.⁷⁷ At the time would Hanno’s opening speech in act five, delivered in Punic, have startled the audience? How familiar was the sound of the Carthaginian tongue? There is still debate as to whether the choice to have a whole passage in Punic was a Plautine decision or adopted from Alexis’s Greek original.⁷⁸ But its inclusion in a comedy for an Italian audience does not mean that the emotions it would have inspired were purely hostile. Along with remnants of war the sound of Punic could have also brought to mind trade, travel, festivals and distant friends.

The presence of Carthaginians and Africans in Italy in numbers is indisputable. They were the trading partners of her communities for many centuries, and left their mark whether through Punic inscriptions at sanctuaries such as Pyrgi⁷⁹ or more subtly, as embodied in a fourth-century BC Tarquinian sarcophagus of Carthaginian design, decorated with Etruscan painting.⁸⁰ There is enough, even in Rome, as Palmer demonstrates,⁸¹ to reveal their presence and influence prior to the wars with Carthage. Traces of Punic names appear in the epigraphic record and the Romano-Carthaginian treaties are a testament to long-term links and the presence of both groups in each other’s communities.⁸² There has even been a suggestion that the Hercules cult at the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium may have had Phoenician roots, and is evidence of such foreign traders in Rome during the Archaic period.⁸³ It is plausible that for some watching the comedies of

⁷⁷ For the destruction of Carthage: O’Gorman 2004; Limonier 1999. The lack of clear ethnic anti-Punic stereotyping in *Poenulus* is also noted by Richlin 2005: 185–7, who explores the possibility that the more negative elements present in the prologue, and *Poenulus*, the title itself (which may be read as pejorative), could have been later additions as anti-Punic feeling increased from the mid-second century BC.

⁷⁸ For the text and its impact within the play: Sznycer 1967; Gratwick 1971; Maurach 1988; Adams 2003, 204–5; Feeney 2016, 82. For the use of Punic in *Poenulus*: Richlin 2005: 189–91.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3, pp. 76–77. ⁸⁰ Crouzet 2004; Fentress 2013: 157–78. ⁸¹ Palmer 1997.

⁸² For evidence of ‘Punic’ presence from epigraphic evidence at Capua, Roccagloriosa and Laos: Chapter 4 and 5, p. 178. For Romano-Carthaginian treaties and the presence of Carthaginians in Italy and Italians in Carthage: Chapter 8.

Textual and archaeological evidence for the relationship: Palmer 1997; Erskine 2013: 113–29.

⁸³ Most of the sources for the cult, which place its foundation to the time of Evander, date from the Late Republic, but there are suggestions that it did have much longer roots: Livy 1.7.4–15; Livy 9.29.9–11; Tacitus *Ann.* 12.24. In the 1960s, Van Berchem proposed that certain elements in the tradition of this cult indicate that it may have had Phoenician origins. The two key factors were the offering of tithes, a non-Roman tradition but well-known from the Near-East; and the Potitii, one of the two families who acted as caretakers of the cult, who are otherwise unknown (unlike the Pinarii who initially shared the responsibility); it could be that the Potitii did not constitute a family but were the public slaves in charge of the cult – with the Latin

Plautus, Punic was their mother tongue, especially any Carthaginian hostages who would have been there at the time, and perhaps even Terence, the other Latin comic playwright.⁸⁴ Furthermore, Romans were aware of the writings of Punic authors. A well-known example is the series of agricultural pamphlets by Mago.⁸⁵ These were translated into Latin in the second century BC (with senatorial funding) by Decimus Silanus, who was a specialist in Punic language and literature.⁸⁶ They were also translated into Greek in the early first century BC by Cassius Dionysius of Utica.⁸⁷ One of the reasons Mago's writings were so popular may have been the large number of Romano-Italian landowners or investors in North Africa.⁸⁸ Punic elements had filtered into Italian practices and even language: from domestic things such as the Punic porridge⁸⁹ to more technical language such as Punic windows, and joints, which are mentioned by Cato and Varro, and perhaps even the *macellum*.⁹⁰ Finally, if Pliny is to be believed, there were statues of Hannibal within the walls of Rome.⁹¹ It is difficult to know when they date

potior – implying possession by the deity. While there is no material proof of the site of worship, the Eastern roots of the cult and the presence of Phoenician merchants in Archaic Rome who may have worshipped there remain a tantalising possibility: Van Berchem 1959–60; Van Berchem 1967; Bonnet 1983; Palmer 1990. For an overview: Forsythe 2005: 119–21.

⁸⁴ For the Carthaginian hostages who were brought to Rome following the victory at Zama in 202 BC: Chapter 7, pp. 245, 253, 256–57. For a possible influence of the Carthaginian hostages on the representation of the Punic protagonists in the play: Allen 2006: 161–3. Other than hostages, Livy's description of the capture of a Carthaginian spy (22.33.1–2) in 217 BC, who had eluded the authorities for two years, suggests the Carthaginians in Rome would have attracted little attention at the time. For the episode: Palmer 1997: 27–8.

The playwright Terence, whose full name was Publius Terentius Afer (Suetonius, *Life of Terence* 1), may have come from Carthage. For this tradition: Erskine 2013: 119. For evidence of Carthaginian presence in Italy: Fentress 2013.

⁸⁵ Varro *Rerum Rusticarum*, 1.1.10 claims that Mago the Carthaginian surpassed the other writers on the subjects to do with farming and agriculture, which he wrote in Punic tongue – *Mago Carthaginienensis . . . poenica lingua*. He notes the translations of the twenty-eight books into Greek. On Punic landholding and Mago: Lancel 1992: 273–80; Erskine 2013: 117. On the process of translation: Feeney 2016, 43, 51.

⁸⁶ For a translation of the work into Latin at the expense of the senate: Pliny *NH*, 18.22 [1], (1.18); and references to Mago: Cicero *De Oratore*, 1.249; Varro *Rerum Rusticarum*, 1.1.10; Columella *De Re Rustica*, 1.1.13; 12.4.2.

⁸⁷ For translations of the work into Greek: Varro *Rerum Rusticarum*, 1.1.10.

⁸⁸ See Chapter 7, p. 245.

⁸⁹ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 85: *pultem punicam*. For Carthaginians as porridge eaters – *pultiphagonides*, as suggested by the alternative title of the *Poenulus*, noted in its prologue, 54: Copley 1970.

⁹⁰ For Punic-style windows: Varro *Rerum Rusticarum*, 3.7.3; and Punic cart: 1.52. Punic joints are noted by Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 18.9. Cicero *Pro Murena*, 75 makes reference to Punic couches – *lectuli Punicani*. For the possible Punic origins of the *macellum* and other influences: Palmer 1997: 43–8, 115–19. For other 'Punic' items: Erskine 2013: 122.

⁹¹ Pliny *NH*, 34.15. I am grateful to Christopher Siwicki for discussions on the subject of the Hannibalic statues in Rome.

from, but presumably they would have been in the city when Livy wrote his account of the Second Punic War. We are left wondering whether *Poenulus* could have been an equally successful comedy if another city was used as the place of origin for its protagonists, and to what extent we would be engaging in the arguments about ethnic stereotyping if that was the case. In the world of the comedies there is little to suggest either that those going abroad or those coming into the community would have extensive problems as a result of not coping culturally, fitting in or being at the sharp end of xenophobic harassment.

The atmosphere in the plays is primarily one of fluidity between different locations, allowing the characters to function within an apparently unitary cultural milieu, irrespective of ethnic concerns or differences in dress and language. Any instance in the comedies where a cultural contrast is explicitly highlighted stands out precisely because of its rarity. In the *Casina*, the plot revolves around two slaves who want to marry the same girl. The narrator explains the social oddity of slave marriages and weddings, which, he assures the audience, do happen in Greece, Carthage and Apulia.⁹² We can only surmise that the inclusion of Apulia in this list is probably what made the comment amusing, regardless of whether the statement reflected real practice or not. It is otherwise difficult to find references in the plays which suggest recognition of a significant culture clash. Rather, the most prominent obstacle for the outsider, and for those who have been away for some time, is their lack of knowledge, and networks of *hospites* (guest-friends) whom they can trust and rely on for hospitality.⁹³ This is particularly evident in the *Poenulus*. Hanno, when in Calydon, does recognize the difficulty which outsiders have in bringing

⁹² Plautus *Casina*, 67–72: ‘But I say it does happen in Greece and at Carthage, and here in our land in the land of Apulia – *at ego aio id fieri in Graecia et Carthagini et hic in nostra terra in <terra> Apulia*.’ For the dubious legalities of such marriages, even in Greece: MacCary and Willcock 1976: 68, 71–2. A similar disclaimer, about banqueting and other activities by slaves allowed in Athens, appears in the prologue of *Stichus* 446–8. As Gruen 1990: 153 observes in this instance as in the *Casina*, the disclaimers underscore the absence of sharp divisions in other cases.

⁹³ The networks of guest-friendship were relied on, and reciprocated for those on the move, which were aided and protected by traditions of hospitality and taboos for the mistreatment of strangers. Comments about not misleading strangers are a reflection of these unwritten codes: *Miles Gloriosus*, 480–530 and *Poenulus*, 1003; or the story of a house being haunted due to the murder of a guest: *Moellaria*, 473ff. The system of guest-friendship represents both an expectation of provision for those on the move across long distances, and at the same time an expectation of stability, in that the guest-friend will remain in a particular place for their hospitality to be used. It is an ancient example of what may be called a ‘migration chain’ but not based around members of the same civic community, but instead on the same status or profession.

cases to trial,⁹⁴ yet he displays full knowledge of the functioning of the legal system, and of his rights as a visiting freeborn citizen.⁹⁵ The level and extent of support and hospitality would primarily depend on the incomer's freeborn status and profession or social standing, and, if that was lacking, on the ability to convince others of its existence. Taking the perspective of the outsider in Plautus's *Asinaria*, a trader in Athens, wondering whether to trust Leonida the slave, states that 'man is no man, but a wolf to a stranger.'⁹⁶ All those who one does not know are potentially dangerous, whether native or alien. But what is most noticeable throughout the comedies is the nonchalant attitude to foreignness and an assumption of shared understanding along horizontal society lines, even between those separated by vast distances. Such a mind-set is characteristic of a society used to finding foreigners in their midst, and whose members actively participated in the mobile networks that crossed the Mediterranean, and would have on occasion found themselves in the role of the outsider.

Proof of Identity Mechanisms

An individual's status, and the ability to demonstrate it, would have been crucial for those on the move without easy access to witnesses who might vouch for it. Unsurprisingly, the mechanisms for proving identity are a recurring theme of the comedies, and provide the opportunity for

⁹⁴ Hanno's apprehension of prosecuting in a foreign city is evident in *Poenulus*, 1403–4. Allowances made for foreigners in the city needing to use the legal system are also implied in *Pseudolus*, 1232: 'I'll settle the demands of outsiders first and deal with the citizens tomorrow – *peregrinos apsoluam, cras agam cum ciuibus*.' The division is in part connected to the existence of the two praetorships in Rome by the time of Plautus: *praetor urbanus*, and the *praetor peregrinus*. See Chapter 2, p. 37. For outsiders refusing to abide by local (or international) laws: *Rudens*, 725, 'your laws mean nothing to me – *mihi cum vestris legibus nil quicquamst commercii*', exclaims the villain of the play, the pimp Labrax, refusing to admit that the girls he acquired as slaves are freeborn citizens, whom he is trying to reclaim as his property.

⁹⁵ The rights of visiting citizens, for example to request help from the host community, either because there is a treaty between the two communities or because they were part of the unwritten laws of hospitality, are also assumed in *Menaechmi*, 1004–6: Gratwick 1993: 231. Hence the lack of specific international laws to protect citizens of other communities, a point stressed by Gratwick 1982: 99, does not mean that such protection was not expected or offered. Gratwick's point is rather that Calydonia in the minds of the Athenian or the Italian audience would have been seen as a kind of lawless Wild West: Fantham 2004: 237.

⁹⁶ Plautus *Asinaria*, 495: *lupus est homo homini, non homo, quom qualis sit non novit*. In *Amphitruo*, 847, Sosia the slave, addressing his master on their return from campaign, following the misidentity and confusion caused by Jupiter pretending to be Amphitruo, states: . . . the way people are getting changed about these days since we came back from abroad – . . . *ita nunc homines immutantur, postquam peregre advenimus*. *Curculio*, 551 – a comment that all private and public business depends on trust.

elaborate questioning scenes (Appendix B),⁹⁷ and the interception or faking of *symbola* (personal seals), and other forms of identification.⁹⁸ One such specialised document, to which we return again, is the *tessera hospitalis*, the record of mutual friendship that acted as a binding contract extending over geographic distances and generations. As we saw in previous chapters, the object would have consisted of two parts, each kept by the parties whose names it recorded. One piece, in the shape of a boar, was found in a Carthaginian cemetery. Its inscription in Etruscan bears witness to a friendship between a Carthaginian and an Etruscan speaker, or at the very least the presence of an Etruscan speaker in Carthage who had friendship ties⁹⁹ (Fig. 4). Plautus's *Poenulus* includes a demonstration of how it may have been used.¹⁰⁰ Our Carthaginian protagonist, Hanno, having travelled around the Mediterranean in search of his stolen daughters, lands in Calydon. He proceeds to the house of his guest-friend, who unbeknownst to him is dead, and is instead greeted by his friend's heir Agorastocles. As Hanno presents his half of the *tessera*, which attests to his official tie, and also acts as proof of his identity, Agorastocles recognises that it is the other half of the one his adoptive father has stored in the house.¹⁰¹ A sadness-tinged, joyful reunion follows. We have no way of knowing how many such *tesserae* Hanno, or others on the move, would have carried on their journeys or brought with them when they changed their place of residence. Would they have been stored in chests, the equivalent of small filing cabinets, to be retrieved when required by guest or host? These objects were an essential part of the private contracts that underpinned the Mediterranean network. Such personal mechanisms, officially issued and mutually recognised by members of different states, were vital in a highly mobile environment, without passports or other secure forms of identification.

⁹⁷ See Appendix B for occurrences of recognition and questioning of identity scenes.

⁹⁸ Contracts, seals and promissory notes are included in the following comic contexts: *Amphitruo*, 780–90 – a request to check the seals on a chest to ensure it had not been tampered with; *Bacchides*, 235, 263–6, 293 – notes also the problems with bandits; *Curculio*, 328, 413, 423 – references to stolen seals and promissory notes; *Curculio*, 551 – a comment that all private and public business depends on trust; *Persa*, 245, 473 – the use of sealed letters and tablets; *Poenulus*, 1047–55 – Hanno produces his half of a *Tessera Hospitalis*; *Pseudolus* 50 – presents issue of letters on wooden tablets; *Pseudolus* has numerous references to such tokens throughout, for example 55–6, 1092 and 985 – checking of seals to prove that it is really Ballio; *Trinummus*, 795 – anticipating examination of seals and letters to make sure they are from the father. For discussion of their use in Plautus, and relation to his Greek originals: Arnott 2004: 82; Licandro 2007: 55.

⁹⁹ 'Mi puinel karthazie els q[-]na. I (am) Puinel from Carthage . . .': Rix 1991: Af 3.1; with discussion by Prag 2006: 8–10, 24. Messineo 1983; Acquaro 1988: 536. See also Chapter 3, pp. 101–03.

¹⁰⁰ Plautus *Poenulus*, 958; 1047–55. ¹⁰¹ Plautus *Poenulus*, 1047–55.

Knowledge and Information Exchange Networks

Within the comedies, the coming and going of individuals allows for continuous dissemination of information and exchange in knowledge over wide distances. Plautus's characters are sent on missions to get funds, in search of news or in an attempt to deliver important messages. In *Stichus*, two sisters anxiously wait to hear reports of their husbands on a business trip abroad. They send slaves and parasites daily to hang around the port in hope of information, either by stories from other merchants and travellers or the arrival of letters.¹⁰² It is only due to the successful circulation of knowledge, through ongoing connectivity, that characters in another play, *Bacchides*, need worry about scandals being *displascere* – noised abroad.¹⁰³ In other comedies, characters travel to various cities to get loans, resources or carry out business.¹⁰⁴ The playful references to the frequency of such assignments, as the promised delivery of letters in *Persa* 690, could spill outside the action on the stage. Addressing the audience directly, the narrators of the prologues in *Menaechmi* 49–50 and *Poenulus* 80–3 state that they are about to go abroad (returning to the scene of the action, Epidamnus and Carthage respectively), and would be happy to run errands, as couriers or agents of business on behalf of any of the spectators, for a fee. In these vignettes, there are also hints that once the fee is received there is no guarantee that the task will be completed, which would have drawn a knowing chuckle from an audience familiar with such swindling.¹⁰⁵ This is just one type of an extensive range of travel scenarios that pervade the comedies and attest to the frequency of mobility. Their numerous varieties have been carefully catalogued by Knapp.¹⁰⁶ They would most easily fit into Erdkamp's first category of travel, which he differentiates as a separate activity from that of temporary and permanent migration discussed in Chapter 2.¹⁰⁷ However, such category distinctions become more difficult to maintain once we move from the extreme ends of the spectrum – permanent migration and travel – towards the centre, and

¹⁰² Plautus *Stichus*, 150–52, 280. Similar news from the port, on a son's arrival, is awaited by the father in *Mercator*, 162.

¹⁰³ *Bacchides*, 1046.

¹⁰⁴ These include the parasite in *Curculio* who is sent from Epidaurus to Caria to secure a loan; Mnesilochus, an Athenian youth in *Bacchides* who has been sent by his father to Ephesus to retrieve gold loaned to a friend; *Pseudolus* 50ff, presents a scenario where a Macedonian soldier having put a downpayment on a courtesan will send a messenger to deliver the remainder of the funds and pick up the girl.

¹⁰⁵ Trust – *fides*, and lack of it, is a recurring theme in the comedies, most notably in Act 4 scene 3 of the *Curculio*, 533–56, concerning the trustworthiness of bankers, messengers and seals.

¹⁰⁶ Knapp 1907. ¹⁰⁷ Erdkamp 2008: 421–2. See Chapter 2, pp. 30–31.

take into account the cyclical and meandering nature of mobility. It is this which we will explore in the remainder of this chapter and the two to follow.

Mobility as a Form of Conflict Resolution

Choosing to leave or being sent away from a place of residence, either temporarily or for good, are presented as methods for conflict resolution in the comedies. Not state conflicts but ones of a personal nature. Financial burdens are one of the most common reasons for contemplating the option of mobility, especially among the youthful characters. Sons who have run through their fathers' fortunes, as in the comedies *Trinummus* and *Mostellaria*, are a particularly notable group in this respect. Their flightiness is a worry both to loan lenders, who may not get their principal or interest back,¹⁰⁸ and to those who have deposited their money with the bankers, which is Cappadox's concern in *Curculio*.¹⁰⁹ Youths contemplate seemingly drastic measures, such as becoming mercenaries, resigning themselves to a life of endless wandering, either because they are financially broke or because the object of their love is inaccessible.¹¹⁰ The threat of exile provoked by unrequited love is a favourite theme of both Greek and Latin comedy.¹¹¹

Reasons to go abroad may include escape from social responsibility or criminal prosecution, such as the Lemnian character in *Cistellaria*.¹¹² He runs off having raped a maiden at a Dionysiac festival at Sicyon, only to return to her years later after the death of his wife. Creating distance in time and space is also a social resolution used by the disgruntled and devious father in *Casina*, who sends his son away so he can have the girl he loves for himself. In *Mercator* and *Bacchides*, fathers send their sons away on business trips for several years, but in these cases this can be read as a rite of passage for those born into merchant families. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent these scenarios would have been as familiar to the audience members in the third and second centuries BC in Italy, as they would have

¹⁰⁸ Misargyrides, the moneylender in *Mostellaria*, 589–600, is concerned that he will end up in such a state.

¹⁰⁹ Plautus *Curculio*, 560.

¹¹⁰ For example, the youths in *Mercator*, 643–6, 830–41, 849–50, 885–87, and *Trinummus*, 592–601, 698–703, 720–8. On wandering, see below, pp. 222–23.

¹¹¹ In Menander's *Samia*, 616–40, the young Moschion threatens to become a mercenary. Theocritus includes such solutions for a broken heart: Idyll 14. Groton 1987; Gaertner 2007b: 13–14.

¹¹² Plautus *Cistellaria*, 156–73.

been in the context of the Greek originals. We would expect that it would have been equally common for young people to be sent off, or choose a life abroad. The mercenariat, at least, was prominent on both sides of the Adriatic. Some would have remained in perpetual motion propelled along the trade and military routes, which would have increased with new opportunities as a result of victories and Rome's growing influence overseas. Safer travel routes must also have meant that certain trajectories saw greater movement. Those moving along them would have been the predecessors of such figures as the later poet Catullus and his brother, who looked after their father's business in the Greek East. This may have been the export of *garum* – fish sauce – a staple Mediterranean commodity.¹¹³

Latin Terminology in Reference to Mobility and the Outsider

The quotidian nature of travel and the presence of outsiders may be traced in the Latin terminology and expressions used by Plautus in his comedies. Specialised terms referring to the accoutrements of travel point directly to its ubiquity. Even in our own highly mobile world, we do not seem to have an English equivalent of *viaticum* – meaning travel funds – a term later used in reference to a soldier's allowance. It appears a number of times in the comedies and particularly mockingly in the *Poenulus*.¹¹⁴ Those who are travellers or have just returned from a journey can be identified by their attire and accessories, which may include a *petasus* or *causea* – wide brimmed hats; either a *pallium* or a *chlamys* – a cloak that could also be used to identify the character as Greek or coming from a military campaign.¹¹⁵ Travellers may also have with them a *zona* – a travelling wallet/belt;¹¹⁶ or a *vidulus* – a travel bag – as in the *Vidularia*, the title of

¹¹³ Cairns 2003.

¹¹⁴ In *Captivi*, 449, Hegio states: Follow me so I can give you some travel funds from the banker's – *Sequere me, viaticum ut dem a tarpezita tibi*. *Viaticum* used in a similar way, appears in: *Trinummus*, 720. In the prologue of *Poenulus*, 71, the narrator makes a joke, stating that the father of the boy had taken a trip to Acheron (in other words died) *sine viatico* – without travel funds. On this passage: Henderson 1999: 16.

¹¹⁵ A *Petasus* is mentioned in *Amphitruo*, 443: . . . he has on a travelling hat, yes, and clothes the same as mine – *itidem habet petasum ac vestitum: tam consimilest atque ego*. A *Causea*, among other travel items such as a *chlamys*, are noted in *Persa*, 155 and *Curculio*, 356. A *pallium* is mentioned in *Curculio*, 288, with a negative overtone, possibly a snub at the Greeks wearing the *pallium*, which is ironic as the character is himself wearing one. For a description of a traveller's costume and accoutrements in Plautus: Richlin 2005: 100–2; Knapp 1907: 295–300.

¹¹⁶ In *Persa*, 155, the context implies that this would be some kind of travelling belt, but in *Poenulus*, 1005, it may just refer to a belt. Its use as a clear sign of someone who is from abroad

Plautus's fragmentary play.¹¹⁷ Attempts by the characters in *Persa* to pass off a local as a trader from abroad result in a dressing up scene which requires '... *cape tunicam* (tunic), *atque zonam* (a travelling wallet/belt), *et chlamydem* (cloak), *adferto et causeam* (wide brimmed hat), *quam ille habeat qui hanc lenoni huic vendat*'.¹¹⁸ Those on the move, arriving, or about to take a journey, would have been easily recognisable, and the specialist terminology for some of the accessories is one small testament to the extent that travel was embedded in the Latin-speaking world. We will next turn to examining Plautus's use of the terms that describe people changing their abodes, or becoming members of new communities.

Migrare, the Latin word for relocation, and its derivatives, comes closest to our current expression 'to migrate'. But, as has already been noted in the Introduction, its meaning is not the same.¹¹⁹ A key difference in Latin Republican usage of the term, as it appears in the comedies of Plautus, is that it does not make a distinction between a move that is made to a different state or community and one that is simply a relocation to a house nearby. It also does not imply that the motion necessarily represented a one-directional, single-event. Most frequently, the derivative *commigrare* is used to mean a definitive move to a different abode, by implication with one's family and belongings. But it could equally be expressed by *emigrare* or *migrare*. The following examples demonstrate the point: in *Poenulus*, 94 – the pimp Lycus *commigravit* from Anactorium to Calydon; in *Cistellaria*, 177 – the merchant *commigravit* from Lemnos to Sicyon; in *Trinummus*, 1084–5 – a *hospes commigravit* into the house next door; in *Mostellaria*, 470–2 – *emigrare* is used for a similar relocation to a nearby house; in *Epidicus*, 342 – *migrare* designates a move to a colony. There is also the derivative *remigrare* which is used metaphorically in the prologue of *Poenulus*, 46–9: the narrator, having gone off on a tangent, states that he now wants to return – *remigrare* – to outlining the argument. The additional language of land surveying that follows the actor's comment in this particular instance¹²⁰ alludes to the founding of new settlements for

appears in *Truculentus*, 954–7: You're from foreign parts; I live here. I don't walk around with a money-belt – *Tu peregrinus, hic ego habito: non cum zona ego ambulo*.

¹¹⁷ Plautus *Vidularia*. Another mention of such a bag: *Menaechmi*, 287.

¹¹⁸ *Persa*, 155: Get a tunic and a travelling wallet/belt, and bring along a cloak and a broad-brimmed hat for the fellow who's to sell her to the pimp – *cape tunicam atque zonam, et chlamydem adferto et causeam, quam ille habeat qui hanc lenoni huic vendat*.

¹¹⁹ For the contemporary usage of migrate: Chapter 1, p. 8ff.

¹²⁰ *Poenulus*, 46–9: Now I wish to return (*remigrare*) to the argument of this play, that you may be as well informed as I am. Its bounds, limits, and confines I shall now determine: I have been selected as its surveyor – *Ad argumentum nunc vicissatim volo remigrare, ut aequae mecum sitis gnarures. Eius nunc regiones, limites, confinia determinabo: ei rei ego finitor factus sum*.

colonists and veterans which, although never part of the play's action, clearly hover in the background.¹²¹

Distance and the crossing of community boundaries are not articulated by the different forms of *migrare*. The references are primarily directed at the physical move itself from one place of residence to another. Neither is there any indication of a change of status, such as in citizenship, that may have been the purpose of the move or resulted from it, as may be implied in current usage of a term like 'to immigrate'. In other sources we do hear of individuals pretending to be natives and trying to get onto citizen lists illicitly, by moving to those communities whose privileges they were hoping to gain. Such acts would have led to the grievances that are described by Livy for the year 199 BC. He records that delegates of the colony Narnia complained to the Roman senate that 'their colonists were not up to number and that some outsiders who had mingled amongst them, were acting as if they were colonists.'¹²² Livy also notes the case of the 12,000 Latins sent away from Rome back to the colonies in 187 BC.¹²³ As noted in [Chapter 2](#), the action was not due to over-population of the city, nor xenophobic attitudes on the part of the Romans, but a response to protests by the Latin communities to have their citizens returned.¹²⁴ In both of these cases, the problem was related to status and not the physical presence of the incomers, nor the fact of them being outsiders or migrants. Rather, the concerns arose from the inability to keep people, particularly one's own, in one place. In the context of Plautine Italy, which is the period to which the two examples from Livy refer, the problem they address, which prompted migration, was directly connected to military recruitment.

Communities across Italy were simultaneously crossroads and pauses for people on the move, as were the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean in the comedies. They are an amalgam of natives and foreigners, who were labelled in different ways, but not as migrants. A variety of Latin terms are used for the individuals who come from abroad, most commonly *peregrinus*, but also *hospes*, *alienus* or *ignotus*.¹²⁵ These labels are directed at those

¹²¹ Colonial foundations are implied in: *Epidicus* 342–3; and *Pseudolus* 1100.

¹²² Livy 32.2.6: *Et Narniensium legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere.*

¹²³ Livy 39.3.4–6. ¹²⁴ See [Chapter 2](#), p. 39ff.

¹²⁵ Cicero in his *de Officiis*, 1.37 notes that the term *hostis*, meaning enemy by the later Republican period, in archaic times had the same meaning as *peregrinus* – stranger. He provides examples of its use from the Twelve Tables. Varro also notes this same change in the use of the word *hostis*: Varro *Lingua Latina*, 5.3. For commentary, and the texts of the Twelve Tables, 2.2 and 6.4 see: *Roman Statutes* Law 40: Tab. 2.2e; Tab. 6.4 (Vol. II, 622–4, 660–1).

who have newly arrived or are passing through and who may be in the city on a more temporary basis. The term *alienigena*, which is used by Livy, particularly in the context of describing a foreign enemy, does not appear in our texts prior to his use of it in the first century BC.¹²⁶ Of the terms used in Plautus, *peregrinus* is perhaps the most neutral in this period, meaning being from elsewhere or abroad – *peregre*.¹²⁷ It encompasses the very act of moving, with no indication as to the relationship of the individual to the landscape or community through which he or she travels. The term *hospes* embodies a potential tie to members of the host community, or the expectation of hospitality by the incomer.¹²⁸ Other terms used by Plautus, such as *alienus* and *ignotus*, focus more specifically on the individual's position of being unknown, rather than on the fact of them being from elsewhere.¹²⁹ One did not need to be a foreigner to be a stranger, and both terms could be equally used in reference to a local who was unfamiliar. However, there is no equivalent in Latin to the English designation of an individual as a local. The intrinsic problem with the concept of 'locals' is addressed by Ingold in his investigation into the essence of place: 'Places, in short, are delineated by movement, not by the outer limits to movement. Indeed it is for just this reason that I have chosen to refer to people who frequent places as "inhabitants" rather than "locals".'¹³⁰

In Plautus's comedies, a different set of terms was used for those who lived in the city and made up its inhabitants. These appear as a list in Plautus's *Aulularia*, delivered by a character in a cry for help to those on the street during a mistaken robbery. Those called to rally round were: '*cives, populares, incolae, accolae, advenae omnes . . .*', although interestingly not *peregrini*.¹³¹ Metatheatrically, the exclamation was also probably directed at those milling around in the forum while the play was being performed,

¹²⁶ Livy 25.12.5–6. For discussion of the concept of *alienigena* and its use in Livy: Urso 1994.

¹²⁷ *Asinaria*, 464; *Bacchides*, 1009; *Cistellaria*, 143, 579; *Menaechmi*, 724; *Persa*, 135; *Poenulus*, 175, 599, 656; *Pseudolus*, 1232; *Truculentus*, 955. For the later development of *peregrinus* and its use in the Imperial period: Lavan 2013: 32–5.

¹²⁸ For the use of *hospes* to indicate not simply a guest but specifically a stranger: *Persa*, 603, when the pimp Dordalus addresses a slave, who has been dressed up to look like a foreigner – *hospes*: *Hospes, volo ego hanc percontari* – Stranger, I want to question this girl. Similarly in *Asinaria*, 417: *perii hospes* – kind stranger.

¹²⁹ *Alienus* is used in *Captivi*, 145; *Rudens*, 115; *Stichus*, 480 and *Truculentus*, 178, which also uses *ignotus* in the same phrase, implying there is some distinction between them or for emphasis; *pro ignoto alienoque*. The term *ignotus* is also used in: *Curculio*, 280; *Menaechmi*, 335, 373, 495. A similar term meaning someone who is unknown – *non novit*: *Asinaria*, 495 – 6.

¹³⁰ Ingold 2011: 149. The distinction is also explored in his earlier work: Ingold 2007: 100–1.

¹³¹ Plautus *Aulularia*, 3.406–7. I am grateful to Michael Hanaghan for discussions about this passage.

in an attempt to get their attention.¹³² Since Plautine comedies include some of the earliest extant references to these terms it is difficult to ascertain the nuances of the category distinctions. A possible, if rather ungainly, translation which allows for the widest possible meaning of this list in the context of the *Aulularia* passage is: ‘citizens, compatriots / countrymen, inhabitants / resident-aliens, neighbours, all foreigners / newcomers / outsiders . . .’¹³³ From within the list of those called on to help, the use of *cives* – citizens – is interesting because in most other cases in the comedies it is used as a contrast to the condition of being a slave. For the purpose of the plots it was of little consequence whether one was, for example, a citizen of Aetolia or Athens. In the play *Poenulus* citizens of Calydon are referred to as both Aetolian and Attic inconsistently.¹³⁴ What mattered was that one was a freeborn citizen and, therefore, had rights and could expect a certain level of legal protection and hospitality whatever community he or she was in. Hence, Hanno in *Poenulus*, while acknowledging that it was more difficult to prosecute as a foreigner, still had access to the legal system of the city he was visiting.¹³⁵ In the same play, the adoption of Agorastocles, a Carthaginian boy bought from a slave dealer by a Calydonian citizen, passes with no comment.¹³⁶ The assumption is that the youth’s position in the city of Calydon is that of a citizen. Such a nonchalant approach to the exact source of citizenship may be contrasted to its importance in the Greek comedies. In Menander’s *Karchedonios*, for example, the fragmentary text suggests that it is such problems that are preventing Hamilcar, of Carthaginian ancestry, from registering in an Attic deme and marrying an Athenian girl, despite the fact that he was likely

¹³² For the possibility that this is aimed at drawing in those milling about in the forum, and in reference to another list, this time of members of different professions: *Captivi*, 160; *Curculio*, 462–84: Marshall 2006: 26–8; Wiseman 2009: 169–70.

¹³³ For the meaning of *advenae omnes* – as a reference to those in a city on a more temporary basis, and a discussion of different kinds of ‘foreign’ status: Licandro 2007: 55. In Varro’s work the term is applied in reference to certain birds being partly migratory: Varro *Rerum Rusticarum*, 3.5.7: . . . *cum partim advenae sint*.

¹³⁴ *Poenulus*, 373: Attic Citizen – *civis Attica* (not Aetolian, as he should be called, since the setting is Calydon); *Poenulus*, 62: Citizens of Aetolia – *Aetoli cives*, (who act as witnesses). One explanation for the appearance of Attic citizens at line 373, proposed by Franekel [1922] 2007: 181, 260, is that the scene has been adapted by Plautus from another Greek source, different to his main model, which was most likely Alexis’s *Karchedonios*. Arnott has argued that in this section Plautus is close to his Greek original, and that the inconsistency would have been hardly noticeable by the audience: Arnott 1996b: 285, note 1; Arnott 2004: 71–2.

¹³⁵ Plautus *Poenulus*, 1403–04. The Roman legal system which catered for locals and foreigners is also noted in *Pseudolus*, 1232: foreign cases settled today, citizens’ tomorrow – *peregrinos absolvam, cras agam cum civibus*.

¹³⁶ The scenario in Plautus’s *Poenulus*, of the Calydonian’s adoption of the boy Agorastocles, from a slave trader, would have been impossible in Athens: Gomme and Sandbach 1973: 408–9.

born in Athens.¹³⁷ In Plautus's comedies, such details are only of importance for establishing freeborn status, with much less interest in the specific origin of the character's civic membership.

The cry for help to those on the street in the comedy *Aulularia*¹³⁸ indicates that there was a certain level of distinction among the freeborn foreigners who were part of the city. In this inventory, the term *incolae* is particularly significant. Plautus provides the earliest example of its use in literature to distinguish a specific status, perhaps equivalent to a metic in the Greek context. In later Latin texts, such as *lex Coloniae Genetivae* of the first century BC and *lex Irnitana* of the first century AD, the term is employed to designate resident aliens, or more precisely those who have transferred their *domicilium* to a place different to that of their origin.¹³⁹ In their new place of domicile, *incolae* would have both rights and obligations. Yet, the use of the term *incolae* and its derivatives in the comedies is not exclusively reserved for contexts involving foreigners, suggesting that its meaning was still fluid in the early second century BC. In *Persa*, *incolae* is used as a reference simply to inhabitants or residents, without any specification of status,¹⁴⁰ and a similarly general meaning is implied by the use of the verb *incolere* – to reside – in *Rudens*.¹⁴¹ Thomas has also noted that not only does the term have diverse meanings, but even in epigraphic texts it appears without any consistent statutory designation.¹⁴² It is plausible that the term was gaining a more specific meaning precisely at the time that Plautus was writing, and the whole list of those who are appealed to for help in *Aulularia* may be a topical play on the emerging Roman status categories. It would not be surprising that such a distinction

¹³⁷ Similar questions of the specific place of citizenship arise in Menander's *Kitharistes*: Arnott 1996a: Vol. 2, 86.

¹³⁸ Plautus *Aulularia*, 3.406–07.

¹³⁹ For the term *incolae* in the juridical context: Chapter 2, p. 38, note 99. The term appears in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, chapters 95.6 and 126: *Roman Statutes* Law 25, chapters 95, 126 (Vol I, 404, 414). And in the *Lex Irnitana*, chapters 69, 71, 83, 84, 94: González and Crawford 1986.

For the development of the term *incolae* from the late third/early second century BC, and its relationship to *domicilium*: Thomas 1996: 25–53; Morley 1997: 50–1; Licandro 2007: 45, 51–7; Hermon 2007. For an overview of *incolae*: Sugliano 2005: 449–50; Gagliardi 2006.

¹⁴⁰ *Persa*, 4.554–5: If the inhabitants (*incolae*) are of sound character, I consider the town well fortified – *Se incolae bene sunt morati, pulchre munitum arbitror*.

¹⁴¹ *Rudens*, 906–7: Neptune . . . who resides in salty fishy places – *Neptuno . . . qui salsis locis incolit pisculentis*.

¹⁴² Thomas 1996: 28–34. One of the earliest inscriptions to include the term from the second century BC comes from Aesernia: CIL I².3201: *Samnites inquolae V(eneri) d(ono) d(ederunt) mag(istri) C. Pomponius V.F. / C. Percennius L. F. / L. Satrius L. F. / C. Marius No. F.* Discussed in detail by: La Regina 1970–71: 452–3. For consideration of the magistrates and the position of this group within Aesernia: Gagliardi 2006: 157–8; Roselaar 2011: 541.

became more of a necessity at a time when Roman influence was expanding, and the metropolis itself, and Italy more generally, would have witnessed higher rates of individuals moving through, and choosing to stay, within the shores for longer periods of time.

A substantial portion of those moving through, as the previous chapters have shown, would have been the Italians themselves, often *en route* to destinations beyond the peninsula, either as part of the army, as merchants, craftsmen, prisoners of war, colonists or love-sick adventurers. We would expect that, whether as groups or individuals, they were actively taking part in the opportunities that were offered, increasingly further afield, as Romano-Italian power expanded across the Mediterranean. The extent and quotidian nature of this mobility can be traced in Plautus's comedies, as the examination of the six elements has tried to show. The Plautine corpus does not simply provide a reflection of a highly mobile environment; it is also an example of one of its products.

Types of Mobility in Plautine Comedies

Whether there is anything distinctive about the Italian case remains to be seen. But if the peninsula was part of a wider network of mobility, we would expect that the types of movements its community members encountered would not be wholly different to those across the Mediterranean. It would be difficult to argue that the variety and nature of the movement depicted in the comedies, which will be considered next, is specific to Italy, or that it is possible to pick out elements that are in some way purely Hellenistic. Furthermore, the forms of mobility portrayed within the Plautine corpus show that it would be inappropriate to try to understand this historical context through the opposition of sedentary and mobile, or temporary versus permanent migration. Instead, the plays provide a spectrum of mobile trends that are differentiated by their degree, purpose and agency.

The most prominent form of movement presented by Plautus is cyclical and meandering.¹⁴³ It brings to mind the travels of Odysseus, one of the earliest examples of the literary trope of *nostos* – the long and winding

¹⁴³ See [Appendix A](#). Such movement is embraced by the Latin term *circumvectus*, especially its use in *Rudens*, 932, as Gripus, a slave, dreams of what he will do with his new found treasure, including sailing around cities – *oppida circumvectabor*, making a great name for himself, before building his own city and naming it after himself.

journey home – which literature continues to adapt.¹⁴⁴ Virgil made the Trojan landing in Italy such a homecoming – *nostos* – by presenting the Trojans as the descendants of Dardanus, whose origins were in Coruthos – Caere.¹⁴⁵ Echoes of Odysseus appear in *Poenulus*, particularly in Hanno's journey around the Mediterranean: his characterisation as crafty,¹⁴⁶ and a mock-epic recognition scene of his nephew Agorastocles, from a scar of a monkey bite.¹⁴⁷ The setting of the play in Calydon, with its associations of the mythical boar hunt, would only have helped to enhance the link with Odysseus and his old nurse's recognition of him on his return home, from a scar on his leg inflicted by a wild boar's tusk.¹⁴⁸ Plautus's choice of the name Hanno may be simply because it is a familiar Carthaginian name. However, it may have also brought to mind the sixth-century Carthaginian explorer Hanno and his *periplus* – a description of his real or imagined journeys around the Mediterranean and beyond.¹⁴⁹

Outside the mythical context, and the literary trope of *nostos*, cyclical movement is associated with the redistribution of human and other resources, including skills and services, conducted legitimately or criminally. Some of those unlucky enough to become objects of distribution, including slaves, prisoners and prostitutes, had little agency of their own except in the world of comedy where they were often the drivers of action.¹⁵⁰ The real protagonists of such mobility tended to be merchants, craftsmen, pimps, mercenaries and pirates, all of whom exist as characters in the plays. The nature of their occupations provides opportunity for comic stereotyping, much more so than cultural characteristics associated with their place of origin. For most of them, this is not even mentioned.¹⁵¹ Some may settle for extended periods of time in one location;¹⁵² others make return journeys to a place they call home, which may or may not be where they were born.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁴ Direct reference to Odysseus and wandering: *Bacchides*, 10–13. For the theme of *nostos* in Greek literature: Alexopoulou 2009.

¹⁴⁵ Fantham 2009: 45–6. ¹⁴⁶ Especially in the prologue of *Poenulus*, 111–13.

¹⁴⁷ *Poenulus*, 1072–5.

¹⁴⁸ Homer *Odyssey*, 19.388–466, recognition by Odysseus's nurse Eurycleia. For the recognition of Odysseus, and later dramatic uses of the scenario: Richlin 2005: 188, 193; Henderson 1999: 34; Arnott 2004: 83.

¹⁴⁹ Hanno's *periplus* may not refer to a real journey, instead, as argued by Jacob, it could be part of the Greek construction of the 'other': Jacob 1991: 84; Ramin 1976; Clarke 1999: 24, 228.

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix C for examples of those who are moved without agency of their own.

¹⁵¹ Plautus *Captivi*, 160; *Curculio*, 462–84; Marshall 2006: 26–8; Wiseman 2009: 169–70.

¹⁵² In *Poenulus*, 94 the pimp Lycus *commigravit* from Anactorium to Calydon; in *Cistellaria*, 177, the merchant *commigravit* from Lemnos to Sicily.

¹⁵³ This is true of those who set off for years on business or trade journeys, and, in more extreme circumstances, those who have been taken away from their home, as in *Poenulus* and *Menaechmi*. See Appendix A for a list of the journeys in the comedies.

Often, however, it is the journey itself which is their permanent abode.¹⁵⁴ It is difficult to find individuals who stay in one place throughout their lifetime.

The focus in the comedies is not on the experience of travel but on the agency behind the movement. This brings either pathos or derision for the character on the move: the father who searches for his stolen children in *Poenulus*, in contrast to the soldier in *Miles Gloriosus* who travels looking for campaigns to add to his list of victories. Ennius conveys this difference between those with and without agency in an unknown tragedy: ‘I preferred that home they should be taken, not forsaken. And shipped away not cast away’.¹⁵⁵ In the Plautine comedies, mobility is not in itself presented as a cause for apprehension, despite passing comments about the discomfort and dangers of sea voyages, whether through storms that cause the shipwreck in *Rudens* or attacks by pirates.¹⁵⁶ Allusions to real hazards may also be read in inquiries about the wellbeing of those coming from abroad and routine prayers for safe arrivals.¹⁵⁷ As for the inconvenience or hardship that may be associated with relocation and change of residence – we hear nothing. Once a decision to move is made, an auction of possessions is arranged, as it is in *Poenulus*, and then one is ready to go, seemingly without looking back.¹⁵⁸

Ceaseless wandering, however, is perceived negatively in drama and literature.¹⁵⁹ As an extreme version of mobility it was considered outside the norm.¹⁶⁰ Reflections on this state are presented in the chorus of warriors in Ennius’s *Iphigenia* who, much like the mercenaries of the Hellenistic age, are neither home nor afield but seem permanently wandering both physically and in their minds, ‘living

¹⁵⁴ Craftsmen moved with ease and freedom, and in the Greek context the *demiourgos* – the artisan, whose craft or profession marked him out for special status – was often stateless: Horden and Purcell 2000: 386.

¹⁵⁵ Ennius, F 190 Manuwald (392–393 Joc.) = Don. gramm, IV: *Eos reduci quam reliqui, devehit quam deseri malui*: Manuwald 2012: 343.

¹⁵⁶ Pirates: *Menaechmi*, 344–5; *Miles Gloriosus*, 118; *Trinummus*, 1088. Sea sickness: *Amphitruo*, 329–30. Travel safety as a concern for the Principate: Laurence 1999: 178–81.

¹⁵⁷ Thanksgiving to the gods for safe arrivals: *Amphitruo*, 180–2, 947–8; *Epidicus*, 415–20. Thank offerings of prayer are a common feature of Plautine comedies: Christenson 2000: 171; Wright 1974: 141. On thanksgiving: Hickson – Hahn 2004: 35–6.

¹⁵⁸ Auctions of houses and possessions: *Menaechmi*, 11556–63; *Poenulus*, 1420.

¹⁵⁹ Kraus 1994: 282, 287 described the threat of exile as ‘Troy of the mind’, the reversion back to a state of loss and wandering.

¹⁶⁰ Oliver 2011: 351–2 also notes that wandering was perceived as undesirable in the Hellenistic period, and that the term was applied to those who were deemed outcasts, whose mobility was of the wrong kind.

more or less'.¹⁶¹ In the comedies, wandering is presented as the feared result of loss of love or fortune. It also provides another opportunity for subverting epic themes, as the snide remark by Pistoclerus in the fragmentary opening scene of *Bacchides*: 'Ulysses was most toil-worn, so I've heard, as he wandered twenty years away from home. But this youth has far surpassed Ulysses, just wandering within this city's walls.'¹⁶² In Plautus's plays, it is the youths who most readily bemoan the fate of endless drifting, as do the young heroes of *Mercator* and *Trinummus*.¹⁶³ The dramatic laments in anticipation of what is to come, which never materialises in the comedies, are accompanied by nostalgia and homesickness for friends and family, for *patria*, *domus*, *lares* and *penates* – the household gods.¹⁶⁴ The catalogue of what will be missed and left behind is not dissimilar to the objects of nostalgia which are characteristic of exilic writings in the Late Republican period, as we will see in [Chapter 11](#).¹⁶⁵ A key difference, however, is that while the

¹⁶¹ Ennius, *Iphigenia*, 241–8 = Gellius XIX.10.12 (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, 801, 813–18, 1000–1).

Translation from Jocelyn 1969: No. 195–202, pp. 333–38.

Thus it is with us also; look you, we are now neither at home nor are we afield.
We go hither and then thither; and when thither we have come, away again it
pleases to go.

Our mind wanders unsure; our life we live but more or less.

... Hoc idem est; em neque domi nunc nos nec militiae sumus;
imus huc, hinc illu; cum illuc ventum est, ire illinc lubet.

Incerte errat animus praeterpropter vitam vivitum.

A negative association may also be attached to those who wander, such as the fortune tellers of Ciceronian age, which prompts Cicero to quote in his *De Divinatione*, 1.58.132, from Ennius's tragedy *Telamon*, 332–6: '... men who know not their own path yet point the way for another', ... *qui sibi semitam non sapiunt, alteri monstrant viam*. In a lost tragedy, Ennius (Fragments 408–9) presents wandering as a sickness: Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.3.5.

'A sick soul is always wandering; it can neither bear troubles nor bear with them, it never ceases longing'

Animus aeger semper errat, neque pati neque perpeti potis est, cupere numquam desinit.

The kind act of freeing someone from a wandering state: Ennius (Fragments 412–14), Cicero *De Officiis*, 1.16.51: The man who kindly points the way to a wanderer, does as though he kindle a light from the light that is his. It shines none the less for himself when he has kindled it for his fellow – *Homo qui erranti comiter monstrat viam quasi lumen de suo lumine accendat facit* ...

¹⁶² Plautus *Bacchides*, 10–13: *Ulixem audivi fuisse aerumnosissimum, qui annis viginti errans a patria afuit; verum hic adulescens multo Ulixem anteit qui ilico errat intra muros civicos*.

English translation from Barsby 1986: 33.

¹⁶³ Plautus *Mercator*, 643–6, 830–41, 849–50, 885–7, and *Trinummus*, 592–601, 698–703, 720–8.

¹⁶⁴ Plautus *Mercator*, 830–41. ¹⁶⁵ See [Chapter 11](#), and esp. pp. 356–57.

condition of exile in these later writings is the result of state-initiated action against the individual, in the plays the situation is often presented as one of self-exile,¹⁶⁶ or, as with most other mobile contexts in the comedies, the resolution of personal conflict.

The wider migratory trends and mass movements which are the focus of historical writers and demographers are only given passing comment by Plautus. There is, nevertheless, a sense that they are ever-present and somehow just off stage. The plays contain a number of allusions to colonists,¹⁶⁷ founding of new settlements,¹⁶⁸ military recruitment¹⁶⁹ and hints of mass enslavements.¹⁷⁰ Leigh has convincingly argued that the dramatic production of *Captivi* needs to be seen in the context of divisive issues in Rome that surrounded the repatriation of prisoners of war (to which we will return in the next chapters), and the institution of *postliminium* – the right of subsequent return – particularly in the wake of the Hannibalic campaigns.¹⁷¹ Another form of mobility which appears to be of little direct interest to the comic playwright is what may be termed economic migration, apart, that is, from the option of becoming a mercenary.¹⁷² The few exceptions are all small-scale, individual enterprises: the cyclical and meandering journeys of merchants and traders. We may also include the favourite character of the parasite who is constantly in motion in an attempt to find a meal through odd jobs and sycophancy.¹⁷³ But there is almost nothing about such basic opportunities as seasonal labour, to which there is only one fragmentary reference in *Vidularia*.¹⁷⁴ Nor is there mention of the prospects created by craft

¹⁶⁶ Explicit references to exile: *Mercator*, 643–6: ‘I’ll go into exile – *certumst exulatum hinc ire me*’

¹⁶⁷ Plautus, *Epidicus*, 342–3, about to migrate and lead a convoy to a colony; *Pseudolus*, 1099–1100, reference to signing up as a volunteer to a colony.

¹⁶⁸ Plautus *Poenulus*, 47–9 uses the language of surveying, used in the creation of a new settlement.

¹⁶⁹ The main plot in *Amphitruo* is centred on Amphitruo, the husband of Alcmena, returning as a general from campaign; *Epidicus*, 205–12 provides images of streets full of soldiers with baggage who have been sent home from campaigning in Thebes; *Miles Gloriosus*, 73, Pyrgopolynices is about to go to the forum to pay off recruits enlisted on request of King Seleucus.

¹⁷⁰ *Captivi* is centred on the plight of the prisoners of war and that of their relatives.

¹⁷¹ Leigh 2004: chapter 3, 57–97. On Rome’s reluctance to repatriate prisoners of war: Chapter 8, pp. 281ff. For definitions of *postliminium*: Cicero *Pro Balbo*, 27–31 with: Barber 2004; Cursi 1996; Sherwin-White 1973: 34–5. For comparison with the different attitudes held by the Greeks: Ando 1999: 19–22; Bielman 1994: 337–41.

¹⁷² As noted already, in relation to the youths in *Mercator*, 643–6, 830–41, 849–50, 885–7 and *Trinummus*, 592–601, 698–703, 720–8.

¹⁷³ Especially the parasite Gelasimus in *Stichus*, 453ff; and Saturio in *Persa*, 53ff, 60.

¹⁷⁴ *Vidularia*, 20–22, expressing a wish to hire a farm labourer. Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 1.2–3, comments on the necessity of having a supply of farm-labourers nearby.

workshops or larger ventures such as mining. Although stone quarries are noted in *Captivi*, they are presented not as prospects but the worst possible place that a slave could end up.¹⁷⁵ Within a dramatic genre that focuses on the social and the domestic, it may not be surprising that large enterprises, which may have been state controlled, are absent in the narratives. Their absence may also be due to their exceptional nature. As noted in the [previous chapter](#), Mediterranean interconnectivity was largely driven by small enterprises.¹⁷⁶

There is another conspicuous absence in the extant comedies of Plautus: the character of the sedentary farmer. Farmers are present, on and off stage, but there is no suggestion that they have been tilling the same plot from time immemorial. Instead, Plautus's typical comic reversal offers a scenario where a father chose to invest all he has in a farm, only for the son to sell it after his death and put the profits into merchant ships.¹⁷⁷ Even Cato, Plautus's contemporary, does not have in mind someone who has been rooted in the same earth for generations, despite the fact that for Cato the farmer is the ideal Roman citizen and soldier, in contrast to the slippery merchant. In a way, not unlike Greek New Comedy, this contrast is a pervasive thread in Cato's *De Agri Cultura*, where the honourable occupations of farming and husbandry are pitted against those of trade and moneylending.¹⁷⁸ In opposition to the idealised farmer, Cato's real farmer, for whom *De Agri Cultura* is written, is a businessman. He does not acquire his farm through inheritance, nor does he reveal the primordial peasant qualities of rootedness and nostalgic connection to the land. Cato's handbook is for the individual who takes on farming as a professional choice, an investment intended to make money.¹⁷⁹ And he could be as slippery as the tradesman. Cato provides a possible career progression for a young owner, including what to expect at the different stages of the life cycle.¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, Cato's farmers and farming prospectors are by no means only small-holders. His handbook is largely written for those interested in large operations, which will require management by a *vilicus* – usually a trusted freedman.¹⁸¹ His writings are filled with instructions that absentee landlords should give to a *vilicus*, and guidance on dealing with conflicts, to be anticipated and avoided.¹⁸² For those who have urban

¹⁷⁵ Plautus *Captivi*, 998–1005 ¹⁷⁶ See also [Chapter 3](#). ¹⁷⁷ Plautus *Mercator*, 64–79.

¹⁷⁸ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, Introduction 1–5. ¹⁷⁹ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 1.1ff.

¹⁸⁰ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 3.1ff.

¹⁸¹ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 1.4–7 – the farm he describes should be well situated and ideally already have buildings, presses etc. and its optimum size should be some 100 *iugera*.

¹⁸² Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 2.1 – 2.6; 5.1–5.4.

and rural residences, he suggests ways of making the farm house more comfortable and pleasant, hence encouraging more visits from the owner.¹⁸³ Implicit in the *De Agri Cultura* are regular movements between town residence and country farm which appear in Plautus's plays for comic purposes.¹⁸⁴ From Cato's work, the sense we are left with is of a high turnover of farms and owners, which is summed up in his advice for buying a farm: that it should be in the neighbourhood where farms do not often change owners and those who have sold up are sorry to have done so.¹⁸⁵ The world presented in the works of Plautus and Cato challenge the myth of the primordial, sedentary peasant whose existence in the ancient world the studies of Rathbone, and those of Horden and Purcell, have consistently questioned.¹⁸⁶

The image of the small-holder, daily going to his *iugera* of land to toil on the outskirts of his community or village, is a construct. This peasant is presented as the optimal Roman citizen by Cato and he persists in Livy's narrative as the model inhabitant of early Rome.¹⁸⁷ It is a social construct not dissimilar to that described by Cannadine in another Imperial context, that of the British Empire.¹⁸⁸ He traces the way in which, as British power took hold, a particular rural image began to characterise quintessential Englishness. The village was celebrated as an organic, timeless entity, paradoxically through the influence of its contact with India.

These images of rurality, however, do have competing narratives. Roman traditions presented other models of the early citizen. Fantham outlines the contrasting images in the context of liberty and citizenship. She shows that unlike Livy's depiction of the early Roman, Cicero and Scipio Aemilianus, a century before him, treat 'the assembled plebs as newcomers to Rome, once captive Greeks and Levantines or their children, shopkeepers, craftsmen, and parasitic con-men, city slickers unsuitable for military service . . .'¹⁸⁹ Their characterisation as a mixed group is much more in line with what we know of the populace of urban centres and the cosmopolitan hubs of Plautus's comedy. This is not to say that there was not a substantial peasant population. It acknowledges that they too were mobile and operated between the rural and urban spheres. They were a diverse group who needed to respond to perpetually shifting

¹⁸³ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 4, and advice to make the house which will want to visit often, implying multiple residences.

¹⁸⁴ As for example in *Casina*, 90–112, and *Mercator*, 275–82. ¹⁸⁵ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, 1.4.

¹⁸⁶ Purcell 1990b: 41; Horden and Purcell 2000: 380; Rathbone 2008; Archibald 2011: 42–65.

¹⁸⁷ Fantham 2005: 210–11. ¹⁸⁸ Cannadine 2001. ¹⁸⁹ Fantham 2005: 210.

circumstances, and who depended on external resources for their survival, whether in the shape of additional labour, the military or urban employment.¹⁹⁰ Those who were at the lowest end of the spectrum would be particularly difficult to track as the huts – *tuguria* – that peasants lived in would leave little trace.¹⁹¹ They are largely invisible in field surveys, the tool used most to map the settlement patterns of the ancient countryside. Rathbone points out that not all peasants lived at a subsistence level; evidence of plot sizes shows that some would have been quite prosperous.¹⁹² Indeed, he proposes that the model of Macfarlane's mobile, opportunistic and individualistic peasants of later medieval England may also be appropriate for the ancient world.¹⁹³ Whatever the validity of this comparison, the static view of the countryside population as an undifferentiated mass is no longer tenable.

Conclusion

Plautine characters move through a seemingly borderless world. The condition of being a foreigner was not in itself an obstacle to action. Port authorities and customs houses or their officers are mentioned,¹⁹⁴ but these are primarily for controlling the circulation of goods and resources, not individuals, except in cases where they too were goods.¹⁹⁵ There is no systematic control of arrivals or departures of foreigners, as suggested by Bresson for Greek ports and Alexandria.¹⁹⁶ In Rome, we know of no document that would have been required to gain entry into the city, although, as Moatti argues, there were other ways for officials to regulate the comings and goings of foreigners, whose number increased through the Imperial period.¹⁹⁷ Within the comedies, mobility is not reserved for any specific group of people. All sectors of society and individuals of all ages move, whether wealthy, poor, male or female, free or enslaved. The oppositions which are prevalent are rarely to do with foreign and native, but rather with citizen and non-citizen, the farmer or tradesman.

¹⁹⁰ Rathbone 2008: 321, 329–30.

¹⁹¹ Livy 42.34.2, with Rathbone 2008: 308–11, on the difficulty of tracking them archaeologically.

¹⁹² Rathbone 2008: 321, 329. ¹⁹³ Macfarlane 1979.

¹⁹⁴ Plautus *Asinaria*, 240–3; *Menaechmi*, 117–19; *Trinummus*, 795, 1105–7.

¹⁹⁵ Bresson 2007, examining a number of Greek decrees, argues that there would have been controls at Greek ports for those coming in and going out, which he believes was universal practice, although noting that such authorisation of access was probably a formality. For discussion of other controls at Greek cities, and scarcity of evidence to that effect: Lefèvre 2004.

¹⁹⁶ Bresson 2007. ¹⁹⁷ Moatti 2007.

Barriers that were difficult to cross were those connected to status, which determined one's position within the network of obligation and the extent of personal agency to move or to stay put. Some had no choice. Slaves had to obey their masters and moved with them; courtesans sold for service to mercenaries followed them on campaign; stolen children and prisoners of war were traded as slaves or sent to other destinations based on the requirements of those who captured them.¹⁹⁸ Liberty is not only connected to movement but also to stasis. According to the ideal mobility pattern over a lifetime, which was presented at the start of the chapter, it seems that individuals expected freedom of movement in the early stages of their lives, followed by the hope of a more sedentary existence with increasing old age. In the comedies, the subversion of power relations that determine the extent of such liberty form some of the main plot lines, and are exploited for dramatic effect. Beyond an individual's personal circumstances, the Plautine corpus offers little to suggest that there were state-imposed restrictions on movement, such as those that existed and increased towards the end of the Republic. Only one example in *Captivi* which mentions the use of a *syngraphus* – translated as a pass or passport – may be read as such a counter-example.¹⁹⁹ But even here the pass is necessary to release the soldier from military service, an obligation which he owes to a state; it is not a restriction of mobility or its control as such.²⁰⁰ The primary control by the authorities was not so much of the outsider, but of one's own community members in the context of military recruitment and the kinds of complaints that are recorded by Livy, as noted above, or of exiles, as we will consider in the following chapters. Control at the time of Plautus was not about the prevention of an influx of outsiders or foreigners. His work is grounded instead in their circulation.

¹⁹⁸ See [Appendix C](#) for references to scenarios of those who were not their own agents of mobility.

¹⁹⁹ In Plautus, *Captivi*, 449–52 it is mentioned in an exchange between Hegio, Philocrates and Tyndarus: HEG. (to Philocrates) Follow me so I can give you some travel funds (*viaticum*) from the banker's: I'll get a passport (*syngraphus*) from the praetor at the same time. TYND. What passport? HEG. One to take to the army with him so that he gets permission to go home. – HEG. *Sequere me, viaticum ut dem a tarpezita tibi, eadem opera a praetore sumam syngraphum*. TYND. *Quem syngraphum?* HEG. *Quem hic ferat secum ad legionem*.

²⁰⁰ The term *syngraphus*, adapted from the Greek, had a wider meaning of contract at the time of Plautus, which is how it is used in *Asinaria*, 746, with a reference to a contract between a soldier and his mistress. For the Latin use of *syngraphus*: Skiles 1941: 527. Radin 1910: 366 suggests that it was primarily a Greek term that may have needed some explanation to a Latin audience, as implied by the passage in Plautus *Captivi*, 449–52.

Polybius and Motion

Ongoing flux defines the world of Polybius's *Histories*. Moments of pause and reflection only briefly appear as welcome interludes within his dense narrative of political upheaval and inter-state conflict. Motion is all pervasive, whether in cyclical patterns, as in the rise and decline of states' political forms – *anacyclosis*¹ – or in the displacement of groups and individuals. His narrative is a mesh of trajectories that crisscross the known world and go beyond it, stretching from the Pillars of Hercules to India and to such reaches of the unknown as Thule in the North Arctic Sea.² Some of the journeys and migrations which appear in Polybius's text are voluntary, but the vast majority of those he focuses on in depth are the result of crisis situations driven by the interests of powerful states and individuals. It is only in a few passages that we glimpse the kind of everyday mobility prevalent in Plautus's comedies. By contrast, Polybius's plethora of figures for military recruitment and losses, community relocation and expulsion, prisoners of war and the enslaved provide the backbone for demographic studies for the period, and hence the source of much scholarly debate concerning the population size of Mediterranean communities.³ High numbers, such as

¹ Polybius describes the phenomenon of *anacyclosis* 6.9.10. The suggestion that Rome may have been the only state for which *anacyclosis* worked: Walbank 2002: 185–7, 193–211. For the idea of decline in Polybius: Eckstein 1995: 131.

² Such places as Thule (Polybius 34.5.3) are used to articulate a fantastical elusive boundary that lies between fiction and non-fiction: Clarke 1999: 25; Cordano 1992: 107. For a twenty-first-century version of such (non)imaginary islands: Schalansky 2010.

The reaches of the North Sea were commented on also by Varro *Rerum Rusticarum* 1.2.4: 'For the winter is almost continuous in the interior, and no wonder, since its lands lie between the arctic circle and the pole (*regiones inter circulum septentrionalem et inter cardinem caeli*), where the sun is not visible for six months at a time; wherefore we are told that even navigation in the ocean is not possible in that region because of the frozen sea.'

³ Especially Brunt [1971] 1987, still the starting point for many demographic studies.

for example the 70,000 men on the Roman side who perished at the battle of Cannae (3.117.3), or the Roman garrison of 8000 which was taken prisoner by Hannibal (6.58.2), leave room for inquiry as to their reliability. But it is not the concern of this chapter to argue for, or against, the credibility of such numbers, already considered in [Chapter 2](#). For our purposes, the figures given for mass movements are useful for the information they provide as to the relative size of groups involved, the sorts of episodes that contain large-scale movements, and their nature.

Polybius's narrative is seen as a product of a cultural *koine* of the Hellenistic period that was to a certain extent the result of mobility caused by wars.⁴ It is, therefore, unsurprising that his most prominent categories of mobile persons are presented *en masse*, as anonymous, and with little agency. This is echoed in other sources of the period.⁵ On the surface these are, indeed, the features that are most noticeable, and they will be the focus of the [next chapter](#). But there are also other, more individual, strands of mobility that existed alongside. Although these are less prominent and play different roles in the narrative, they are frequently mentioned. Polybius presents his instances of individual mobility as continuous and all-pervasive, while the mass movements initiated by the state or external agents appear as a novelty for Roman Italy of the third century BC, and are explained as the result of the growing power of Rome. The large-scale movements in which Rome is involved are therefore threefold: that of its own population, especially through enrolment of the military, and their deployment beyond the peninsula; as an agent of the displacement of other populations through conflict and diplomacy; and as a hub, along with other sites in Italy, that becomes the landing point for groups such as slaves and exiles, arriving *en masse* from further and further afield.

In short, Polybius's *Histories* provide insight into the prevalence of foreigners and migrants on the peninsula, the presence of Italians abroad and the way in which Roman state policy increasingly governed displacement and directed mobility around the Mediterranean. Rome not only became the main agent and facilitator of these trends, it was also the ultimate beneficiary of a shift from a multi-polar Mediterranean community to one increasingly under the direction of a single state.⁶ The first part of the chapter will consider the way that Polybius positions Rome and Italy in the wider systems that involve human mobility. It will question the image of a relatively isolated Rome with which Polybius begins his account

⁴ Chaniotis 2004: 494. ⁵ Chaniotis 2004: 483. See also Chapter 8, p. 267.

⁶ Most explicitly articulated by: Eckstein 2006.

that has greatly affected our perception of the peninsula prior to the Hannibalic War. I will instead argue that while such a portrayal may serve the purposes of his narrative, Rome and Italy were more cosmopolitan and interconnected than is implied in his depiction. The [next section](#) will consider the few instances where Polybius refers to the presence and treatment of foreign residents in Italy and signs of civilian groups abroad. The [final section](#) will focus on particular groups of mobile individuals who made up the machinery of inter-state relations, whether envoys, hostages or prisoners like Polybius himself. The [next chapter](#), also using the *Histories* as a starting point, will examine the agency of individuals and communities through a concentration on large-scale movements and the role of the Roman state in protecting and constraining mobility and stasis. It will address the questions of who had the right to move people and when was it considered acceptable? In so doing, it will also outline how certain mobile groups, especially the mercenaries, were viewed, and the way in which certain sectors of society were labelled as mobile.

Rites of Passage: When Rome Took to the Sea

In previous chapters it has been suggested that the evidence supports high levels of mobility across the Mediterranean, and that, despite the scarcity of direct evidence for Italians abroad in the early periods, there is little to indicate that communities in Italy were unusual. They too took advantage of opportunities that required mobility and relocation. Already in the ninth century BC, we have good evidence for the cosmopolitan nature of communities in Italy and its surrounding islands. Material culture studies focusing on objects of trade and gift-exchange have highlighted the extent to which Italy was well integrated into wider Mediterranean networks of connectivity.⁷ In light of this, it is surprising to find Polybius's presentation of Rome prior to the mid-third century BC, and to a lesser extent Italy, as physically contained within coastal boundaries and, while ambitious, largely insular. The image of Rome as only just starting to edge beyond the shoreline at such a late date does not fit with what we know about other Italian communities in the period, nor indeed Rome itself. Yet, Polybius's portrayal has been influential on the perception of Italian mobility as relatively limited. The [following section](#) will show that even he must have been aware that this is unlikely. Furthermore, it will demonstrate that his

⁷ See [Chapters 3 and 4](#).

Histories are particularly useful for highlighting the extent to which states and individuals across the Mediterranean had a shared understanding of institutions that controlled human mobility, and had been for some time.

Polybius was a near contemporary of Plautus and, although writing several decades later, he depicted the same period of the late third to early second century BC, but from a different perspective. Plautus's comic world portrayed an interconnected environment as an ever-present norm, with Rome very much a part of it. For Polybius, however, this was an evolutionary moment, and he is witness to a historic shift. Observing the world from his perch in Rome, he captured the initiation of the *symplokê* – the point at which previously distinct local historic trends were intertwined and all history became an organic whole – and offered a universal history now based around Roman hegemony.⁸ This he located specifically in the 140th Olympiad, moulding his narrative to fit his idea of the *symplokê*, synchronising its appearance with the 'clouds from the west' in the speech of the Aetolian ambassador Agelaus.⁹ Polybius is explicit in his choice of organising the progression of events according to the theatres of military action and permutations thereof: Spain, Sicily, Africa, Asia, Greece, Macedon and Italy. His skilful narrative moves deftly between small and large-scale entities, at times focusing on the actions of a single monarch, such as Philip, or the mobilisation of coalitions such as the Aetolian and Achaean leagues that operated across many zones of engagement. These elements increasingly intertwined until they became inseparably linked through his main protagonist, Rome.¹⁰ Eckstein's dynamic work on *Mediterranean Anarchy* provides one scenario of what such a process entailed.¹¹ Polybius's observations tantalisingly suggest an environment that comes near to contemporary global consciousness.¹² Yet, we need to be wary of his motives in presenting Rome's rise as coinciding with

⁸ Polybius, *Histories*, 1.3.3–4; 5.105. For how such 'shared history' is structured by Polybius, which ties together the peoples of the Mediterranean through space and time, the 'synoptic Mediterranean' that subtly subverts Roman hegemony: Crawley-Quinn 2013: 340–6. For his global outlook and universalising tendency: Champion 2004a: 47; Purcell 2005b: 16–18; Morris 2005: 44; Clarke 1999: 114–28.

⁹ Polybius, *Histories*, 5.104.1–11; 5.105, 140th Olympiad (220–216 BC): Champion 1997.

¹⁰ The method of creating a core within interconnectivity, which defines the fringes, continues into the modern era. As part of turning the world's geography into a single history, Massey traces the way that spatial difference was convened into a temporal sequence, within which different places were interpreted as being different stages in a single temporal development; for example, Africa was perceived as being behind Europe: Massey 2005: 68.

¹¹ Eckstein 2006.

¹² At the very least, it forces a rethinking of the uniqueness of our own, global condition. Still, globalisation should not be confused with modernity: Robertson 1992: 8; Pitts and Versluys 2014; Crawley-Quinn 2013; Hingley 2005; Morley 2014.

globalisation, still less being responsible for it.¹³ A shift in the vantage point, for example, to an economic perspective, or in the context of Indian Ocean trade networks,¹⁴ makes such positioning suspect and exposes an overemphasis on Rome's role in the ancient world system. Moreover, Polybius was hardly the first to conceive of his own age as a new beginning. Centuries earlier, Herodotus identified the Persian Wars as such a moment, when previously separate histories became intertwined. The Mediterranean was intensely interconnected throughout the last millennium BC.¹⁵ This means that to identify a *global moment* only towards the end of the millennium cannot be wholly accurate.

For Polybius, just such a moment was necessary to fulfil the dramatic aim of his *Histories* and to show how a little-known place like Rome rapidly took over and fused the known world. Initially, Rome had to be depicted as a small and isolated entity. This allowed Polybius to narrate the rapid expansion of her power in the second century BC, leading an empire in less than a century. To create a stark contrast he needed a pivotal moment, almost a rite-of-passage, which brought an infant Rome into the adult world of the Mediterranean. For Polybius, this moment was when Rome first took to the sea.¹⁶ Her early maritime ventures form the point of departure for his whole narrative: what he calls the first Roman crossings into Sicily in 264 BC and then Illyria in 229 BC.¹⁷ These first crossings, whether over water or mountain ranges, fascinate him in his role as both a historian and geographer.¹⁸ He recounts them politically, in terms of a state's entry into a new sphere of influence, and also geographically, savouring and questioning the explorer's break into the unknown and charting of unfamiliar landscapes.¹⁹ The next stage comes with Aemilius Paullus's victory at Pydna in 168 BC, which is followed by a depiction of the general's travels around Greece. Polybius further indulges the would-be traveller-geographer, presenting Aemilius as a newcomer to Greece, which he tours for the first time. It is yet another rite of passage for Rome into

¹³ See, for example, Morley 2014. ¹⁴ Fitzpatrick 2011: 54.

¹⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000. Broodbank 2013. ¹⁶ Polybius 1.5.1.

¹⁷ Sicilian crossing: Polybius 1.5.1, Illyrian crossing: Polybius 2.2.1, with notes for the date: Walbank F.W. [1967] 1999: 47, 153. For the extent of Roman maritime potential: Leigh 2010; Steinby 2007; Le Bohec 2003.

¹⁸ He also wrote a work of geography, of which only a few fragments survive. For the geographical sections of the *Histories*: Clarke 1999: 77–128; Walbank 2002: chapter 2, 31–52. For the increasing importance of geography in historiography: Pédech 1964.

¹⁹ Hellenistic writings are full of competition for discovery and expansion. Polybius is scathing about Pytheas's claim to have made it around Britain and into the Arctic to Thule: Walbank 1962: 10–11.

imperial adulthood.²⁰ In terms of power and knowledge, these are processes of incorporation and expansion, rooted in an evolutionary trajectory that begins with small enclosed units growing and spreading, with far-reaching links.

To emphasise the rapidity of Roman progress, he highlights the fledgling state's initial incompetence at sea, not simply in military terms and the inability to construct war-ships,²¹ but in relation to any seafaring venture.²² But the image of ineptitude and insularity prior to these first crossings in the last decades of the third century BC is suspicious, in the same way that the supposed Greek fear of the seas prior to the eighth century BC has been questioned.²³ This is not to deny Thiel's and Leigh's assertions that in this period there was a critical shift in the extent to which Rome invested in and deployed her navy, transforming the few armed ships of the early third century BC into a substantial and powerful fleet by the time of the Hannibalic War.²⁴ Rather, it suggests that the success of this fleet, in part, was due to the experience of the Italian merchants, travellers and pirates whose journeys and ventures preceded the naval deployment by centuries.²⁵ There is enough evidence from other sources, and within Polybius's own narrative, to show that he was aware that Rome's aggression spilled outside the peninsula well before the memorable crossing to Sicily in 264 BC, and that Roman trading ships had been plying the Mediterranean coasts for some time. The Roman treaties with Carthage

²⁰ Polybius 30.10. For the fragmentary text, and its two models of vision in the context of travel (an imperialist one and another reminiscent of the Greek *theoria*): Russell 2012.

²¹ Polybius 1.20. Thiel even doubts this incompetence, as they did manage to cross the straits by night, and had access to expertise from Italian coastal cities, not to mention their own merchants: Thiel 1954: 55.

²² Polybius 1.37.10, comments on the destruction of Roman ships due to their ineptitude and arrogance about their abilities.

²³ Purcell 1990b: 31–3 challenged the progressivist view of breakthrough revolution in the eighth century BC and the assumed period of isolation prior to it.

²⁴ Thiel argued there was not much of a Roman navy before the second Punic War. This has been challenged by Steinby, asserting that Rome had significant naval interests stretching back to the sixth century BC. Leigh sides with Thiel, noting that the Second Punic War saw substantial developments. Steinby's evidence for earlier naval enterprise may be true, but Leigh's point is that these operations were much smaller, with a different purpose and scale. Steinby's overview of other seafaring enterprises in the early period are revealing of Rome's active participation in trade and piracy, not dissimilar to that of the Etruscans and others in Italy: Thiel 1954; Steinby 2007; Leigh 2010.

²⁵ One of Rome's early sea ventures, recounted by Plutarch (*Camillus* 8), is that of the Roman warship, delivering a votive offering to Delphi in 394 BC, which was captured by patrolling Liparians, who mistook them for pirates. Thiel 1954: 6–7 argues for the authenticity of this story. For Italian piratical activities, Chapter 4, pp. 112–14.

that pre-date this venture, which Polybius discusses in some detail,²⁶ and which we will consider in the [next chapter](#), outline rules and constraints on Roman trading practices in the fourth century BC. They include a ban on the foundation of cities in those areas under Carthaginian control, and curtail the piratical practices of Rome and her allies.²⁷ An agreement about restrictions on such activities would have been unnecessary unless they were already being practised by both powers in each other's spheres of influence. Polybius's Second Treaty between Rome and Carthage, which is believed to date to 348 BC,²⁸ may have been prompted by a Roman attempt at colonisation in Sardinia and perhaps even Corsica as early as 378 BC.²⁹ Rome in the third century BC could hardly be regarded as an infant only beginning to get her toes wet in light of negotiations generations earlier.

The crossing to Illyria and the Western Mediterranean in 229 BC is highlighted as another major event that spread Rome's power into previously uncharted waters.³⁰ However, the grievances that provoked the expedition suggest that Romans, and Italians more broadly, were not unfamiliar with the region. Archaeological evidence confirms that their interest in taking control of the Adriatic was precisely because of the intensity of the lucrative networks that reached across it, of which they were an integral part.³¹ Polybius describes how Illyrians had been in the habit of mistreating sea merchants from Italy for a long time, and that clashes had resulted in robbery, imprisonment and the deaths of many Italian traders.³² It is this which finally provoked Rome into action, having previously not responded to complaints against the Illyrians. The Roman venture in 229 BC that dealt with these grievances ended with a reprimand

²⁶ Polybius 3.22–25. There is evidence of longstanding Roman links with Rhodes, with intra-state agreements dating back to at least the fourth century BC: Polybius 30.5.6; Livy 45.25.7: Walbank [1979] 1999: 423–6; Palmer 1997: 51. Early Italo-Rhodian links are confirmed by a slightly later dedication from Lindos, to Athena Lindia by L. Folius, son of Maraesus, inscribed in Latin and Greek, dating 300–250 BC: *ILLRP* 245 = *CIL* I².404.

²⁷ Polybius 3.24.4: the non-marauding clause is cited in the Second Treaty between Rome and Carthage, of the fourth century BC. See Chapter 8, pp. 270–72.

²⁸ Walbank [1970] 1999: 346; with discussion by Serrati 2006: 119. For the treaty: Chapter 8, pp. 270–72.

²⁹ Along with Polybius's, 3.24.11, reference to Sardinia, Diodorus Siculus 15.27.4 provides the main evidence for this venture. While such early Roman colonisation has been questioned by Thiel 1954: 54–5 and Momigliano 1936: 395–6, such objections have proven to be unfounded, as well as the scepticism concerning the Theophrastus passage, *History of Plants* 5.8.1–3, which makes reference to Roman attempts at establishing a city on Corsica in the period. On the debates, especially, about attempts to settle Corsica: Bispham 2006: 123. The failed attempt to colonise Sardinia in the early fourth century BC: Serrati 2006: 118.

³⁰ Polybius 2.2.1; 2.12.7. Polybius 24.13.4.

³¹ Čašule has shown the large extent of Romano-Italian interaction across the Adriatic, well before 229 BC: Čašule 2012.

³² Polybius 2.8.1–4.

of the Illyrian queen Teuta and a treaty that favoured Rome, heavily curtailing her foreign exploits.³³ The episode reveals that, when it suited them, the Romans were happy to protect not only their own but also Italian interests more widely.³⁴ It also prompted a Roman embassy to the Aetolian and Achaean leagues in 228/7 BC. Justifying the need for intervention in this part of the world, where they already had a foothold, they claimed that Illyrians were not only enemies of the Greeks but the common enemies of all.³⁵ Here was Rome again crossing into a new sphere: the diplomatic zone of Greece. Polybius depicts this as a pivotal moment, whose importance Walbank suggests was heavily exaggerated.³⁶

These clues need to be seen in connection with the activities of other Italian trade hubs outside of Rome, such as the ports of Caere and Tarentum (previously Taras), where Romans had a presence as well. We need to add the image of mobility presented in Plautus and the strong evidence for shared international frameworks of understanding. A highly interconnected environment existed well before the transformations noted by Polybius. What he observed was not a shift from a less globalised to a more globalised state, but a re-centring of trajectories around Rome, the new directing agent of this interconnected environment: a position that would be tested and confirmed in the Social War, as we will see in [Chapter 9](#). The Roman state fostered a global consciousness, which is what is reflected in the Polybian *Histories*. Changes in the nature of human mobility and its agents influenced such a shift in thinking.

Foreign Residents in Italy and Civilian Groups Abroad

Civilian movement appears in the *Histories* largely as a matter of secondary interest, and often only as an aside, which Polybius uses to build up a narrative and provide contextual depth. In this section, we will focus on references to incomers whose presence in Italy Polybius does not attribute to state relations, which will be explored in detail at the end of the chapter. The discussion will then extend to consider evidence in the *Histories* for civilian movement of Italians in the wider Mediterranean

³³ Polybius 2.12. On the murder of Roman ambassadors (due to their arrogance), and other similar episodes: Balsdon 1979: 74, 272. For the depiction of women and the ‘pirate monarchy’ of Teuta: Eckstein 1995: 154–5.

³⁴ For economic motivations, in protecting Italian interests: Roselaar 2012c: 141–58, 143–51.

³⁵ Polybius 2.12.4–8. For Rome’s diplomatic exchanges in the Greek world during the third century BC: Champion 2004a: 47.

³⁶ Walbank [1970] 1999: 165.

which was not the result of conflict and aggression. My caution with the wording is due to the fact that, in the majority of cases, we cannot know the motive for relocation with certainty, and Polybius rarely mentions what push-pull factors may have taken civilians abroad. These were not of primary importance for Polybius, or may have been too quotidian to need a comment, and they emerge only intermittently in his surviving books and fragments.

Before considering the different groups of mobile individuals making their way into, through and out of the peninsula, a small digression is necessary on the invisibility of other communities in Italy beyond Rome in Polybius's narrative. Italy in the post-Hannibalic era is depicted as if it was simply the red carpet to Rome – the city-palace – that only the special few were allowed to approach. This fits with Polybius's overall presentation of Italy as no longer its own entity but merely the adjunct to the new Imperial centre. This attitude is revealed in the debate he presents between the Achaeans, on a policy of friendship with Rome. In it, Philopoemen warns against the Achaean League becoming subservient, like the people of Sicily and Capua, who he states have long been the slaves of Rome.³⁷ We also see it in the way that Brundisium in south-east Italy is used almost as an off-shore border, where unwanted foreign statesmen could be made to wait for, or refused, an audience with Rome, as was the case of Eumenes II in 167 BC.³⁸ It is as if the rest of Italy, through which embassies had to make their way to the Capital, did not exist. Polybius's lack of interest in other contemporary Italian communities reflects the outlook of a rising Rome focusing its attention overseas. It can be glimpsed in a lack of distinction between Romans and allies during military operations, all of whom are lumped under the Roman label, except in the case of the effort against the Gauls in 225 BC.³⁹ The lack of interest, Jehne observes, is also notable in the absence of evidence for Rome's diplomatic dealings with her Italian allies from the second century BC.⁴⁰ There appeared to be too many obstacles for them to get an audience in Rome and make their case; they were no longer important and deserved only cursory treatment. Rome would come to regret this attitude, as its position was challenged from within Italy during the Social War.⁴¹ What might Polybius have made of this conflict, which took place a generation later? In the same way that we need to question his presentation of a small and insular Rome at the start of his narrative, so we cannot accept the image of Italy as a backwater in the post-Hannibalic

³⁷ Polybius 24.13.4. ³⁸ Polybius 29.6, with discussion below, pp. 249–50.

³⁹ Erdkamp 2007: 49–55. ⁴⁰ Jehne 2009:166–9. ⁴¹ See Chapter 9.

period. In Cato's narrative, Italic communities do not fade away.⁴² They are present, and their histories are recognised as equally interesting through the *Origines*, even if in the end Rome emerges as the most prominent of all.

Since Toynbee's and Brunt's milestone works, which further entrenched the view of Italy as a deserted landscape in the wake of the Hannibalic War, numerous studies have provided evidence to the contrary.⁴³ It is worth noting, for example, that some of the most spectacular Italic building projects, such as the theatre sanctuary built into the mountainous ridge of Pietrabondante in the middle of 'Samnite' territory, were being embellished at this time.⁴⁴ There was disposable wealth in Italy well beyond Rome that could fund these and other projects, despite the subordinate position of most Italic communities which meant that they had obligations to Rome and could not sustain their own foreign policies.⁴⁵ Whether at this point it was in their interest to engage in their own foreign negotiations is another matter. It meant that they could not send their own embassies in an official capacity in the way they did a century earlier during the 'boom' years, when we hear of Etruscan, Bruttian and Lucanian ambassadors congratulating Alexander the Great on his success in Asia on his way to Babylon in 323 BC.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, they still tried, as evidenced by the appeals to Mithridates during the Social War.⁴⁷ Despite the lack of independent agency in foreign policy, it does not follow that communities in Italy ceased overseas commercial and social links that stretched back over centuries. As we saw in [Chapter 2](#), inscriptions of Italians abroad testify to the continuity of such relations, particularly in the skilled economic context of merchants and craftsmen.⁴⁸ The epigraphic record in the Greek East demonstrates the extent to which central Italic and notably Oscan names appear throughout the second century BC.⁴⁹ We also have to imagine cosmopolitan hubs across the breadth of Italy that continued to attract foreign interest and visitors, even though there is little sign of them in Polybius's narrative. Any Demaratus-type character coming to Italy now would have been depicted as arriving in Rome.

An almost complete silence pervades the *Histories* with regard to civilian movements between communities within Italy. Polybius's lack of interest

⁴² Cato *De Agricultura* 22. For Cato's perspective of Italy: Chapter 3, pp. 90–94 and Chapter 9, pp. 324–25.

⁴³ Toynbee 1965; Brunt 1971. ⁴⁴ See especially Stek 2009 and Chapter 9, p. 326ff.

⁴⁵ Officially there were exceptions. Heraclea and Neapolis continued to have free-city status, although the extent to which they could act autonomously in inter-state matters in practice is questionable.

⁴⁶ Arrian *Anabasis* 8.15.4. ⁴⁷ See Chapter 9, p. 316. ⁴⁸ Hatzfeld 1912; Hatzfeld 1919.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2, p. 62.

in intra-Italian mobility is clearly not because it rarely happened. Plenty of other evidence for the period indicates that it did, as we saw in the preceding chapters. But it may have been at too microscopic a level, and too banal for the purpose of a narrative that presents the peninsula as a coherent unit centred on Rome. The rapidity with which civilians from different parts of the peninsula flocked to a place that promised opportunities for enrichment may be ascertained from the case of the second-century BC 'gold-rush'. The opening of the gold mines in northern Italy drew thousands of hopefuls to the land of the Taurisci near Aquileia.⁵⁰ Although there is little to indicate the origin of the 'economic migrants' attracted by these prospects, the impression is that individuals gathered from a wide area. Polybius describes the lucrative nature of the mining operation, because the gold was close to the surface and easy to extract.⁵¹ Within two months of extraction by the Italians and 'natives', the price of gold dropped by a third across Italy. In response to this, the Taurisci expelled the other workers and created a monopoly. We have no figures to show how large this operation was, but it must have been significant to have altered the gold price so dramatically, and to have forced the expulsion of the newly arrived workforce, within only two months.

We may wonder whether this was comparable to another substantial mining operation mentioned by Polybius, just outside of New Carthage in Spain, this time in silver. He describes the size and extent of the settlement where 40,000 miners lived, toiling to supply Rome. Many of the prospectors were of Roman or Italian origin.⁵² The figure seems large and may be an exaggeration, especially, as Walbank notes, when compared to seventeenth-century mines in New Mexico where there were some thirty to forty miners per shaft. But at the same time in Bolivia during the seventeenth century there were other operations that had over 30,000 individuals, including those that washed, sorted and smelted the metal.⁵³ Even if Polybius's figures are not accurate, they convey the scale of the operation. To gather this number of individuals, whether in Spain or northern Italy, the benefits of the site must have been widely known to have attracted so many; or maybe they were sent there by their paymasters, or owners if they were slaves. But the same point applies.

⁵⁰ Polybius 34.10.10 (cited in Strabo 4.6.12). For mobility to areas with mines in Spain during the Imperial period: Holleran [forthcoming](#).

⁵¹ Polybius 34.10.10 (cited in Strabo 4.6.12).

⁵² Polybius 34.9.8; (cited in Strabo 3.2.10): Walbank [1979] 1999: 605–6; Wilson 1966: 26–7; Howgego 1992.

⁵³ Walbank [1979] 1999: 605–6.

The case of the rush to the Tauriscian gold-mines in north Italy, and the initial freedom of newcomers to work there, implies a high rate of mobility over fluid boundaries and the presence of a successful communication network with wide reach, able to disseminate information quickly. The scenario is a smaller version, in terms of population size and context, of what we saw with the substantial demographic increase at Pithekoussai some 500 years earlier.⁵⁴ It too required a vast circulating and easily mobile population attracted by new economic and settlement prospects. The ability of large communities and enterprises to form rapidly suggests a free circulation of individuals, which we also witness in popular festivals around the Mediterranean when a single event could host tens of thousands of guests. It became an object of competition to stage ever more extravagant festivals attracting increasingly larger crowds to outdo those of rival kings and states.⁵⁵ Hence Antiochus IV's attempt to host a series of long-running festivities at Daphne in 166 BC,⁵⁶ with the aim of surpassing the games put on by Aemilius Paullus at Amphipolis the previous year, in celebration of his victory over Perseus.⁵⁷ These large gatherings, with individuals coming from every corner of the known world, occurred alongside large-scale movements resulting from displacement by war. There was an anticipation of, and dependence on, the ongoing circulation of people. The presence of conflict and uncertainty was not enough to keep people away, and the variety of mobility continued in spite of the changing, and at times dangerous, circumstances that pervade Polybian narratives.

Greeks and Others in Rome

Mobility that involved migrants settling in Rome, with origins outside Italy, is more prominently recorded by Polybius than cases of Italians moving from one part of the peninsula to another. Many prominent groups and individuals arrived as a result of the deportations following the Third Macedonian War which need to be understood within an atmosphere of violence and intimidation.⁵⁸ The Greeks living in Rome are those we hear most about in the *Histories*. They were the ones that Polybius knew intimately, and on whom he would have relied for political influence and contact within Rome and abroad. But to call them a community of Greeks

⁵⁴ See Chapter 4, pp. 127–28.

⁵⁵ For such cultural competition through festivals, and these events as signs of political well-being: Edmondson 1999: 85–9; and as narrative markers in Polybius's *Histories*: Gibson 2012.

⁵⁶ Polybius 30.25–6. ⁵⁷ Livy 45.32–3; Plutarch *Aemilius Paullus* 28.7–9.

⁵⁸ Erskine 2012: 18–20.

in Rome or even a colony, as Walbank does, is misleading, as it assumes a coherence that was not generally matched by other Greek-speaking entities outside of Italy.⁵⁹ While Polybius had contacts with expatriates, the image he gives of his own relations is that he was equally close, and possibly even closer, to his fellow Romans than other Greeks. This may not be surprising as Polybius lived with Scipio's family, was the tutor to his sons and played the role of advisor and broker in Greek matters to aid his hosts, as well as his home community.⁶⁰ The elite network in which Polybius and his family were significant players, prior to the imprisonment of the Achaeans, is what allowed the formation of his relations with leading Roman families. Hence, once he was taken prisoner it allowed the Scipios to welcome him into their home and act as his patrons during his stay.

For the most part, it is difficult to establish the varied places of origin that Greek-speakers in Rome, or their ancestors, came from. And some would have been born in Rome. It is also ambiguous as to what is implied by the label 'Greek'. For example, does this group include Greek-speakers from Italian cities, such as Tarentum and Neapolis? And what of the hostage prince Demetrius and his Syrian friends residing in Rome?⁶¹ Would they have been considered as Hellenes by Italian locals and fellow foreigners? To what extent did divisions within this 'group' flare up as a result of political and military conflicts elsewhere? Answers are heavily dependent on specific circumstances and the nature of the individual's presence in Rome and Italy, especially if they were there in an official capacity, as envoys, prisoners or hostages. However defined, it is evident that they had power for collective action that could be politically and culturally influential. Joint lobbying by the Achaeans for release from their detention in Rome is just one example of how individuals of the same origin could form a pressure group in support of a cause.⁶²

Even without this, the presence of outsiders in the city who might be labelled as Hellenes was enough to make Romans wary of their attitudes and influence. They were so embedded in Roman society that they became a socio-political tool of the Roman authorities. They acted as a sounding

⁵⁹ Walbank calls it a Greek colony in Rome, with reference to the following Polybian passages that describe the actions and lobbying of resident Greeks in Rome: 30.4; 30.32.10; 32.6.6: Walbank [1979] 1999: 420.

⁶⁰ For Polybius's friendship with Scipio Aemilianus, in the context of *paideia* and *philia*: Sommer 2013. The dangers of becoming too close to the Roman hosts, especially for hostages, is demonstrated by the case of Demetrius, son of Philip V, who was labelled traitor and executed: see discussion below, p. 262.

⁶¹ For the Syrian prince, see, p. 260ff.

⁶² Polybius 35.6; with the help of envoys from Achaea 33.1; 33.14.

board for Hellenistic practices of the city's elite. This Hellenism was strategically politicised, and opposing Roman factions used it as an accusation when it was in their interest to do so.⁶³ The negativity towards Hellenism, in the political sphere, is at odds with day-to-day cultural practices in Roman society. Its elite members voraciously acquired Greek art and artefacts, absorbed Greek philosophy and learning, transferred library collections to Rome, and were keen to engage in the latest, Mediterranean-wide fashions.⁶⁴ Learned foreigners, particularly from the Hellenistic Mediterranean, were part of Roman families as preferred tutors, philosophers and respected scholars, as was Polybius himself.⁶⁵ The rapid and intense proliferation of Hellenistic culture may be exemplified in the Plautine comedies – modelled on Greek originals – or Varro's later statement of the belief that all arts were founded in Greece.⁶⁶ In Polybius's *Histories*, the popularity and enthusiasm for Hellenistic ideas is explicitly illustrated in an episode which relates the coming of Greek philosophers on an embassy to Rome. He comments that they attracted a large and knowledgeable, if critical, audience when setting out their ideas.⁶⁷ It is precisely such gatherings, and teachings expounded in them, that could be presented as threatening to traditional Roman values. Cato's tirades against such influence and philosophers are well known. Yet, a close reading of his attitude to Hellenistic culture shows contradictions, which had already been recognised. Plutarch noted that Cato learned Greek in later life, and Greek sentiments permeate his writings.⁶⁸ These are only a few examples of the influx of Hellenistic culture into Rome, and its adaptation within the city. Its many forms have been the subject of a rich and wide-ranging scholarship.⁶⁹

Beyond this Greek presence we hear very little about other foreign civilians based in Italy, and almost nothing about Italians overseas in Polybius. It is only when individuals exist in large enough groups to become victims of aggression, or are targeted for expulsion *en masse*, that they appear on the radar. It is due to expulsions, such as those of the

⁶³ Champion 2004a: 204–7.

⁶⁴ For the use of Hellenism strategically in Rome: Champion 2004a: 58–61, 173–6, 180–3, 205–8; Feeney 2016.

⁶⁵ Polybius was a house-guest and tutor for P. Scipio Africanus: 31.23–25. Balsdon 1979: appendix I, 54–58 lists the Greek and Greek-speaking scholars attached to prominent Romans.

⁶⁶ Varro *Rerum Rusticarum* 3.1.4: See Chapter 3, p. 106. ⁶⁷ Polybius 33.2.

⁶⁸ Plutarch, *Cato Maior* 2.3–4. For the complexity of Cato's attitude to Greek culture: Champion 2004a: 180–5; Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 193–5, 209–10.

⁶⁹ Along with Champion's work see also: Gruen 1990; Gruen 1992; Hölscher 1990; Coarelli 1997; Wiseman 2004: 13–36; Champion 2004a: 67–99, 173–203; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 17–28.

Macedonians and Carthaginians (which we will consider next), that we know foreigners of various backgrounds must have been present, and from their plight we can get some sense of their position in the host community. Such instances are few but they are representative of a wider-reaching Mediterranean practice of mobility between far-flung communities. Polybius makes no reference to Italians who took up new abodes around the Mediterranean. He does mention the free port of Delos,⁷⁰ one of the major trading hubs in his time, but with no specific reference to foreign groups there. That it was home to a substantial number of Romans and Italians is known from other sources, as we saw earlier, especially inscriptions, which provide evidence of their presence on the site from the third century BC and attest to the wealth of the community.⁷¹ Polybius's addition to our scant knowledge of civilian groups overseas in this period comes through brief allusions from which we can ascertain only that individuals from Italy were residing abroad in some capacity, and that there were outsiders residing in Italy.

The Expelled as Evidence of Foreign Groups Abroad

Expulsions directed at an ethnically or geographically defined group of foreign civilians by the host community are rare.⁷² The extent of mobility in this period, combined with the absence of state identity documents and the lack of systematic check points, would have made it difficult to enact such policies. Foreigners from the same geographical area did not necessarily form coherent communities, and the cyclical nature of mobility means that those on the move may only have stayed in any one place for a short period of time, or changed their abodes from one generation to the next. As an example, we may take the seemingly straightforward eviction of Macedonians from Italy, mentioned by Polybius, at the start of hostilities with Perseus in 171 BC.⁷³ What appears to be a simple ruling, demanding that they leave Rome at once and Italy within 30 days, is in fact ambiguous in the way that it is expressed in the various sources that report the event.⁷⁴ In outlining who was affected by this ruling, Polybius specifically makes reference to the envoys of Perseus, Solon and Hippias, but possibly also to

⁷⁰ Polybius 30.31. ⁷¹ On Delos see Chapter 2, p. 61ff.

⁷² Cicero, *de Officiis* 3.47 lists a series of what he terms cruel expulsions by the state. A summary of expulsions by Rome: Balsdon 1979: 98–102.

⁷³ Polybius 27.6.3.

⁷⁴ In particular, Livy 42.48.1–4 and Appian, *Macedonian Wars* 1.9. For a discussion of the discrepancies in the historical tradition: Walbank [1979] 1999: 300–1; Walbank 1941.

Macedonian *parepideimounteis*. Loosely translated the term means foreigners. This may have been a translation of the Latin terms *incolae* or *advenae* which, as we saw through Plautus's work, by the mid-second century probably referred to the narrower designation of alien residents. The Polybian tradition, in line with Livy's summary of the expulsion of the Macedonians, makes reference primarily to the ambassadors and their entourage as the focus of the ruling.⁷⁵ However, Appian stresses that the expulsion was of other Macedonian residents as well.⁷⁶ It may be that these were the exiles from the Macedonian court, who sought refuge from Perseus' aggression.⁷⁷ This makes it more likely that the expulsion order was directed at the Macedonian officials and their entourage, which several hundred years later Appian expressed as a more general statement against all Macedonians.

Polybius also presents a case of a proposed mutual expulsion in the context of the Romano-Carthaginian conflict. During the Second Punic War, in the course of Roman efforts in Africa in 204/3 BC, Scipio allowed their leader Syphax to try to broker a kind of peace between Rome and Carthage, in order to get the Numidians on side.⁷⁸ One of Syphax's proposals was that the Carthaginians ought to evacuate Italy and the Romans leave Africa. The implication is that there were Roman and Carthaginian groups with a presence in each other's domain, and these existed in different capacities, civil and military. We can infer with some confidence that military contingents, or those in authority, would have been expelled under such an agreement. But it is not clear whether the civilians who were operating individually were required to leave as well. That these civilians existed, possibly in large numbers, is without doubt, and there is evidence to suggest that even in times of crisis they did not return to their home of origin. Italians were even in Carthage on the eve of its destruction in 149 BC. One of the fragments from Polybius's book 36 describes the scene, as the Carthaginians realised their fate, and in their anguish threw themselves at the envoys, and any other Italians they came

⁷⁵ Livy 42.48.1–4.

⁷⁶ Appian, *Macedonian Wars* 1.9. While Polybius and Livy record the details and context of the ruling, Appian provides the perspective of the expelled: Balsdon 1979: 99; Noy 2000: 44.

⁷⁷ The distribution of this exile community becomes apparent when Perseus initially recalls the exiles in 179/8 BC on making amends with Rome (Polybius 25.3), and then when the situation changes, once again we hear of exiles seeking refuge in Rome (Polybius 27.1). Livy 45.32.3–6 notes that the whole of the Macedonian court was deported to Italy in 167 BC. For discussion about such exiles: Chapter 8, pp. 277, 286, and for the concept of exile, Chapter 10, p. 395ff.

⁷⁸ Polybius 14.1.9.

across.⁷⁹ The fact that the reference is to Italians and not Romans is significant. It is not an allusion to the authority or the military installation but to those independents who were still in Carthage even at this late stage of the crisis.

Who were these individuals, against whom the Carthaginians vented their wrath? Could they have been some of those of Italian background who had taken up residence there as merchants, landowners or mercenaries? Were some of them soldiers, or their descendants, who fought on the Carthaginian side in the Battle of Zama, especially those from Bruttium?⁸⁰ Beyond these few references, there is little hard evidence for Italian presence in North Africa, but that is not surprising in light of the nature of our sources. The visibility of individuals from Italy is scarce even in those regions where we have substantial textual material for their presence, particularly in the Greek East.⁸¹ Nevertheless, some traces that they were resident in Carthage, or at the very least that there was an Italo-Carthaginian exchange, do remain. Bourdin and Crouzet have shown that epigraphic evidence from the sacred area of the *tophet* and necropolis of the city, dating to the fourth to second centuries BC, supports the presence of Italians within the Carthaginian community.⁸² The likely presence of a significant number of Italian landowners in North Africa in this period may be one of the reasons that there was such enthusiasm to have the fifth-century agricultural works of Mago the Carthaginian translated into Latin in the second century BC, and then again in the following century.⁸³ These writings, and an Italian interest in them, allow for a different perspective on the relationship between Rome, Italians and

⁷⁹ Polybius 36.7.5: ... *others made a move towards such Italians as they came across and vented their rage on them.*

– οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κατελιγμένους τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπηρείσαντο τοῦ θυμόν.

The scene is also described by Appian *Punica* 92: 'Still others, meeting certain Italians, who were caught among them in this sudden and unexpected mischance, maltreated them in various ways, saying that they would make them suffer for the fraud practised upon them in the matter of the hostages and the arms.' Translation: White 1899. According to Diodorus Siculus 32.6.3 the envoys went to the Carthaginian camp not the city.

⁸⁰ Livy 30.33.6 on the Bruttians and other Italians who followed Hannibal from Italy; Livy 31.11.7; 31.19.2, requests for the return of the Roman and Italian *perfugae, fugitivi* – deserters and fugitives, living in Africa. Tagliamonte 1994: 216.

⁸¹ See Chapter 2, p. 61ff.

⁸² Bourdin and Crouzet 2009. Crawley-Quinn 2011: 398–9 is cautious about what we can deduce from the *tophet* evidence, but does not deny the presence of Italian cultural symbols.

⁸³ Varro *Rerum Rusticarum* 1.10; Columella, *De Re Rustica* 1.1.10; Pliny *NH* 18.22; Wilson 1966: 51; Kolendo 1970; Lancel 1992: 273–80; Purcell 1995: 135. There were Italian *togati* at Citra in the late second century BC, whom we know about because they were massacred by Jugurtha: Sallust, *Jugurthine War*, 21.2–4; 26.1.

foreign communities, for in most sources, the ‘foreigners in our midst’ become visible only if they are perceived as a threat or are driven out. Yet even within such contexts, some of which are cited by Polybius, the focus is less on the ethnicity or ‘otherness’ of the group, but rather on the political or military authority they represent. If they are a threat it is because of politics not ethnicity, a theme that we will explore in the [next chapter](#).

Mobile Inter-State Machinery: Envoys, Prisoners and Hostages

The Diplomats

The episodes in the *Histories* described above, and particularly the early Roman crossings with which this chapter began, reveal that Rome and Italy were integrated into a system spanning the Mediterranean that relied on a mutual understanding of institutions that acknowledged and depended on human mobility. A shared tradition of international law that regularized and controlled inter-state relations is evident in our earliest records.⁸⁴ Its existence was argued for by Phillipson in his 1911 work on *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome*,⁸⁵ and more recently by Bederman in his study of *International Law in Antiquity*.⁸⁶ Shared laws, even if not formally expressed as such, underpinned treaties, promoted negotiations and anticipated a certain level of treatment of envoys, hostages and prisoners, all of whom may be seen as the end products of wider inter-state ties. Bederman’s study charts the way in which states overcame their perceived particularism through the development of a complex and varied system, fuelled by the mutually held notion that international relations were based on a rule of law.⁸⁷ By contrast, Eckstein attributes the persistence of a state of multi-polar anarchy in the Mediterranean to the weakness and absence of such international laws, and the inability of states to enforce them even if they did exist at some level.⁸⁸ Alternatively, it could be argued that what allowed Rome to gain sole power and change the state of anarchy into one of

⁸⁴ Watson 1993; Bederman 2001; Phillipson 1911. ⁸⁵ Phillipson 1911: 107–8.

⁸⁶ Bederman 2001.

⁸⁷ Bederman 2001: chapter 4, 267, 278. He notes that while the ancient law of nations was conceived as an instrument of state relations, it had virtually no regard for other values, such as human rights or dignity. Law of nations was an expression of the ancient mind’s desire for order.

⁸⁸ Eckstein 2006: 1–4, 37–43, and 80, 100, in reference to Polybius 5.67.11–68.2, reflecting on the cause of war as unrestrained state competition, and absence of enforceable international law.

hegemonic hierarchy⁸⁹ is precisely the existence of such international law. Rome's success rested in part on her ability to manipulate the system for her own advantage, making other states complicit in her hegemony.

The mechanism for driving international relations, however flawed, relied on a number of mobile individuals who could be required to travel for extended periods, and at times reside for decades in places far from their place of origin, perhaps never to return. These included ambassadors and other envoys – *legati* – who acted as lobbyists, negotiators and messengers, and were appointed as representatives to execute the will of a state or some other autonomous body, such as a league, a group of mercenaries or even pirates.⁹⁰ They were small, hand-picked elite groups who could be official advisors, friends or philosophers, and had a privileged perspective and insight into the functioning of inter-state politics, of which they were the instruments. They were the communication lines through which official knowledge and information flowed around the network.⁹¹ There are numerous examples of their dealings, but that of Mennippos, the envoy of Antiochus III, will serve to demonstrate their mission and the importance of the individual's character and reputation for a positive outcome, which was necessary alongside his diplomatic abilities and skill as an orator. Mennippos is specifically cited in a letter from the Romans recorded on an inscription dated to 194/3 BC granting the Tean request to have their land and city recognised as an asylum, declared inviolable and hence also free from tribute, due to its sacredness to Dionysus.⁹² In this letter the Romans note that Menippus spoke with zeal, and they state that 'We received the man kindly both on account of his previous reputation and on account of his innate good character, and we listened favourably to his requests.' When they cite the reasons for their positive decision they include that it was on account of their goodwill towards the Teans and '... on account of the esteemed ambassador.' We may wonder to what extent Menippus was already known to some of the elites of Rome and linked to them through guest-friendship; with respect on both sides not unlike that enjoyed by Polybius.

⁸⁹ Eckstein 2008.

⁹⁰ Bederman 2001: chapter 4. For the diplomatic procedure: Eilers 2009b; Sheldon 2005: chapter 4, pp. 73–91; Coudry 2004; Erskine 1994.

⁹¹ For the intricacies of how the diplomatic exchanges functioned as a communication system: Ferrary 2009.

⁹² Rigsby 1996: no. 153 = *RDGE* 34, *Syll.*³ 601: with translation in Bagnall and Derow 2004: no. 39, pp. 75–6. Discussion of the historic context: Ma 1999: 94–102. Livy 34.57–9 also records an embassy sent by Teans to Rome in 194/3 BC. On inviolability of land and *asylia*: Chapter 10, pp. 369–70.

A shared agreement between states provided protection for the free and safe passage of diplomats.⁹³ It did not, however, prevent hostile receptions.⁹⁴ Such episodes were enough in themselves to spark a military reaction by the offended body. As in the case of Rome and the Dalmatians in 157 BC, it allowed the pretence of such a rebuff to be used as an excuse for waging war.⁹⁵ There was also an understated recognition of power hierarchies. A patron–client relationship served as a model for the process of reception and negotiation. Its workings are exemplified on an inscription from Teos which praises two of its citizens for acting as ambassadors as part of a delegation to Rome in the 160s BC.⁹⁶ It records how they persevered despite the mental and physical hardships, including persistent daily calls at the *atria*, to plead their case in front of the patrons and in order to befriend opponents. The more that an autonomous body gained dominance, the more likely that diplomatic encounters took place physically in its sphere of influence to which, if need be, access could be denied. This is clearly charted in the case of Rome. Initially, Rome was pleased to send legates to the Aetolian and Achaean Leagues.⁹⁷ But soon, as if itself a monarch, the city began to hold court for state representatives, who increasingly flocked to the newly recognised centre in hope of being given an audience.⁹⁸ At those times when urgent negotiation was required in the field, the Roman camp provided a meeting place for the same purpose.⁹⁹ Eventually, as charted by the Rhodian embassies, for example, we witness not only the changing balance between states, but also the shift in the focus of the embassies, from that of Rome to individuals such as Caesar and Augustus.¹⁰⁰ The direction of mobile trajectories had moved. The centre was now in a different locus, or rather multiple loci were replaced with one that trumped them all.

At times, the envoys of foreign cities travelled long and circuitous routes to get an audience with Rome and to ensure the most positive outcome. The tales of their journeys also indicate that it was not always clear where power lay, whether in the city itself or with her commanders.

⁹³ Bederman 2001: 75–119 for the treatment of envoys and foreign diplomats.

⁹⁴ For example, Polybius 33.8–9 records that Roman legates were wounded and robbed by the Ligurians. For the maltreatment of envoys resulting in conflict: Bederman 2001: 116.

⁹⁵ Polybius 32.13; with Walbank [1979] 1999: 535.

⁹⁶ *Syll.*³ 656: Translation Sherk 1984: no. 26. Erskine 1994; Chiranku 1982.

⁹⁷ Polybius 2.12.4–8.

⁹⁸ Their vast number is presented in Canali di Rossi's 1997 collection of Republican embassies.

⁹⁹ Polybius 21.29 relates the arrival of Rhodian and Athenian envoys in the Roman camp to make peace.

¹⁰⁰ These are included in the collection by Canali De Rossi 1997: nos. 191, 234–5, 242, 256, 259, 261–2, 264, 270, 272–5, 279–80, 288, 326, 335, 352, 381, 427, 434, 435, 459; Erskine 1991.

The trend is discussed by Eilers 2009b: 2.

An inscription from Lampsakos honouring its leading ambassador Hegesias for his efforts to gain a positive result for his community through an embassy to Rome in 196 BC demonstrates the nature of such negotiations and also the intricately balanced networks that underpinned them.¹⁰¹

The purpose of the embassy was to gain Roman protection against Antiochus III, who was making his way into Thrace, a few years before his envoy Menippos came to Rome.¹⁰² Hegesias's quest took him first to Corinth, where he met the Roman commander Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, and also the quaestor who accompanied the fleet. He then proceeded to Massalia, a city to which Lampasakos had ties, on account of the Massalians having good relations with the Romans. The aim was to persuade the Massalians to accompany the embassy to Rome in order to provide support for their request, which he successfully gained. The entourage then proceeded to Rome along with the Massalian advocates, where they made their case, exploiting the Trojan kinship with the Romans as one of their tools of appeasement.¹⁰³ On returning to Greece, Hegesias and the other envoys, having succeeded in their quest, met Titus Quinctius Flamininus and the ten Roman commissioners who were organising affairs following the defeat of Philip V. The long journey, their patience and careful tactics all paid off. In the generation prior to Hegesias's expedition, it would have been Roman envoys making similar long and patient journeys in their dealings with the rulers and power hubs in the Greek East.

Polybius charts the increasingly frequent appearance of foreign envoys in Italy, especially from the second century BC, which necessitated a framework for their reception.¹⁰⁴ They would often arrive several months before February, the month when embassies would normally be received.¹⁰⁵ Descriptions of the more eventful visits allow insight into what provisions were made, and also a sense of how Italy as a whole formed part of their visit. In Rome, some hospitality was offered at public expense – *hospitia publica* – and could include a furnished residence at the *villa publica*, and meals with a daily spending allowance.¹⁰⁶ Walbank suggests that this is how we should interpret the 'gifts', provided for the Rhodian

¹⁰¹ For the text: Frisch 1978: no. 4 = *Syll.*³ 591. For an English translation: Bagnall and Derow 2004: no. 35, pp. 70–3; Sherk 1984: no. 5. With Erskine 1994: 51–2; Elwyn 1993: 273–4.

¹⁰² Elwyn 1993: 273–4, with additional references.

¹⁰³ For kinship: Chapter 3, p. 95ff. For this specific context: Elwyn 1993: 273–4. For the theme more generally: Erskine 2001.

¹⁰⁴ Polybius 6.13.7. ¹⁰⁵ Ferrary 2007; Ferrary 2009.

¹⁰⁶ Bederman 2001: 105; Jehne 2009: 158–9; Nicols 2001; Coudry 2004. For *Villa Publica* and other provisions: Livy 33.24.5; 30.21.12. For what was expected of Roman magistrates

envoys and King Eumenes II who came to Rome in 190 BC.¹⁰⁷ Eumenes would get a very different kind of reception several decades later, when his relations with Rome had significantly altered. On his arrival in Italy in 167/6 BC he was not even allowed to proceed from Brundisium and was given three days to leave the peninsula, despite the bad weather and the fact that it was the wrong season to begin the voyage.¹⁰⁸ Polybius comments that the more Romans pushed him away, the more support he received from the Greeks.¹⁰⁹ This sentiment is expressed in the honours he was voted by the Ionians on his way back from the cold reception in Italy, which we know about from his appreciative response in a letter to the Ionian League, preserved on an inscription.¹¹⁰ By contrast, a positive reception could include a ‘Grand Tour’ of Italy and the honour of sacrificing on the Capitol in Rome. Such was the treatment meted out to King Prusias, who came to Rome (at the same time that Eumenes II was rebuffed) to congratulate the Romans on their victory over Perseus and Genthius.¹¹¹

The nature of Rome’s reception of foreign leaders, envoys and ambassadors aimed to entrench their subordinate position in the hierarchy of empire. It also made the label of ‘enemy’ clear, as with the Aravaci, who, unlike their neighbours the Belli and Titti in Spain, were not allowed to proceed directly to Rome for an audience in 151 BC, but had to encamp on the other side of the Tiber awaiting a decision.¹¹² The substantial increase in officials, as well as other prominent ‘tourists’, who paraded their way to Rome with their entourages, required that the reception took place in surroundings that lived up to Rome’s newly-established position in the Mediterranean. The leaders of the Late Republic, especially Augustus, tried to address this through numerous building programmes to realise the project of making their city into the capital of Empire.¹¹³

Hostages and Elite Prisoners

Along with delegations of ambassadors who frequented the metropolis for short periods of time, other groups that had a prominent role in diplomatic negotiations included hostages, exiles and elite political prisoners, such as

travelling through the provinces, and the reliance on private or rented hospitality: Livy 42.1.10; 42.19.6.

¹⁰⁷ Polybius 21.18.3; Walbank [1979] 1999: 111. ¹⁰⁸ Polybius 29.6. ¹⁰⁹ Polybius 31.6.

¹¹⁰ Bagnall and Derow 2004: no. 47; Welles 1934: no. 52 = Dittenberger 1903–5 (OGIS): no. 763.

¹¹¹ Polybius 30.18–19 primarily reports Persius’s despicable servile demeanour towards Rome; while Livy 45.44.4–9 presents the episode in more detail and Prusias’s congratulations as further evidence of Rome’s greatness.

¹¹² Polybius 35.2. ¹¹³ See Chapter 9 for the creation of Rome as a capital.

Polybius himself. Theoretically, these three status categories may differ in terms of the circumstances by which each ended up in the host community and also their ties to it.¹¹⁴ What they have in common is the long duration of their stay away from home, at times stretching into decades, and particularly for hostages, their lack of agency in their role as representatives of their states and rulers. The most comprehensive recent study of the institution of hostage exchange is Allen's *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire*.¹¹⁵ It details the way in which these individuals were used in the Roman context from the end of the third century BC, and includes an extended analysis of Polybius's perspective in light of his own experience as a prisoner in Rome. Allen's study is not directly interested in the human mobility aspect of the hostage; rather, he focuses on the diplomatic and Romanising elements of the institution. His innovative approach is to position the hostage experience in relation to wider Roman social frameworks, such as that of patronage, guest friendship and fosterage, which provides alternative ways for understanding the fluidity of the hostage status. Allen tries to imagine how the 'Roman on the street' would have confronted these foreign individuals, starting with their reaction to their colourful and exotic appearance at the triumph.¹¹⁶ Such a victorious occasion may indeed have presented the hostage as the conquered 'other' and reminded the Romans of the vast periphery which was rapidly coming under their rule, as well as glorifying the military leaders responsible for such an achievement. However, outside of such a carnivalesque atmosphere, the hostages may not have stood out quite as much as such occasions suggest, due to the cosmopolitan nature of Rome and other centres in Italy, where hostages were not the first nor the only foreigners lodged there.¹¹⁷ Romans and other Italians had longstanding, ongoing relations with foreigners, either on the peninsula or through their own journeys abroad, which would have made the hostage less exotic to the everyday Roman on the street than Allen imagines. We need only look at Plautus, whose streets are filled with a myriad of such characters.

¹¹⁴ The positions of some of these individuals were not as precisely defined as the labels would suggest. Hence, Allen 2006: 16–17, in his work on hostages, chooses to discuss a wider category than simply those labelled as *homeros* and *obses* – technical terms for hostage. He justifies this by arguing that the category overlapped with that of the wider one of foreign resident, and that the terms *homeros* and *obses* were volatile, meaning different things to different authors.

¹¹⁵ Allen 2006.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, Allen's 2006: 2–5 opening description of the triumph of Flamininus in 197 BC. It included a parade of twenty-five youths who were hostages from Macedon and Sparta, among whom were Demetrius, son of Philip V, and Armenes, son of Nabi, recorded by Polybius 18.39.5 and Livy 33.13.14; 33.30.10.

¹¹⁷ Similar and other concerns are also raised in the review of Allen's work by Wheeler 2007.

Circumstances under which individuals and groups were required to become hostages could vary, but most commonly they were the mechanism by which treaties were secured and they acted as sureties against treachery. Mutual hostage exchanges were often part of treaties of alliance and friendship between equally balanced powers, as for example between Perseus and Genthius in 168 BC.¹¹⁸ Although, we hear of no mutual hostage exchanges involving Rome from about the third century BC onwards, they do re-appear in Late Antiquity.¹¹⁹ In the case of Roman authorities, they were primarily in the position of the conqueror,¹²⁰ demanding hostages from the weaker state and in so doing making their superiority clear.¹²¹ Hostages need not have been held for long periods of time; once the conditions of the agreement were fulfilled, and good faith reinstated, they could be returned to their home country.¹²² At times, the boundary between hostage and ambassador could be fluid, especially between states whose influence was equally balanced and relations amicable. There are instances where Greek cities appointed esteemed foreign citizens, already residing with them as hostages, to represent their country of origin.¹²³ This scenario was not exceptional to the Hellenistic context if we include the widely shared practice of elite diplomatic marriages, in which, arguably, the bride held a position similar to that of a hostage. Aeneas marrying the daughter of King Latinus is just one story that can be interpreted from that perspective. Plutarch, much more explicitly, refers to the rape of the Sabine women as a case of hostage-taking.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Polybius 29.3; Livy 44.23.

¹¹⁹ For the equality in hostage exchanges between Rome and Persia from the fourth century AD: Lee 1991; Allen 2006: 78.

¹²⁰ Even Rome, earlier in the Republican period, found herself in the weaker position of having to provide hostages without an exchange, as for example in 321 BC during her defeat at the Caudine Forks. The ratification of the treaty with the Samnites demanded that Rome provide 600 of her knights as hostages who would be killed if Rome did not comply with future demands: Livy 9.5.

¹²¹ For example, when Perseus was required to submit hostages before his meeting with Marcius in 173 BC. Livy explains that these hostages were demanded to make it clear to the allies that this was an unequal relationship, and Rome had the upper hand: Livy 42.39.

¹²² As in the case of the return of Demetrius, the son of Philip V, in 190 BC: Polybius 21.3.3; 21.11.9; 22.14.10.

¹²³ Ancient states did not have permanent envoys stationed in foreign countries, although they may have foreign locals that held a special status, such as the Greek *proxenia* or the slightly different Roman *recuperatores*, who represented and lobbied for a foreign state's interests locally: Bederman 2001: 105, 130–6. For *proxenoi* recorded on inscriptions: Phillipson 1911: Vol. 1, 151.

¹²⁴ He labels their position as that of *homeros* – the Greek term for hostage: Plutarch *Romulus* 16.2. For parallels between the position of brides in marriage alliances and that of hostages: Allen 2006: 17–21, 184–86.

Generally, hostages were chosen from the most valued members of the donor community, or at least the most treasured to those who made up the ruling body. They included men, women and children. At times, treaties would specify that hostages had to be of a certain age and replenished once they grew too old, or after a certain number of years had passed. The Roman treaty with the Aetolians in 189 BC stipulated that the forty hostages given to the Romans should be between twelve and forty years old, and that new ones were to be sent to replace any who might die.¹²⁵ A year later, in a Roman treaty with Antiochus III, the stipulation was for the twenty hostages to be between the ages of eighteen and forty, and added the requirement that they had to be replaced every three years.¹²⁶ Presumably, the reason for such arrangements was to ensure that the individuals were at the optimum time in their life for the strongest family and friendship bonds, and not too close to death. An added factor may have been Roman awareness of the susceptibility of youthful hostages to indoctrination into the host country's way of life and thinking.¹²⁷

The total number sent would depend on the nature of the agreement and the levels of trust between the parties involved. After their defeat at the battle of Zama in 202 BC, the Carthaginians were required to supply Rome with 100 hostages;¹²⁸ by 149 BC, just before the destruction of their city, the number had increased to 300.¹²⁹ This was the same number of hostages that several generations earlier were held by the Carthaginians themselves in New Carthage, Spain.¹³⁰ Such large groups of hostages appear regularly in the narratives of Polybius and other historians, but we know little about their living conditions, experience or local attitudes to them, as they are rarely more than a number. Instead, it is primarily the single elite male or female hostage whose story is to be found in ancient narratives. What can be extracted from such scenarios about the majority experience will be considered below, as we focus on the situation of Polybius and his young friend, the hostage prince Demetrius Soter from Seleucid Syria.

¹²⁵ Polybius 21.32.10. ¹²⁶ Polybius 21.42.22.

¹²⁷ The example of Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria is a case in point. Having lived in Rome as a hostage from 188–178/7 BC, once he assumed his throne back home he at times wore a toga and acted in judgement as if a magistrate – he was also considered to be a madman: Polybius 26.1.1–7. Demetrius, the son of Philip V, met his death at the hands of his own countrymen, due to accusations of having become a Romanophile during his time as a hostage in Rome: See discussion below, p. 262.

¹²⁸ After the battle of Zama, the 100 hostages demanded of Carthage were to be young men ages fourteen to thirty: Polybius 15.18.8. Walbank [1967] 1999: 470–1; Allen 2006: 50–1.

¹²⁹ Polybius 36.4.6. ¹³⁰ Polybius 10.18.

The circumstances of those who arrived as hostages required special living conditions and shaped distinctive relationships with fellow inhabitants that differed from those of other incomers. While their status was deemed inviolable as long as the sending party kept its promise,¹³¹ (with some debate as to whether it may even have been sacrosanct),¹³² these individuals did not benefit from the same protection and immunity as ambassadors. They were therefore more vulnerable to acts of aggression. Once a community was conquered, any hostages, exiles and political prisoners who may have resided amongst them could be treated no differently than other prisoners, whatever their origin.¹³³ Returning hostages to their families in such circumstances, as Scipio had done with the Iberian hostages on his takeover of New Carthage, was not a foregone conclusion but an act of clemency.¹³⁴ Outside of such direct conquest episodes, the point at which the wellbeing of the hostages was particularly threatened was when their home countries were deemed to have broken the agreement under which they were held. It was then that they could potentially suffer great harm and even be killed, which is the subtext of statements about communities who dare to rebel, such as the Boii, ‘abandoning their hostages’ to their fate in choosing to resist Rome.¹³⁵ In the case of the 600 hostages who were given by Rome to the Samnites, as a result of their defeat at the Caudine Forks, it was explicitly stated that they would be killed if the treaty stipulations were not fulfilled.¹³⁶

While the hostage was, ‘a marked man’, as Allen aptly puts it (to which we can add ‘or woman’), the execution of hostages appears only rarely in Roman history, and, although our understanding of any policy of forfeited hostages is slight, what evidence there is suggests a disposition towards clemency.¹³⁷ From another perspective, whether they were hostages, political prisoners or exiles, the long duration of their stay in a single place could have meant that they built up strong relationships, which could themselves protect them. In part, this would depend on the equality of the relationship between the states involved, but also on the social standing of the individuals. For example, of the 1000 Achaean political prisoners

¹³¹ Phillipson notes that hostages did not enjoy the absolute immunity of ambassadors, yet in circumstances where they were not third parties in a situation of conquest they were deemed inviolable: Phillipson 1911: I, 405.

¹³² Their sacrosanctity is dismissed by Allen 2006: 93–4, who argues that whether an author chooses to portray them as sacrosanct or not depends on the narrative context. Although Wheeler 2007, in her review of Allen’s work, questions whether it should be dismissed so quickly.

¹³³ Bederman 2001: 199–200. ¹³⁴ See below, pp. 280–81. ¹³⁵ Polybius 3.40.6–7.

¹³⁶ Livy 9.5. ¹³⁷ Allen 2006: 52–7.

who were brought to Rome in 167 BC, we can surmise that the majority were distributed to communities around Italy, from the fact that in the case of Polybius it required special pleading by patrons and friends for him to be allowed to stay in Rome.¹³⁸ We know that Polybius spent the majority of his time in Rome at the residence of the Scipios. Such cases were exceptional but not unique. Other elites, such as Demetrius the young prince from Syria, who was given as a hostage to Rome when only a boy, also lived in the metropolis and, as we will see below, took part in all it had on offer for a lively youth. He may have even resided in the house that was built from public funds on the Palatine for his predecessor Antiochus IV.¹³⁹ Polybius and Demetrius represent one segment of those individuals from abroad who were resident and integrated into the Romano-Italian society. Their circumstances exemplify the workings of the horizontal elite network that operated across the Mediterranean.

Polybius was familiar with some of the most prominent members of Roman society before he ever came to the city, as they would have met in his home town when Romans visited Achaea. Walbank provides a list of known Roman embassies to the Peloponnese in the early second century BC, and notes that they 'will certainly have enjoyed hospitality in the households of leading citizens'.¹⁴⁰ Such exchanges permeated different social levels and fuelled the existence of a substantial Greek presence in Rome at the time. Some of the Greeks in the city had common causes on which to lobby the Roman leaders, most notably the Achaean prisoners when Polybius himself acted as their advocate.¹⁴¹ Polybius, in trying to get the Roman senate to address his own situation as a prisoner, relied on none other than Cato to help him and the remaining Achaeans 'incarcerated' in Italy to argue their case in the Roman senate. Polybius sought his advice as to how and whether he should approach Cato's fellow senators. In one final episode, Polybius recounts how, following the decision by Rome finally to let the Achaean prisoners go, he asked Cato whether he should not also request that they be officially pardoned. Cato's witty response benignly reprimanded Polybius: he felt that such an action would be akin to Odysseus going back into the cave of the Cyclops to retrieve his cap and belt.¹⁴² Including this story in the *Histories* highlighted the close and

¹³⁸ Polybius 31.23.5. For their spread across Italy and Polybius's special situation in terms of his privileged relationship with Scipio: Walbank 1972: 8, 74–6; Champion 2004a: 71–81. Erskine considers the nature of their detention in Rome and Italy: Erskine 2012: 24–7.

¹³⁹ Asconius *In Pisonem* 13: Allen 2006: 89, 205. This was the same house which was later used by the satirist Lucilius: Gruen 1992: 279.

¹⁴⁰ Walbank 1972: 8–9, especially note 39.

¹⁴¹ Erskine 2012: 22–3 for the negotiations of trying to secure their release. ¹⁴² Polybius 35.6.

privileged relationship which this Achaean prisoner enjoyed with the top brass of what was rapidly emerging as the most powerful force in the Mediterranean.

In their position as guests and representatives of their home communities, elite hostages were extended hospitality provided for guest-friends and travellers, which played a part in many different kinds of international relations. Hostages existed on the margins between prisoner and guest and, depending on their specific situation, could be treated as either.¹⁴³ Allen points out that writers often focused on the benign aspects of hostage-taking, especially when the exchange was not the result of direct conflict: 'Rome accordingly traded the image of prison guard of the Mediterranean for that of its host, gracious but still in charge.'¹⁴⁴ Their special status meant that in the Roman camp, for example, they were housed in the same quarters as the ambassadors in the inner *praetorium*.¹⁴⁵ Within Rome itself, Livy records that during the Second Punic War, hostages from Thurii and Tarentum were detained for a short time in the so-called *Atrium Libertatis*.¹⁴⁶ Varro, as part of his explanation of the origin of the names of several Roman *vici* (neighbourhoods), states that the *Vicus Africus* on the Esquiline was so named because during the Punic Wars hostages from Africa were kept there under guard.¹⁴⁷ From these references, and Livy's comment regarding the complaints of Carthaginian hostages about their residence in Norba (which we will consider below),¹⁴⁸ it is likely that these sites in Rome acted only as temporary abodes for holding hostages who arrived as a group before they were moved to more permanent residences outside of the city. In some instances, those with privileged links with the local elites were housed in Rome.¹⁴⁹

We get some sense of the living conditions of other hostages in Italy from Polybius's passing comments and from later authors such as Livy. The aftermath of the Roman victory at Zama is illustrative. Following the Carthaginian defeat at Zama in 202 BC, Roman demands included the payment of 10,000 talents and the delivery of 100 hostages between the ages of fourteen and thirty.¹⁵⁰ By 199 BC, when Carthaginian ambassadors

¹⁴³ Allen 2006: chapter 3, 68–94. ¹⁴⁴ Allen 2006: 69.

¹⁴⁵ Hyginus (or pseudo-Hyginus), *De munitione castrorum*, 18.

¹⁴⁶ Livy 25.7.12; Zonaras VIII.3; Purcell 1993: 143.

¹⁴⁷ Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.159. Palmer 1997: 73–9 challenges this assertion, arguing that we need to think about a wider range of individuals, and likely traders from Africa, including Numidia, living in this quarter as free men – not slaves or hostages.

¹⁴⁸ Livy 32.2.3–5, with discussion below, p. 257.

¹⁴⁹ For elite hostage residences in Rome and among the elite: Allen 2006: 90 and Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁰ Polybius 15.18.8; Livy 30.37.5–6.

came to Rome to make payments, there may have been as many as 250 Carthaginian hostages, including those already in Roman hands before the treaty of Zama.¹⁵¹ A particular episode concerning this group is worth looking at more closely. It shows that hostages managed to preserve some agency even in difficult circumstances. In the case of these Carthaginians, their ability to make demands about their living conditions was related to their high status and to links with members of the Romano-Italian elite which pre-dated their defeat.

It may surprise us that hostages of a defeated state had lobbying powers. When ambassadors from Carthage came to Rome in 199 BC bringing payment, they also lobbied successfully on behalf of the hostages to transfer their residence from Norba to a more appropriate place such as Signia or Ferentinum.¹⁵² Both of these towns were closer to the Via Latina, which connected Rome to Capua. Rome consented. Some peripheral Latin towns may not have been regarded as high enough status for an elite foreign contingent. Their needs required a livelier place – perhaps even Fregellae, where we know some of them resided.¹⁵³ It is also likely that they came with an entourage of slaves, who, along with other Carthaginians enslaved on account of being prisoners, may have made up part of the Carthaginian slave uprising of 198 BC in Italy.¹⁵⁴ What it shows is that they could sustain large households, and had access to a certain level of wealth. The proximity of the uprising to the date of the Carthaginian embassy suggests a link, but it is hard to imagine the specific circumstances. We may also note that Plautus's *Poenulus*, with the Carthaginian protagonists, was performed in Rome only a few years later.¹⁵⁵ The various locations where we know hostages took up residence, particularly sites in Latium, are collected in Allen's study, which includes not only those in Italy, but also in Illyria at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium (the Greek Epidamnus).¹⁵⁶ Whether or not the Carthaginian group who requested to leave Norba ended up in Fregellae, as suggested by Nepos, the episode shows the hostages' continuing links with Carthage, and that they also had enough influence for Rome to oblige them in their requests.¹⁵⁷

Less fortunate hostages, lacking favourable elite ties, are often presented not as individuals but family groups, particularly ones consisting of mothers with their offspring, who also formed part of diplomatic negotiations and

¹⁵¹ Moscovich 1974: 426 calculated that with previous hostages the total number that would have been in Rome as of 201 BC was 250.

¹⁵² Livy 32.2.3–5. ¹⁵³ Nepos *Hannibal* 7.2–3 states they were moved to Fregellae.

¹⁵⁴ Livy 32.26.4–18. The uprising seems to have started from Setia and spread to Norba, Cerceii and almost Praeneste. For the roots of the rebellion: Briscoe 1973: 216; Moscovich 1974: 425.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter 6, p. 200ff. ¹⁵⁶ Allen 2006: 50, 80, 89–90. ¹⁵⁷ Nepos *Hannibal* 7.2–3.

acted as surety. The varied make up of such hostage groups offers insight into the mobility of sectors of society often invisible in the ancient sources, particularly children, youth and women.¹⁵⁸ There is some debate as to how common it was for women to be hostages, especially prior to the Augustan period.¹⁵⁹ Yet, the examples of Cloelia and others, such as the Iberian hostages of the third century BC in New Carthage, Spain, show that women served as hostages from an early date. According to tradition, Cloelia was one of the hostages taken by Porsenna as part of the Etruscan peace agreement with Rome in 508 BC.¹⁶⁰ Livy narrates her escape and the diplomatic negotiations that followed with Etruscan demands for her return.¹⁶¹ The legend of Cloelia depicts the kind of diplomatic rift that could result from the voluntary escape of a hostage. The Roman senate, while accepting her bravery, distanced itself from her choice, stressing that it was a personal decision and not one incited or supported by the state.¹⁶²

For Polybius, an interest in women hostages, as those in New Carthage, under Punic control, enriched his narrative, and allowed exploration of wider themes of ethics, power and virtue. Following the Roman siege of the city led by Scipio in 209 BC, to which we will return to in the [following chapter](#),¹⁶³ Polybius focuses on the treatment that the hostages received at the hands of the Romans.¹⁶⁴ Despite the detailed description of the frenzied brutality of the soldiers, including the slaughter even of animals as the army entered the city, there is a contrasting image of the Romans as saviours of the Iberian hostages from the harsh conditions they endured under Carthaginian rule. Scipio's conversation with them, his attention to their well-being, and decision to return them to their families, allow for a character sketch of Polybius's patron as a kind and fatherly figure,¹⁶⁵ and provides a contrast to the inhumane treatment of hostages by the Carthaginians.¹⁶⁶ This episode further demonstrates the way in which such groups were used as bargaining tools by third parties, which was the main reason that Rome allowed these Iberians to go back to their homes. Their return provided further opportunities to secure alliances.

¹⁵⁸ For mobile families: Chapter 2, pp. 32–34.

¹⁵⁹ For women as hostages in relation to Rome: Allen 2006: 180–94. For the Roman treatment of Iberian hostages in New Carthage see below, pp. 280–81.

¹⁶⁰ Livy 2.12–13; Cornell 1995: 216–18. ¹⁶¹ Livy 2.12–13.

¹⁶² This episode shows the mutable figure of the hostage between collateral and guest: Allen 2006: 50, 80–4.

¹⁶³ Polybius 10.13–20. See Chapter 8, pp. 280–81. ¹⁶⁴ Polybius 10.18–19.

¹⁶⁵ Polybius 10.38.1–3. For the presentation of Scipio during the siege and as a contrast to Mago: Eckstein 1995: 177–82.

¹⁶⁶ Polybius 10.38.1–5.

The context of the Iberian hostages in New Carthage is completely different to that of the hostage prince Demetrius in Rome. There is no sense that hostage families have anything but threatening contact with the occupying Carthaginian forces, and none at all with the other inhabitants of the city in which they live. They are presented by Polybius as an isolated group without agency, and New Carthage itself more as a caricature of a military fort occupied by the North African hegemon than a functioning city with civic amenities and a local Iberian population. The characterisation makes it difficult to ascertain the extent to which the dramatic depiction of their situation compares to the everyday realities of life for these hostages. We get only a hint of their living conditions, possibly in a communal residence within the city itself. But there is no suggestion that they were completely imprisoned. Although we would expect certain restrictions on movement outside of the city, the threat of severe consequences for their home community was enough to prevent any attempts of escape. A lesson illustrated by the story of Cloelia.

The policing of hostages and political prisoners was highly dependent on individual circumstances. The sense we get from Polybius is that there were few restrictions to the daily lives of the hostages and that security was minimal.¹⁶⁷ Although we have no direct evidence, we would expect that those in Rome who lobbied on Polybius's behalf so that he could stay in the city had to guarantee that he would stay put.¹⁶⁸ This was surely a common concern for all communities that held prisoners, such as that of the 1000 Achaeans who arrived with Polybius in 167 BC. According to Pausanias, only 300 were left in Italy by the time they were given permission to return home in 150 BC.¹⁶⁹ While some died, the rest must have left by other means. There is some debate as to how far Polybius was allowed to travel freely, whether only in Latium, throughout Italy, or beyond.¹⁷⁰ Walbank notes that at least in later years he would have travelled further, and that at least some of the journeys he made 'through Africa, Spain, Gaul, and the ocean that lies beyond', were before his release from

¹⁶⁷ While Erskine 2012: 28–30 argues that on the whole their movement would have been quite restricted, Polybius's use of phrases such as – οἱ κατεχόμενοι – those being detained – is not borne out by the extent of his own movement and that of other prisoners and hostages.

¹⁶⁸ Polybius 31.23.5.

¹⁶⁹ Pausanias 7.10.12, and implying a much smaller remaining number of hostages: Polybius 32.3.15. Although the date is questionable, especially as Polybius's release may have been as early as 154 BC: Erskine 2012: 29–31.

¹⁷⁰ Polybius 3.48.12 states that he had visited the Alpine region, which is why he is so much better informed about it than the 'arm chair' historians. Walbank argues that in the final years as prisoner in Rome Polybius was allowed to travel more freely, and it is unlikely he was restricted to Latium: Walbank 1972: 9; Walbank [1970] 1999: 4, 382.

internment.¹⁷¹ There must have been opportunities for escape, but perhaps Polybius was quite settled and happy among his friends in Rome. We would expect that for prominent prisoners and hostages close to the ruling elite, such as the prince Demetrius, greater freedom was accepted, and as already noted they resided in Italy more in the capacity as guests.¹⁷² Demetrius's escape back to Syria, and plans that included a hunting party to meet him at Cerceii near the coast, some 60 miles south of Rome, make it clear that his movements even outside the city were largely unchecked. In fact, some of his friends in Rome knew of his plans and foreign contacts helped him carry out his mission.¹⁷³ Controlling the whereabouts and movements of hostages, prisoners and those who were exiled relied on local knowledge and the ability physically to recognise an individual. It was then up to the efficiency of the information network to ensure that any individuals who were overstepping the boundary were made known to the authorities. The robustness of the network is what ensured that those exiled stayed away, and those who were meant to be in Rome and Italy did not leave. Sometimes, of course, holes could be made and escape routes found, especially in a cosmopolitan city such as Rome.

The Story of Demetrius of Syria

The story of one hostage's plight, to which Polybius devotes a significant amount of space in his *Histories*, is that of Demetrius Soter from Seleucid Syria.¹⁷⁴ It nicely demonstrates the way in which elite connections were made and how the networks of inter-state diplomacy and friendship intertwined. Furthermore, it provides an insight into the position of some well-to-do foreigners in the city. The prince Demetrius was given as a hostage to Rome by his father Seleucus IV Philopator when he was only a child of ten, probably in 176 BC.¹⁷⁵ After his father's death he requested that he be allowed to return home. He argued, without success, that it was

¹⁷¹ Polybius 3.59.7: For his journeys, while a prisoner and afterwards: Walbank 2002: 34–6; Champion 2004a: 17–18.

¹⁷² We may note that in Polybius's discussion of Regulus's fate during the first Punic War (1.35), there is no mention of the later legend (Diodorus Siculus 24.12) of Regulus's wife Marcia torturing Punic prisoners, one of them to death, who were held in the custody of the Atilii. Walbank [1970] 1999: 93–4.

¹⁷³ Polybius 31.11: There is some debate as to the extent that the Roman senate would have been aware of his plans to escape, but the suggestion that Polybius acted alone in helping him is unfounded: Walbank [1979] 1999: 478.

¹⁷⁴ Polybius 31.2; 31.11–15; 31.33.

¹⁷⁵ Polybius 31.2.1: for Demetrius's date of arrival in Rome: Walbank [1979] 1999: 465.

unjust that he should have to serve as a hostage to his father's successor, the new boy king Antiochus IV.¹⁷⁶ Unable to change his circumstances through diplomacy, Demetrius, having reached the age of twenty-three, orchestrated an escape in 162 BC with the help of some friends, Polybius among them, and managed successfully to reach Syria.¹⁷⁷ He was not only welcomed back on return but crowned the new king, a position Rome was reluctant to accept.¹⁷⁸ Polybius attributes the unwillingness of the Roman senate to let Demetrius go home to bad timing. It was in their interest to have his rival on the throne in Syria, the young son of Antiochus IV, a Roman pawn could easily be controlled or got rid of. It is unsurprising that he was preferred to the dynamic and independent-minded Demetrius, who perhaps was too much like a rival than an allied king.¹⁷⁹ It would not have pleased the Roman senate that Demetrius had the support of his own people. Instead, some propagated the view that, following the death of his father Seleucus IV, those of the Syrian ruling class were relieved that Demetrius was not made king.¹⁸⁰ Clearly, strong elite contingents did not share this view, as without their support Demetrius would not have been given the crown on his return from Rome. Taking his place on the throne was the main reason for his return as far as we can reconstruct it from the *Histories*. Polybius notes that it was some time after his father's death that he chose to request leave from the Roman senate, and attributed this to the fact that, when older, he was in a better position to assume the crown.¹⁸¹

When Demetrius first went to the senate to request permission to return home, he appealed to them through familial sentiments. He declared that the sons of senators were to him like brothers, the senators like fathers and Rome herself was his nurse and *patria* – πατρίδα.¹⁸² Many decades later these words are echoed by Cicero in the *De Legibus*, when asked by Atticus whether his fatherland is Rome or Arpinum.¹⁸³ For both Cicero and Demetrius, Rome is presented as their adoptive *patria*. Perhaps, in the story of the latter's escape we see a reflection of

¹⁷⁶ Polybius 31.2.2.

¹⁷⁷ Polybius 31.11: For the circumstances of his escape: Walbank [1979] 1999: 478.

¹⁷⁸ Polybius 31.33. Although he was crowned the new king by the Syrians, and also recognised as the new king by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, it was a position that was never officially ratified by Rome, Diodorus Siculus 31.27a; Appian *Syrian Wars* 47, with: Briscoe 1969: 62.

¹⁷⁹ Polybius 31.11.11. ¹⁸⁰ Polybius 31.2.10. ¹⁸¹ Polybius 31.2.2–5.

¹⁸² Polybius 31.2.5: Allen 2006:131 highlights the shared aspects between the treatment of hostages in Rome and the system of fosterage and adult adoptions. Yet Demetrius failed to convince the Senate despite assuming the attitude of a Roman son.

¹⁸³ See Chapter 10, pp. 401–405.

Polybius's own sentiments. They obviously knew each other well enough for Demetrius to take Polybius into his confidence about his escape plan, and for Polybius actively to help him carry it out. Although Polybius was somewhat older, in his thirties when he came to Rome, and Demetrius had already been there for some eight years, both were members of the elite and had spent considerable time in the city, some thirteen to sixteen years. Young Demetrius's position would have been different to that of Polybius due to his age and official status as hostage. As well, Polybius's substantial diplomatic experience, having served on diplomatic missions with and on behalf of his father, also put him in a distinct position. Nevertheless, both had been adopted into the community and were close to the leading circles in Rome.¹⁸⁴ It is wholly feasible that they were closer to the ruling elite than most Romans and Italians not part of that echelon of society.

The fact that Demetrius was from a different geographical background is never highlighted by Polybius; that aspect of his origin seems to have made no impact. His situation in his relations with Roman elite society could not have been that dissimilar to that of another Demetrius, son of Philip V, who was given as a hostage to Rome from 197–190 BC. This other Demetrius's story serves as a warning to hostages who integrate into their host's community, and demonstrates just how common this must have been. Demetrius, son of Philip, paid dearly for his intimacy with his Roman hosts. On his return home, his allegiance was questioned and he was accused of being a Romanophile, not least by his father.¹⁸⁵ Despite his assurances that he knew the difference between a hostage and an adopted son, and acted on behalf of his true father, he was executed at the young age of twenty-six, on what may be a charge of treason.¹⁸⁶

In the case of Demetrius of Syria, little is said about his early years in Rome. But we can imagine the provisions that were necessary to ensure the care and raising of child hostages such as he. Did he arrive with an entourage of female family members and nurse maids and, if so, where were they housed? And what was their status? There is no interest in the *Histories* in any of these aspects. Nor does Polybius's narrative of Demetrius's escape mention whether he took such members with him when he left, alongside some close friends. Equally, there is no indication that any of his household stayed behind, which may suggest that by the

¹⁸⁴ Walbank 1972: 7–9. ¹⁸⁵ Livy 40.15 and death of Demetrius 40.34.8.

¹⁸⁶ Livy 40.15.7; 40.34.8. Allen 2006: 3–9, 132–3 shows that Rome was conscious of exerting such influence on key members of the elite, making them their pawns in the game of international politics.

time he left Rome the only ones remaining were servants. There appears to have been no diplomatic fallout as a result of Demetrius's conspiratorial dealings, or at least none that we hear about. His absence is finally revealed not because of the suspicion that he might have escaped, but due to worries about his disappearance by concerned slaves and servants. Polybius describes how a pursuit was considered by the Roman senate. But in the end it was abandoned because of Demetrius's head start, and because his timing was good. His escape now favoured Roman interests after all.¹⁸⁷ Only a short time afterwards, the prince gained the crown, becoming the representative of his new home community in Syria. In this new role, he strove to re-establish links with Rome in the hope of obtaining official recognition of him as king, which he partly achieved in 160 BC.¹⁸⁸

The Hostage Prince: A Comedy of Demetrius's Escape to Syria

State affairs and diplomatic negotiations are the main interest for Polybius, who acknowledges that he does not indulge the dramatics of some historical writers, such as Phylarchus, whom he regarded with contempt.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, at times he does reach below the surface of statecraft and warfare and focus on an individual, a place or an episode in detail. The case of Demetrius's stay in Rome and return to Syria tells us much about the condition of elite hostages and their official positions. It also reveals the underside of the state mechanisms and some of the day-to-day functioning and concerns of the Roman community at a local level, particularly the foreigners who were a significant part of its make-up – in a truly cosmopolitan metropolis. The story of Demetrius's escape has all the makings of a Plautine comedy; all it needs is a more lively and extended dialogue to go with the action. Seamlessly, Rome is exchanged for one of the other Mediterranean poleis in which Plautus's plays are set. All the ingredients are there: a disgruntled youth with his gang, a dinner party, a potential boar hunt, intrigue, planning and plotting, some poetry, tricksters and accomplices, plenty of foreigners and ships from abroad – in this case from Carthage. These could provide opportunity for colourful costumes and amusing accents. It even has a happy ending. A Plautine element that is notably absent is in the characterisation of the servants. In Polybius's Rome they are duped and have no role other than running around in panic at the

¹⁸⁷ Polybius 31.12.4–5. ¹⁸⁸ Polybius 31.33.

¹⁸⁹ Polybius 2.56. For Polybius's censure of sensational historicising: Champion 2004a: 165, note 60.

loss of their master. There is no *servus callidus* here,¹⁹⁰ unless the servant who reveals the plot fulfils that role.

In the story of Demetrius's escape, the *dramatis personae* central to the action are all from abroad.¹⁹¹ The protagonist Demetrius is from Syria, taken to Rome as a child; his intimate friend and foster-brother Apollonius is also from Syria. His father now lives in Miletus. Another friend, Nicanor, is of unknown origin, but probably not from Rome, judging by his name. Their advisor and confidant is Polybius himself, from Megalopolis in Arcadia. This Rome-based cast is joined by Diodorus, the foster father of Demetrius, just arrived from Syria. Another recent arrival is Menyllus of Alabanda, from Egypt, who is on an embassy from Ptolemy Philometer. He happens to be a friend of Polybius, who uses his influence to entice him into helping with the plot while he is in Rome.¹⁹² Menyllus is one of the main operators behind the scenes: the one responsible for hiring the foreign ship and loading it with necessary provisions, pretending that it will be for his return to the East. The vessel is carefully chosen. It is from Carthage, and Polybius tells us that it is the kind used to take first fruits as offerings to the sanctuary in Tyre, from where it may just have arrived.¹⁹³ It was ideal, since the captain and his crew, being from abroad, were unfamiliar with Demetrius, and hence unknowingly conveyed the young prince away from Rome with his group of friends dressed to look like soldiers in Menyllus's charge.

The night prior to the journey, Demetrius is not carefully making final preparations, but in attendance at a party with his Roman friends, from whom, comically, he has to be extracted by a cryptic secret poetical note from Polybius, reminding him of his mission and the need to keep a clear head.¹⁹⁴

ὁ δρῶν τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος οἴχεται φέρων.
ἴσον φέρει νύξ, τοῖς δὲ τολμῶσιν πλέον.
τόλμα τι, κινδύνευε, πρᾶττ', ἀποτύγχανε,

¹⁹⁰ On the *servus callidus* in the works of Plautus: Chapter 6, pp. 195–96.

¹⁹¹ Polybius 31.13–14 for an overview of all those involved.

¹⁹² There is some question as to whether Menyllus of Alabanda was Polybius's friend from his days as hipparch in Achaëa, as argued by Allen 2006: 211, or whether they met in Rome, as suggested by Walbank [1979] 1999: 479.

¹⁹³ Polybius 31.12.12. Walbank [1979] 1999: 480 suggests that it is the type of ship that had brought a cargo of corn to Ostia and was delaying in hope of passengers who would help finance the remainder of the passage to Tyre.

¹⁹⁴ Polybius 31.13.12–14. Translation adapted from: Paton 1968: 189. The verses include well-known quotes: Line 2 – from Euripides *The Phoenician Women*, 726; and Line 5 – from Epicharmus (which is also quoted by Polybius at 18.40.4): Walbank [1979] 1999: 481–2. For Polybius's view on youth: Eckstein 1995: 22–3, 140–50.

ἐπίτυχε, πάντα μάλλον ἢ σαυτὸν προοῦ.
 νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν.

*The doer is away with all the tarrier's gear
 Night favours all alike but most the brave
 Be brave and take a risk, act to lose or win
 Anything, rather than betray oneself.
 Be sober and remember to distrust; these are the sinews of the mind.*

The ploy does the trick. Around midnight the chosen group of eight, including Demetrius, are finally on board the ship with an equal number of trusted servants, and they set sail unnoticed. Prior to their departure, in order to ensure they get a head start before anyone becomes aware of their absence, a complicated smoke screen has been arranged to divert attention. It involves two groups of servants who are to carry out preparations for a boar hunting expedition. As they set off to their assigned locations, one to Anagnia the other to Cerceii, each believes that Demetrius is with the other group. It is only due to an overzealous servant who runs between the two places, failing to find his master, that Demetrius's disappearance is exposed. An alarm is sent to his friends, which prompts a search, followed by a special meeting of the senate, who realise that the youth has escaped, but is too far gone to send ships to catch him. Demetrius reaches his home, becomes king and lives happily ever after. *The End.*

The Rome we glimpse through this story could be any of the cosmopolitan hubs that appear in Plautus's comedies. Put another way, it could be that all the poleis mentioned in Plautine comedies could be Rome, or Capua, or Corfinium, or Neapolis or any Italian centre by another name. The questions and issues raised in the cases of Demetrius and Polybius could be multiplied for other hostages, prisoners and exiles who resided in Rome and Italy. Not all enjoyed the treatment experienced by the two elite 'guests'. But there is little evidence to suggest that such freeborn foreign citizens were kept in separate ethnic units or incarcerated, except for short periods. The length of time some needed to spend in Italy prevented that as a long-term policy. Nevertheless, for some, such as common prisoners of war, we would expect that their conditions were quite different and closer to that of slaves, with greater restrictions imposed on their movement. Other, more privileged outsiders would have had different experiences. Some, no doubt, would have found it difficult or uncomfortable to be in the land of their conquerors and patriotic enemies.

Conclusion

Individual mobility lies under the surface of Polybius's *Histories*. It comes to the fore when individuals form part of inter-state dialogue or warfare, for example his own experience as embodied within an Achaean prisoner. Prominent characters on the move include envoys, hostages, prisoners and those who seek refuge in Italy, such as the Macedonians, or those who come to the peninsula as guests and scholars, such as the Greek philosophers. This is the common traffic of an internationalised diplomatic state. The foreignness of such individuals is of no interest, and the impression one is left with is of a society used to a cosmopolitan environment, not dissimilar to the world portrayed in the Plautine comedies. Despite Polybius's presentation of Rome as a newcomer on the Mediterranean scene, there is material enough even in the *Histories* to indicate that Rome operated shrewdly within networks that stretched well beyond their shores. Romano-Carthaginian treaties alone provide evidence enough for that. The change of Rome's position following its victory in the Second Punic War drew it into multiple spheres of influence that allowed it to become the main operator of the machinery governing inter-state relations, and hence to manipulate existing international law for its own advantage. One of the forces it now indirectly had the power to influence was that of the mass movement of people, whether as troops, slaves, prisoners or displaced civilians. Their large numbers are recorded by Polybius, who is a key witness to *en masse* mobility and its agents. He embodies the prevalent attitude to large mobile groups and those perceived as non-sedentary. This is one of the themes that form the focus of the chapter that follows.



Fig. 1 Fresco from the villa 'Grotte di Catullo', Sirmione (BS), Italy. End first century BC – beginning of first century AD. Showing merchant galley approaching a coast under sail and oars.



Fig. 5 Terracotta Antefix from Veii temple Apollo, Portonaccio Sanctuary c. 500 BC



Fig. 7 Black-figure Hydria depicting pirates turning into dolphins 510/500 BC.



Fig. 17 Warrior returning home, from Andriulo Necropolis, Tomb 12, Poseidonia (Paestum) fourth century BC.



Fig. 18a Mappa Mundi dated to circa 1300, Hereford Cathedral.



Fig. 23 Nile Mosaic, located at Palestrina, Praeneste. A Nilotic landscape circa second to first century BC.



Fig. 24 Map of Texúpa (1579). Modern Santiago, Oaxaca, Mexico. Native mobile routeways with footsteps overlie the Spanish Conquest Grid.



Fig. 25 Johannes Vermeer, *Officer and Laughing Girl*: Frick Collection, New York.
Date: c. 1657.



Fig. 3 Peutinger Map, circa fourth century AD, from eleventh- to twelfth-century copies. Segments 4–7, indicating the sites in Plautus's *Poenulus*: Rome, Carthage, Anactorium, Calydon, Sparta.

8 | Polybius on the Moving Masses and Those Who Moved Them

Mass Movement

What better way to create a dramatic effect and add weight to a historical event or make tangible the power behind them than by providing ever larger figures, ideally in the tens and hundreds of thousands?¹ Polybius writes in the first two books of the *Histories* of 50,000 suffering from famine in the besieged Agrigentum held by Carthaginians;² 20,000 enslaved by Rome on the capture of Aspis in Libya;³ 10,000 prisoners taken by Rome to Lilybaeum for disposal;⁴ more than 20,000 disaffected mercenaries encamped at Sicca threatening their Carthaginian employers;⁵ over 700,000 foot and 70,000 horse assembled by Rome and their allies to meet the Gallic threat in 225 BC.⁶ These are just some of the numbers that convey the mobile resource, or booty, in human form. They provide a testament of state needs, victories and defeats. The majority are the result of, or result in, large-scale movements. In line with other depictions of the Hellenistic period, Polybius presents this mobility as involuntary, except for mercenaries; massive; anonymous and impersonal; gendered; and uncertain as to whether it will be temporary or permanent.⁷ Movement is envisaged as an implicit part of the different stages of warfare. It starts with military recruitment, and ends in its opposite if prisoners are captured and redistributed. For civilians, the outcome may be the relocation of whole or certain sectors of communities, leading to enslavement and the creation of post-conquest refugee groups. On the edges of conflict, internal factionalism can lead to displacement through the mass eviction of exiles. Each of these may have different motives. What they share is the physical dislocation of substantial numbers of people for extended periods of time,

¹ For issues concerning the accuracy of large figures, their role and application: Chapter 2, p. 20, note 8.

² Polybius 1.18.6–7. ³ Polybius 1.29.6–7. ⁴ Polybius 1.61.8. ⁵ Polybius 1.67.13.

⁶ Polybius 2.24.16. ⁷ Chaniotis 2004: 483.

initiated by an external agent. Polybius's charting of the magnitude of these mobile trends gives the sensation of a society that rests on demographic shifting quicksand. Eckstein's *Mediterranean Anarchy* captures this volatility and flux in terms of political manoeuvring and power.⁸ While it is possible to identify stable points where power is held and lost – whether lodged in a specific place or with an individual – it is at times difficult physically to pin down the population accompanying that power base. Episodes in the *Histories* that characterise the age as one of high mobility also illustrate the negation of individual freedoms and choice of movement in relation to it. Most of the instances cited by Polybius demonstrate the ease with which states gathered, dispersed and shifted large groups of people, whether one's own, those of an ally, an opponent or an unlucky third party. By his time, Rome had become the most powerful mover of people: its own, and in the wider reaches of the Mediterranean.

The amassing of armies is seen as normal activity by any state or figurehead whose success and power is measured by the ability to gather and transport swiftly a large force, obtained from whatever source, but ideally from the citizen body and one's allies. Polybius provides intricate descriptions of the mechanisms involved in the enrolment of large military units⁹ and the organisation of their camps while on campaign.¹⁰ Another typical feature of powerful states, as we have come to expect from Roman imperialist ambitions, is the process of colony foundation and expansionist settlement projects. These, however, get little more than a passing mention by Polybius. What he does enjoy listing are incidents that involve sieges, expulsions and the capture of prisoners. These are mostly presented as extreme scenarios. Yet, the sheer number of such occurrences challenges their exceptionalism. Their everyday quality is apparent in the Plautine corpus, which is filled with characters that are the 'end product' of externally motivated movement. In the comedies, most often these are individuals who end up as slaves through imprisonment in war or piracy, and they are frequently women and children. The play *Captivi* addresses this most directly through an exegesis of a father's desperate efforts to find his son by buying enslaved prisoners of war.¹¹ Subtly, the comedy reveals the

⁸ Eckstein 2006, with commentary and context for his view by: Smith and Yarrow 2012b: 3–11.

⁹ Polybius 6.19–21; Whether it was plausible that large allied units were asked to assemble in Rome: Walbank [1970] 1999: 698 and Vol. III addendum, 775.

¹⁰ Polybius; 6.26; 6.31–32. Champion 2004a: 93 notes that part of Polybius's detailed interest in the organisation of the camp is to illustrate, what he calls, Roman hyper – *logismos*.

¹¹ Leigh outlines the way that Plautus's *Captivi* is a reflection of the real issues of repatriation of prisoners in Rome, especially during the Hannibalic War: Leigh 2004: chapter 3, 57–97. For the institution of *postliminium* see below, and Chapter 6, p. 224.

impact of state action on the *quotidian* life of families which, in the *Histories*, is largely obscured by numbers and political ambition. Polybius's many references to mass population movements do allow for a better understanding of societal methods and approaches in using, anticipating and coping with such mobility. Most directly, such information is embedded in his record of treaties, which will be considered first. This will be followed by close analysis of a select number of episodes through which we can gauge attitudes to the mobile, or at least to those who are exceptionally labelled as such, and to those who moved them. In so doing, this investigation will question the presumed difference in the extent of mobility between disparate groups; Roman contingents had more in common with mercenary armies and barbarian troops than ancient authors would have us believe. A final aim of this chapter is to better understand who, if anyone, had the right to move people.

Mobility in Treaties between Rome, Carthage and Other Allies Turned Enemies

Treaties, whether between relatively equal partners, such as the early agreements between Rome and Carthage, or those that were imposed by a victor on a conquered state,¹² often have clauses that could instigate, direct or restrain movement. Through the anticipation and control of mobility in such documents we can better understand its extent. Polybius discusses four separate treaties between Rome and Carthage in some detail.¹³ There is ongoing scholarly debate covering almost every aspect of these documents, including in some cases their very existence.¹⁴ Our primary concern here is to see what the surviving clauses, or even potential clauses, can reveal about the different aspects of mobility and attitudes towards it. The first two Romano-Carthaginian treaties, which date to 509/8 BC and 348 BC,¹⁵ are arrangements of *philia* – friendship. They are different to the ones that

¹² For different forms of treaties and alliances: Bederman 2001: 189–205.

¹³ Polybius 3.22–28.

¹⁴ Although Polybius clearly states that there were only three treaties at 3.26.1–7, other authors indicate that there was an additional treaty, probably dated to 306 BC, which was noted by Livy 9.43.26. Thiel 1954: 13–15 argues that this was the third treaty prior to the Pyrrhic War, one which is implicitly noted by Philinus's description of events during the Pyrrhic war and it is also noted by Servius, *ad Aen.* 4.628. More recent support for its existence: Baronowski 2011: 47–8. On the non-existence of the Philinus Treaty: Eckstein 2010, with discussion below, pp. 272–73.

¹⁵ Walbank's [1970] 1999: 337, 346 suggestion that Polybius's second treaty is to be equated with the first Romano-Carthaginian Treaty, recorded by Livy (7.27.2) and Diodorus Siculus (16.69.1), dating to 348 BC, has been largely accepted: Serrati 2006: 119. For the dating of the treaties, in the context of preceding Etrusco-Carthaginian relations: Bresson 2004: 640–55.

follow, which arise from more explicitly aggressive action. The role of the early treaties was to define each power's sphere of influence, primarily in relation to commerce.¹⁶ They outline the conditions under which trade could be carried out, including limitations on the duration that merchants, for example, could remain in cities and ports under the other state's jurisdiction. Furthermore, they stipulate restrictions on the use of coastal routes, so that Roman ships, for example, were not to pass the Fair Promontory.¹⁷

The First Treaty, which by Polybius's own admission is difficult to understand as it is written in an Archaic form of Latin,¹⁸ does not include direct references to the dislocation of large groups of people. It primarily outlines rules concerning the cyclical movement of mercantile enterprise. The only indirect reference is in the clauses restraining Carthaginian martial activity in Latium: 'The Carthaginians shall do no wrong to the peoples of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Terracina, or any other Latin allies (*socii*). Touching those Latins who are not allies (*socii*) they shall keep their hands off their cities, and if they take any city shall deliver it up to the Romans undamaged.'¹⁹ What happened to the people inhabiting these cities in the event of an attack is more clearly expressed in the Second Treaty. This includes a clarification and development of these clauses: 'If the Carthaginians capture any city in Latium not an ally (*socius*) of Rome, they shall keep the valuables and the men, but give up the city. If any Carthaginians take captive any of a people with whom Romans have a treaty of peace, but who are not subject to Rome, they shall not bring them into Roman harbours, but if one be brought in and a Roman lay hold of him, he shall be set free.'²⁰ Similar conditions with regard to the separation of people from their settlements and land, as if they were just part of the mobile booty, were used in a later alliance between the Romans and Aetolians in their efforts against Philip.²¹ It was agreed that in dealing with conquered third parties in Greece the persons and property were to be given over to Rome, while the lands and

¹⁶ Bederman 2001: 192–3, the treaties in context of international law.

¹⁷ Treaty 1: Polybius 3.23.1–2.

¹⁸ It was written on bronze tablets and housed on the Capitoline: Wiseman 2008: 9–10.

¹⁹ Polybius 3.22.11–12: Translation adapted from Paton 1967.

²⁰ Polybius 3.24.5–8. Walbank [1970] 1999: 346–9 provides commentary on the details of these clauses, especially the status of the Latin communities, and the debate about the practices of manumission, and the possible legal technicalities of allied enslaved citizens entering the Roman sphere. He also notes in his commentary on this second treaty (3.24.5) that the attacks are references to piracy not war. However, the division between the physical site as one category and people and goods as another is also repeated in later Roman treaties with Aetolians. Hence the reference may not necessarily be to piracy.

²¹ Polybius 9.39, 11.5.5. Fragments of the Roman alliance with the Aetolian League survive on an inscription: Moretti 1967–75: no. 87; Bagnall and Derow 2004: 68–9. Similar treaty

cities belonged to the Aetolians. Seemingly straightforward and convenient for all those involved, the ‘barbarous’ quality of such an arrangement, which allowed the Aetolians to surrender fellow Greeks and expose them to violence, was scornfully noted by Greek envoys.²²

Behind such treaty clauses that efficiently stipulated the treatment of captured civilians was the reality of imprisonment or enslavement and the transfer of thousands to markets for sale along with other booty. The physical remains of the city itself could then be handed over to one of the victorious signatories. In the case of the Second Treaty with Carthage, cities in Italy would have been taken by Rome to use for its own settlement and relocation, a process that would have been analogous to the creation of Latin colonies. We may wonder to what extent the Carthaginian military activity in Italy during the fourth and third centuries BC aided Rome’s imperial aspirations by weakening Italian communities, and at times handing over their land and resources to Rome. At the same time as parts of the Western Mediterranean were being parcelled out between these two powers,²³ we need to imagine similar agreements drawn up by other key Italian operators, in particular the Oscan and Greek-speaking communities whose joint power, as we saw in [Chapters 4 and 5](#), could have been sufficient to upset rival ambitions.

Expansion of Roman interests overseas became an increasing concern for Carthage, as reflected in the Second Treaty. It contained additional prohibitions on Roman activity in Carthaginian areas of influence, against marauding, trading or founding cities on the farther side of Fair Promontory, and at Mastia, Tarseum, Sardinia and Libya.²⁴ These would have been unnecessary without Roman attempts to gain a foothold beyond Italy threatening Carthaginian interests. The territories were already familiar to the Romans due to their extensive mercantile relations, which both treaties controlled. As noted in the [previous chapter](#), this Second Treaty of the mid-fourth century may have been prompted by a Roman attempt at

arrangements are known from other alliances around the Mediterranean, including the one between Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, and Tigranes, ruler of Armenia in Asia Minor, by which Mithridates was to take any conquered cities or territory, while Tigranes got all the captives and movables: Hind 1994:143. For the consequences for the imprisoned in light of international law: Bederman 2001: 256.

²² Polybius 11.4–6; Walbank [1967] 1999: 176, 274–6.

²³ Erskine argues that for Polybius, Rome in the third century BC was very much in the Western half of the Mediterranean, and it is within this Western context, where Greek, Roman and Punic culture came together, that Rome should be understood: Erskine 2013: 113–29, esp. 115.

²⁴ Polybius 3.24.2–5; 3.24.11. Mastia or Massia may be linked to Tarseum; rather than being two separate places, they may be a single site Mastiam Tarseiom in Spain. It may have been located either near Cartagena or Cádiz: Scullard 1989, 528.

colonisation in Sardinia and perhaps even Corsica as early as 378 BC.²⁵ What might such an enterprise involve? And what proportion of the new community would have been colonists from Italy? It may be that the settlement was intended to be no more than a *phrourion* – a fort – of the type that the First Treaty prohibited the Carthaginians from setting up in Latium.²⁶ Whatever the intended nature of the outpost, it would have required a group of Romans, and most likely Italian allies, to relocate to oversee the new venture. Or did they rely on mercenaries to do the job?²⁷ The enterprise might have resembled the model of occupation being developed at the same time by the Carthaginians to secure their own interests in the Epicracy of Western Sicily.²⁸ Roman imperial aspirations, which depended on both mass and individual movement, went beyond Italy already in the fourth century BC, more than a century prior to Polybius's moment when Rome took to the sea.²⁹

Balanced alongside stipulations recognising each state's spheres of influence, the Second Treaty outlined provisions to respect mutual interests in commerce and exchange: 'In the Carthaginian province of Sicily and at Carthage he (a Roman) may do and sell anything that is permitted to a citizen. A Carthaginian in Rome may do likewise.'³⁰ Such clauses reinforced the reciprocal agreement between the two powers that allowed Romans to trade freely in Carthage and Punic Sicily, and for the Carthaginians to do the same in Rome. The Romano-Carthaginian treaties show that diplomacy took into account the problem of human mobility and commercial relations.³¹ Some of the day-to-day scenarios of mercantile exchange which the treaties are keen to regulate are the foundation for the colourful encounters and settings in the comedies of Plautus.

The Third Treaty, dated to 279 BC, was a reiteration of the previous one but with additional clauses for Rome and Carthage to provide each other with support during Pyrrhus's campaigns in Italy and Sicily.³² Polybius absolutely rejects Philinus's assertion that there was an additional clause, in another treaty prior to the First Punic War, 'by which the Romans were obliged to keep away from the whole of Sicily and the Carthaginians from the whole of Italy, and that the Romans broke the treaty and their oath by their first crossing to Sicily.'³³ Such a blatant act of transgression by his

²⁵ See Chapter 7, p. 235.

²⁶ Polybius 3.22.13: 'They shall build no fort (φρούριον) in the Latin territory.'

²⁷ For Roman use of mercenaries see below, pp. 298–300. ²⁸ See Chapter 5, p. 167ff.

²⁹ See Chapter 7, p. 231ff. ³⁰ Polybius 3.24.12–13.

³¹ Bresson 2004: esp. 66–72, with a particular focus on control of such exchange and access to ports and trading areas.

³² Polybius 3.25. ³³ Polybius 3.26.3–4.

patrons clearly did not suit Polybius's narrative. Modern authors have gone back and forth on whether to believe Polybius or the more pro-Carthaginian historian Philinus.³⁴ A key factor that makes the existence of Philinus's treaty suspect is that at the time when it is supposed to have been drawn up Rome was in no more of a position to speak for the whole of Italy than Carthage was for Sicily, only half of which was under its control.³⁵ But even if dubious, the clause refers to military operations rather than to any private prospecting or commercial ventures. It was not intended to end the presence of Roman civilians in Punic areas nor Carthaginian ones in Italy.

The treaty of 241 BC and subsequent agreements made prior to the Hannibalic War were drawn up at the close of the First Punic War and reflect Rome's new position. The clauses explicitly demand that the Carthaginians are to evacuate the whole of Sicily, the islands between Sicily and Italy, and additionally Sardinia.³⁶ Such a statement as the one in the dubious treaty of Philinus must be a reference to the evacuation of Carthaginian military and political power – and not to Carthaginian individuals who were on private business or were resident in other capacities. We may infer this in part from the fact that there was no reciprocal demand that Carthaginians leave Italy, since there were no Carthaginian military installations there at this time. That would have been prevented by the earlier three treaties that prohibited Carthage from setting up any *phrouria* in Italy, and demanded that any site that the Carthaginians attacked, within the remits allowed by the treaty, had to be given over to Rome. It is more difficult to find direct evidence for the presence of individuals from Carthage on private business in Italy, unless, as already noted, the few traces of Semitic/Punic names at Capua, Laos and Roccalgoriosa, in combination with the earlier inscriptions from the Astrate sanctuary at Pyrgi, reveal their presence.³⁷

The treaty of 241 BC includes a clause that, perhaps more than any other, provides a vivid snapshot of the depth to which each state's activities were embedded in the other's domain. It states that: 'neither party is entitled to impose any contribution to construct public buildings, or to enrol soldiers/mercenaries, in the dominions of the other, nor to form alliances with the

³⁴ For a summary of the debate and references to other sources: Baronowski 2011:47–8, who argues for it, and Eckstein 2010, who argues against its existence. For the indication that its existence would have meant that Rome violated the agreement by the provision of assistance to the Mamertines and crossing into Sicily in 264 BC: Champion 2013: 151. See also note above, p. 269, note 14. Philinus as pro-Carthaginian historian of First Punic War: Feeney 2016, 176.

³⁵ Eckstein 2010: 419. ³⁶ Polybius 3.27.1–2; 3.27.8. ³⁷ See Chapters 3–5.

allies of the other.³⁸ The clause is a termination of former activities and a limitation on the free interchange between the influential sectors of the two communities and their allies. Population movement is implicit in the first two restrictions of this clause. The contexts in which a foreign state, or foreign individuals, could contribute to the construction of public buildings may be lost to us.³⁹ But we can be sure that it would have involved some form of patronage which, to be established, would require substantial existing links between the two communities or, at least, between their elites. Such links may have been endorsed through mechanisms of the *tesserae hospitales*, and other forms of guest-friendship. The second restriction on the practice of enrolling soldiers in each other's dominions, implies a mercenary form of amassing armies, not through community alliances (which are restricted separately in the third part of the clause), but through recruitment of individuals of whatever citizenship into service. We would expect that such an army would be fighting not for its own cause on its own soil but, as any other mercenary contingent, for the authority that paid its wages and guaranteed access to booty.

One of the final articles of the treaty of 241 instructed the Carthaginians to give up to the Romans all prisoners free of ransom.⁴⁰ Presumably, these would have been the prisoners not sold into slavery. We have little information about the conditions under which they were kept, while awaiting victory and return, although Polybius does make a point of telling us that Hannibal treated Roman prisoners worse than others.⁴¹ We may also gain some sense of their fate from the Roman treatment of prisoners at the capture of New Carthage. They were employed in the capacity of public slaves to assist in Rome's army and navy, with the promise of freedom on the completion of the Hannibalic War if they showed good will to Rome.⁴² We have no way of knowing what portion of those taken prisoner ever returned home, nor how many would have ended up living a mercenary-like existence. But we will return to prisoners of war towards the end of this chapter, to consider what such a return may have entailed for those who became part of bargains between generals and states.

The early treaties between Rome and Carthage were primarily concerned with regulating commercial mobility, which was largely cyclical and involved only short periods on foreign shores. They also regulated the

³⁸ Polybius 3.27.4 μηδετέρους ἐν ταῖς ἀλλήλων ἐπαρχίαις μηδὲν ἐπιτάττειν μηδ' οἰκοδομεῖν δημοσίᾳ μηδὲ ξενολογεῖν μηδὲ προσλαμβάνειν εἰς φιλίαν τοὺς ἀλλήλων συμ μάρχους.

³⁹ Helas 2011 considers the Romano-Carthaginian treaties (p 179) and specifically the building prohibition clause (p 188).

⁴⁰ Polybius 3.27.6. ⁴¹ Polybius 3.77; 3.85. See below, p. 282. ⁴² Polybius 10.17.9.

acquisition and distribution of human resources, whether as captured and enslaved prisoners or in terms of army recruitment. Increasingly, they strove to control each other's ability to gain power through limiting public displays of official state presence. The restriction on contributions towards public building may be seen in this context. The foundation of cities is a more explicit and extreme form of this activity. But none of the Romano-Carthaginian treaties appear to be interested in those members of each other's population that have made their residences abroad; in other words, who may be classed as immigrants or *incolae*. Of these more private and individual movements we hear nothing, presumably because they posed no threat to official state power of either Rome or Carthage, or their numbers were small, which we have no way of knowing. However, the implication of the clause from Polybius's Second Treaty between the two states which allowed a Carthaginian citizen to be treated in Rome no differently than a Roman citizen, and vice versa, would imply that at least some members of each other's communities had chosen to stay and make these cities their homes. In the [previous chapter](#), we considered this possibility, in light of Italians' presence in Carthage on the eve of its destruction in 149 BC.⁴³ Of the Carthaginian civilians residing in Italy, in the texts we primarily hear of those who were hostages or slaves.⁴⁴ But it is easy to believe others in a private capacity would have resided in Rome, Veii, Capua or Roccagloriosa. At the same time, the lack of references in the sources to such inhabitants is a sign of disinterest in ethnic stereotyping or vilification of the enemy on ethnic grounds. Such an attitude has been argued for in relation to Plautus's *Poenulus*. It would explain why it was possible for the main protagonists of the comedy to be Carthaginians in the decade following the Hannibalic War.⁴⁵ It is worth keeping in mind that a large part of Italy supported Hannibal in the early part of that war.

Movement through Coercion

Exile and Expulsion

There are no examples of closed communities preventing civilian outsiders from entering or residing in their settlements in Polybius's *Histories*. There is no suggestion that civilians in need of refuge would not find it, nor be prohibited from entry. On the contrary, a number of episodes describe the

⁴³ See Chapter 7, pp. 244–45.

⁴⁴ Polybius 15.18.8; 36.4.6 Livy 30.37.5–6; 32.2.3–5, with Chapter 7, pp. 256–57. ⁴⁵ See [Chapter 6](#).

reception of refugees and exiles. These vulnerable groups appeared as primary objects of negotiation in local and inter-state politics. Their dispersal and gathering seems to have been a common subject in diplomatic discourse, and is used by Polybius to help bring out the character of a monarch or state by detailing their attitudes and actions concerning such groups. One of the most drawn-out exilic episodes in the *Histories* is the case of the Spartans. Their appetite for exile was a product of their relentless factionalism and especially the reformist policies of the tyrant Nabis in the late third century BC, whom Polybius wholly vilifies.⁴⁶ It is not surprising that Sparta becomes the focus of issues concerning exile in light of the ancient tradition about its policy of ξενηλασία – expulsion of foreigners – prominent in earlier periods.⁴⁷ Although studies have shown that the policy was implemented only during crises. The Athenians claimed it was characteristic of Spartan behaviour, particularly during the Peloponnesian Wars, as a contrast to their purportedly just actions towards their enemies.⁴⁸ Several hundred years later, Nabis's tyranny was focussed not on outsiders but the enemy within. His aim was to depress the elite class and expand the citizen body (in part by freeing slaves without abolishing the Helot class itself).⁴⁹ Numerous leading members of society were exiled. These he hunted down in their place of refuge, spied upon them and executed many.⁵⁰ Ironically, he tried to set up Sparta as a refuge for exiles from other states.⁵¹ Sparta's citizens had little respite; as Chaeron's demagogic policies in the 180s BC continued the executions and expulsions.⁵² Removal of individual agency by tyrants is what Polybius finds most abhorrent. The Roman institution of exile, by contrast, which he praises in his description of the Roman mixed constitution, is presented as maintaining the ability to act in one's own right.⁵³ He stresses that an individual about to be condemned is given the opportunity for self-exile prior to conviction. In the Roman example agency remains with the individual, even if to continue in freedom he has to live away from his hometown and eventually, as Roman power expanded, further beyond.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ Polybius 13.6; 16.13.

⁴⁷ For example, as put into the mouth of Pericles, giving his funeral oration: Thucydides 2.39.1–2. Barbarians were associated with such practices in contrast to the hospitality given to foreigners by cultured states, see e.g. Strabo 17.1.19.

⁴⁸ Rebenich 1998; Forsdyke 2005: appendix 3, 297–9.

⁴⁹ Walbank [1979] 1999: (addendum), 787, commenting that it is generally agreed that Nabis did not free all helots.

⁵⁰ Polybius 13.6.8. ⁵¹ Polybius 16.13. ⁵² Polybius 24.7. ⁵³ Polybius 6.14.7.

⁵⁴ See discussion on the Roman institution of exile, and its use in identity formation, in Chapter 11, p. 395ff.

Polybius's hostile, one-sided treatment of tyrants and demagogues such as Nabis and Chaeron makes it difficult to gain a balanced perspective.⁵⁵ But there is no question that they did cause a dispersal of Spartans and that the disaffected were a substantial enough group by the second century BC to have sent their own envoys to Rome requesting support.⁵⁶ Following Nabis's death, a Spartan embassy to Rome in 190/1 BC returned home disheartened, having been rebuked for not calling back the dispersed exiles to the newly liberated state. The eventual return of Spartan exiles was in part prompted by the Roman desire to humble Sparta, destroy tyrant-held satellites, and reduce factionalism.⁵⁷ What is notable in this story, as reported by Polybius, is that restrictions on gaining asylum were not due to intolerance or hesitation on the part of the hosts. Rather it was their home community that was preventing them from having new homes – Nabis's henchmen in Sparta's case. In some instances the problem was trying to restrain states from giving asylum, as is made explicit in the case of the Acarnanians, who found themselves having to take desperate measures during the Aetolian invasion in 211 BC. They passed a severe resolution that if any of the Acarnanians survived, and escaped from the battle, they entreated no one to give them refuge, and cursed all, especially the Epirots, if they took fugitives into their territory.⁵⁸ The harshness of the curse is made stronger by its inversion of the praise usually given to those who provided sanctuary.

It is difficult to know how policies of exclusion could be policed but, as the case of Nabis shows, there was an effective network that could track down widely distributed individuals. The same network could be used to recall exiles, as happened from time to time when different factions got the upper hand, or new alliances were struck. Perseus used the renewed alliance with Rome in 179/8 BC to gain popularity in Greece, and went around posting lists asking debtors to return and recover their property, promising safety for those imprisoned in Macedonia for offences against the crown.⁵⁹ The situation was reversed by the end of the decade during Rome's war with Perseus 172/1 BC, when cities put themselves under Roman protection, and once again exiles needed to seek refuge.⁶⁰ Some

⁵⁵ Champion discusses Polybian prejudices against the demagogic social reformers and hence their negative portrayal in his *Histories*, and Polybian association of institutional degeneration with radical democracy: Champion 2004b; Champion 2004a: 188, 218–21, 236.

⁵⁶ Polybius 23.6; 24.1. ⁵⁷ Polybius 21.32c and 22.11.7.

⁵⁸ Polybius 9.40. The story of Polyaratus, who sought sanctuary at the public hearth of Phaselis – Polybius 30.9.

⁵⁹ Polybius 25.3. A further example is the recall of exiles by Cyneatha, which caused civil unrest: Polybius 4.17–18.

⁶⁰ Polybius 27.1.

had come to Rome itself.⁶¹ For Polybius, presenting Rome as a sanctuary for refugees and exiles helped to build the image of Rome as a powerful patron and protector, echoing the legend of Romulus's asylum that became more prominent in the Hellenistic period.⁶² By contrast, the *Histories* also construed asylum negatively, as in the case of Athens, which was presenting itself as a refuge for all, while simultaneously depriving others of their homes.⁶³ At this time, Athens requested Rome's permission to be given control of Delos, Lemnos and the territory of Haliartus. The secession of Delos to Athens prompted Rome to order Delians to evacuate the island. They took their personal property with them and migrated to Achaea and became Achaean citizens. There was no benefit to be gained from such an action except as an expression of power. Rome too – promoting its image as a haven for refugees and exiles – was also responsible for the proliferation of vulnerable displaced groups. It even tried to impede other community's attempts at recalling refugees. Antiochus had claimed that he was doing no injury to Rome by bringing back and resettling the Lysimichians who had been expelled from their homes by Thracians.⁶⁴ In Polybius's narrative any curtailment of repatriation or restrictions on giving refuge are never initiated by the cities where asylum is sought, but either by the home community or a third party, such as Rome. There is little to suggest that xenophobia or ethnic considerations were in play, the tactics are purely political. It is within this context that we need to see the Roman expulsion of the 12,000 Latins, discussed in [Chapter 2](#), prompted by the home communities of the Latins rather than xenophobia on the part of Rome to keep foreigners out.⁶⁵

Ethnic prejudice may at first sight seem to be the driver behind the Roman expulsion of the Gauls from Italy following the First Punic War.⁶⁶ Yet a closer look suggests otherwise. Polybius, in his description of the circumstances, does not refer to all Gauls, but the band of Gallic mercenaries who had deserted to Rome from Carthage during the First Punic War. Assigned to guard the temple of Venus Erycina, this group proceeded to pillage it. As a result, once the war with Carthage was over, Rome disarmed

⁶¹ Polybius 30.21. ⁶² Livy 1.8.5, with discussion of *asylia* in Chapter 10, pp. 369–70.

⁶³ Polybius 30.20.6. Walbank notes that the Athenian boast 'to make their own country common to the whole world' is taken from Thucydides 2.39.1, and is intended ironically. Walbank also argues that it is a reference to a traditional claim, and not to a contemporary event: Polybius 30.20.6; Walbank [1979] 1999: 444.

⁶⁴ Polybius 18.51.6–8. ⁶⁵ Broadhead 2004: 315–35. For *ius migrandi*: Chapter 2, pp. 40–41.

⁶⁶ Polybius 2.7.8–11. For expulsion of the Gauls from north Italy in 232 BC, see discussion below, pp. 287–88.

them, put them on ships and banished them from the whole of Italy. Later, Polybius tells us it was these Gauls that the Epirotes hired to guard their city, which they then betrayed.⁶⁷ Aside from the explicit moral lesson that mercenaries are untrustworthy, and that it is foolish to invite a garrison stronger than one's own forces, especially if composed of barbarians,⁶⁸ the expulsion of this group by Rome is justified due to their dishonourable conduct. However, the situation may have been less to do with the conduct of the Gauls than a Roman need to get rid of them due to inability to pay them. The banishment was not so much a punishment, but a tactic, and one used by others at the time to solve financial problems.⁶⁹ To move on unruly or expensive mercenary groups was an act that other states could support.

Sieges

Expulsion of unwieldy groups by state authorities, or eviction of enemy factions by tyrannical regimes, forced people to abandon their homes and seek abodes elsewhere. But by far the greatest cause of dispersal was military conquest by an outside force, especially when coupled with siege warfare. In many of the siege episodes in the *Histories*, the civilian populations under attack do not take the opportunity to flee and, unlike the Romans during the Gallic Sack when only a small group remained, they end up trapped within the walls to withstand the consequences. Resolving to stay and endure a siege was a painful and often divisive decision, as it was for the Petelians who considered fleeing and joining the enemy before choosing to strengthen the city walls and bring in supplies in preparation for Hannibal's siege.⁷⁰ They managed to survive some 11 months, reduced to eating leather and bark, until finally they surrendered with the approval of Rome – their ally – who failed to help them. As concerns the conquerors, there is little to distinguish between the actions of those whom Polybius respected and those he vilified, except in the level of brutality inflicted when taking a site. The better generals were able to control the pillaging of their troops and there were episodes of clemency. But there is no denying the violence and brutal human displacement that was part of any siege operation.

⁶⁷ Polybius 2.7.11; 2.5.4–5. ⁶⁸ Polybius 2.7.12.

⁶⁹ Krasilnikoff 1996: 13. For problems of paying mercenaries by Carthaginians, see above, pp. 298, 303ff, and for payments made to mercenaries also in land and settlement see below, p. 292ff.

⁷⁰ Polybius 7.1.3; Livy 23.20.4–10; 23.30.1–6.

The epitome of violence is how Polybius presents the takeover of Messene by the Campanians serving under Agathocles.⁷¹ They killed the men, grabbed the women and appropriated the previous residents' houses and property. The extent to which such ruthlessness is believable in this case is questionable, but it is portrayed as a typical outcome for those left occupying the site after takeover.⁷² We hear less about Hannibal's overthrow of Saguntum, but Polybius's comment that after a successful siege of eight months Hannibal gained numerous slaves which he distributed among his men would suggest that many of the city's residents met a similar fate.⁷³ Polybius describes the pain of the Lyttians who arrived from Lappa to find their city destroyed, the women and children taken. With nothing left they became cityless aliens instead of citizens.⁷⁴ To escape death or enslavement at the hands of the enemy, some communities took drastic measures. The citizens of Abydus, during the siege of their town by Philip, resolved to kill themselves.⁷⁵ This would not only allow an escape from a fate worse than death, but frustrate the enemy's hopes for a glorious victory and the rewards of booty in human form.

It was sometimes not in the conqueror's interest to disperse the local population. If the army needed to use the city as a base, as in the case of Hannibal's takeover of Luceria for winter quarters,⁷⁶ the residents would be needed to provide accommodation and subsistence. Foreign garrisons, lodging within the walls, ensured that local inhabitants did not leave the town. When Rome laid siege to Agrigentum some 50,000 were inside the city, with Hannibal and his garrison among them.⁷⁷ Just before the city finally fell, Hannibal and his mercenaries escaped, and on entering through the gates the Romans found no one to oppose them. Nonetheless, they plundered the city, gaining substantial booty and numerous slaves.⁷⁸

One of the most detailed descriptions of a siege and the phases that follow a city's collapse is to be found in the narrative of the fall of New Carthage at the hands of Scipio in 209 BC.⁷⁹ Polybius uses the story partly to highlight the noble qualities of Scipio, particularly in his treatment of hostages, as we saw in the [previous chapter](#).⁸⁰ Yet, even this small glimpse of clemency and heroism on the part of his patron does little to make the takeover seem benign. Once the Romans entered the city; and the massacre

⁷¹ Polybius 1.7.1–5. ⁷² See Chapter 5, p. 168ff. ⁷³ Polybius 3.17.9–11. ⁷⁴ Polybius 4.54.

⁷⁵ Polybius 16.31. ⁷⁶ Polybius 3.100.

⁷⁷ Polybius 1.18.6–7. Another example of a large population trapped inside during a siege was Syracuse, 215/4 BC – Polybius 8.3.

⁷⁸ Polybius 1.19. Other instances of enslaved populations include the Oxybii, whose town Aegitna was captured by Opimius and the population enslaved: Polybius 33.10.3.

⁷⁹ Polybius 10.13–20. ⁸⁰ Polybius 10.18–19, with Chapter 7, p. 258.

of both people and animals ceased; and the frenzied pillaging was done, it was time to consider what to do with the remaining terrorised population.⁸¹ Mago and his Carthaginians along with other important prisoners were sent to Rome. The hostages, especially the women and children, were returned to their origins and families, with the implication that their home communities were now to be allied to Rome. For the rest, Polybius records a figure of 10,000 prisoners. The men were set apart and told that for the time being they were to be the public slaves of Rome. But, if they showed skill and good will, they would be freed once the war was finished. In the meantime, they were enrolled and used to row boats and other menial tasks for the Roman military machine. The context of this siege is completely different to that of Capua in the previous year (211 BC). However, the Roman treatment of the fellow-Italian inhabitants was similar. Although Polybius makes only passing reference to Capua's fate, other sources fill in the details.⁸² In Capua, the remaining senators were executed; 300 leading citizens were enslaved; and the rest of the population remained as tenants. However, the initial intention to deport the Capuans never took place, and Livy tells us that eventually the people of Capua recovered their Roman citizenship.⁸³ As in the case of New Carthage, the local inhabitants were given the opportunity to regain their freedom once the war with Hannibal came to an end. It made little difference whether the enemy or the captured had claims as *homophuloi* – a common people, as the fellow-Italian Capuans may have claimed to be⁸⁴ – it did not prevent their death or displacement. The quotidian nature of siege-warfare and the harsh consequences for civilians, suggests that its inevitability was accepted by conqueror and conquered alike, along with the fate of forced mobility.

Prisoners of War

In New Carthage and Capua, siege and conquest resulted in a substantial sector of the population being relocated. In both instances, it was the leading members who were either executed or removed from the cities as prisoners or slaves. The remainder of those imprisoned in New Carthage were given the status of public slaves and used in military operations. When defeated troops were captured in the field and taken prisoners of war, they could either be used in inter-state negotiations, or, if no longer

⁸¹ For Roman killing in captured cities: Harris 1985: 52, 263.

⁸² Polybius 7.1.2; Livy 26.14–16; 26.33–34. For the episode: Urso 1995.

⁸³ Livy 38.28.4; 38.36.5–6. ⁸⁴ On kinship claims: Chapter 3, p. 95ff.

useful, sold to willing buyers.⁸⁵ We would expect that it was in the interest of the victorious side to get rid of them as soon as possible, as they would have been a burden to feed and control, especially when fighting on foreign territory. Nevertheless, it appears that there must have been provisions to allow large groups of prisoners to be maintained while negotiations were conducted and/or in anticipation of trading them for one's own captured troops at the close of hostilities. How such operations were carried out may be ascertained from the fate that befell the group of Romano-Italian prisoners taken by Hannibal in 217 BC and brought with him into winter quarters in Cisalpine Gaul following his successful campaigns that year.⁸⁶ Polybius uses this episode to highlight Hannibal's tactics in getting communities to join his side. He describes the Carthaginian strategy of treating the Roman prisoners with contempt, providing them with just enough food to keep them alive, while showing kindness to the allied troops who were dismissed to return to their homes without ransom. Before their departure, Hannibal articulated his hope that their fellow citizens would choose to join his cause to gain freedom from Rome. A similar scenario was played out in the same year, after the battle of Trasimene, when some 15,000 prisoners were captured.⁸⁷ The allies were dismissed to return home, with the same message – that Hannibal had not come to make war on Italians but on Rome. The Roman prisoners were retained and distributed among the troops to be watched over.

We rarely have information about the fate of specific groups of captured prisoners, and whether they managed to return home. Yet, we do know something of the protracted and painful negotiations about their destiny from the catastrophe of the 8000-strong Roman garrison that fell to the Carthaginians during the battle of Cannae in 216 BC.⁸⁸ Hannibal had little interest in holding on to them, and he gave the Romans the opportunity for ransom, which they refused. The refusal of the senate to allow ransom to be paid, even by the families themselves, can be attributed to Rome's particular attitude towards prisoners of war, which Bielman argues was substantially different from that of its neighbours.⁸⁹ For the Romans,

⁸⁵ Bielman 1994. For the taking of prisoners in a wider Mediterranean context: Bederman 2001: 256. In addition to the episodes of prisoner exchanges discussed below, others include: Polybius 18.44 – the demand for the return of prisoners and deserters as part of the peace settlement with Philip in 196 BC; Polybius 27.14 – delicate negotiations in ransoming prisoners during the war with Perseus 171–170 BC.

⁸⁶ Polybius 3.77.3–7. ⁸⁷ Polybius 3.85. ⁸⁸ Polybius 6.58; Livy 22.58–61.

⁸⁹ Bielman 1994: 337–41 in her study of the Greek inscriptions honouring the rescuers, dating from the fourth to first centuries BC, points out that the decline of such texts in the second century BC may be a reflection of the influence of a very different Roman attitude to prisoners of war which

imprisonment was equated with cowardice and implied servility. Private or personal concerns were subordinate to the interests of the state, even for prominent commanders like Scipio in negotiations over his imprisoned son with Antiochus III in 190 BC.⁹⁰ Scipio did not simply accept the first offer of his son's return. Repatriation of prisoners was a public matter which required the approval of the senate. The failure to gain approval could partly be motivated by political concerns. Fabius's agreement with Hannibal in 217 BC, a year before Cannae, to provide ransom for prisoners in excess of those exchanged man for man, met with disapproval in Rome. The senators, who were slighted at not being consulted, initially refused to release funds for the ransom, and as a result, according to Livy, Fabius sold his own estate to raise the money.⁹¹ In part, this gesture was intended to gain popular support, and perhaps he used the prisoners as pawns to challenge senatorial power. Whatever political infighting there may have been, we need to imagine that behind every episode were hundreds or thousands of lobbying families, desperate and anxious to be reunited with those taken prisoner, whose fate could be death or enslavement.

Extraction of ransoms or engaging prisoners in military activity for one's own use were the most efficient options for a general on campaign. Redeployment was Scipio's method during his siege of New Carthage. Captured groups with no fixed allegiance, such as mercenaries, would have been easier to redeploy than citizens fighting on behalf of their own state. Such a group were the 4000 who ended up at Agathyrna and had to be disposed of by Marcus Valerius Laevinus after his conquest of Agrigentum in Sicily in 210 BC.⁹² Livy describes this motley crew as being composed of all sorts of brigands without clear origin, and this made them both threatening and useful. Not daring to leave them in Sicily, where they might cause an uprising, their captors sent them to Italy to become paid mercenaries under the authority of Rhegium, and were given permission to supplement their income with raids on the Bruttians.⁹³ Prisoners whose loyalty could not be trusted or bought, as we may assume was the case with the 8000 Romans in Hannibal's charge, still had to be taken care of. To hold on to a group the size of a small settlement would have been a drain on

did not celebrate their return, but instead focused on their cowardice and imprudence of being taken prisoner in the first place. For *postliminium*: Chapter 6, p. 224, and Leigh's discussion on the divisive issues of repatriation, in relation to Plautus's *Captivi*: Leigh 2004: chapter 3, 57–97.

⁹⁰ Polybius 21.15.2. ⁹¹ Livy 22.23.5–8. ⁹² Polybius 9.27.10–11; Livy 26.40.13–18.

⁹³ Walbank [1967] 1999: 161–62 summarises the ongoing activities of this group, including operations in 209 BC along with Bruttian deserters against Caulonia, where Hannibal forced their surrender. He also believed that these sorts of men would later join the pirate fleets of the Sicilian slave revolts.

resources and logistically challenging in terms of accommodation, subsistence and transport. If not dealt with efficiently, such groups could prove a hindrance to further campaigns. This is evident in the predicament of the Gauls. These had contemplated various methods of disposing of the enslaved as they marched through Etruria prior to the battle of Telamon in 225 BC. Their king, Aneroëstes, suggested that before proceeding they should first go home and get rid of their booty, which included humans alongside cattle and other wealth, and return to do more battle if need be.⁹⁴ However, as they marched through Etruria, they were intercepted by Romano-Italian forces and suffered great losses at the Battle of Telamon. From an initial Gallic force of 70,000,⁹⁵ some 40,000 were slain, and 10,000 taken prisoner.⁹⁶ Polybius informs us that the Roman consul Aemilius collected the spoils and sent them to Rome, returning the booty of the Gauls to their owners. No mention is made of the people who formed part of that booty. We hear only that he used the newly captured prisoners, along with other spoils, to adorn his triumph as he entered Rome.

The most straightforward way of dealing with prisoners for whom ransom could not be extracted, nor diplomatic leverage achieved, was to sell them as slaves. Scipio had to dispose of some 12,000 prisoners captured following the battle of Baecula in 208 BC.⁹⁷ We only hear that the Iberians were picked out from the captives and were left free to return to their own countries without ransom, and that the horses were distributed among the troops.⁹⁸ Although we are not told how the rest were 'disposed of' we may assume that those not ransomed were sold. The ability to do this quickly, and on campaign, implies that there must have been 'handlers' ready to provide the service, perhaps at depots where such groups could be taken for disposal.⁹⁹ The lucrative nature of such sales is presented in the figures given by Polybius after the defeat of Hasdrubal and his Gallic allies in 207 BC. This resulted in numerous men imprisoned, the death of no less than 10,000 Gauls and Carthaginians, and Roman losses of 2000.¹⁰⁰ He notes that some Carthaginians of distinction were captured and the rest

⁹⁴ Polybius 2.26.4–7. ⁹⁵ Polybius 2.23.4: With Walbank [1970] 1999: 206.

⁹⁶ Polybius 2.31.1.

⁹⁷ Polybius 10.40.1. Walbank. [1967] 1999: 252 suggests the figures were probably an exaggeration.

⁹⁸ Polybius 10.40.10.

⁹⁹ Polybius 1.61.8 notes the magnitude of such tasks, in relation to the battle of the Aegates islands in 242/1 BC, with vast Carthaginian losses including ships and some 10,000 prisoners taken by Rome, the consul spent time disposing of them at Lilybaeum. For the accuracy of the figures: Walbank [1970] 1999: 124–6.

¹⁰⁰ Polybius 11.3.

slain. No specific numbers are given for the Gallic prisoners, but he provides their price tag, noting that, from that part of the booty, more than 300 talents were realized by the treasury. From what we know of prices at the time, this would represent some 10,000 prisoners for sale.¹⁰¹

In the wake of such sales, communities and individuals with the means to do so would seek to find lost relatives. Efforts could be carried out at state level, as we know from a fragment of Polybius's text preserved by Livy at 34.50, where he notes that many of those captured in the Second Punic War were sold into slavery by Hannibal. The fragment concerns the Roman activity in 194 BC, subsequent to their success over Philip. As part of his speech to the Achaean assembly in Corinth, Titus Quinctius Flaminius requested that Achaeans seek out any Roman citizens who may be slaves in their states and send them to him in Thessaly. The payment to the Achaeans was some 100 talents, with the owners of the slaves being given 500 drachmae per head. Livy calculates that the figure of those returned from Achaia alone was 1200, with a much larger number from the whole of Greece.¹⁰² We would expect some of the freed slaves to have been the prisoners captured after the defeats at Cannae and Trasimene. Plautus provides us with the human face of such exchanges in *Captivi*, when a desperate father searches for his son among the slaves.¹⁰³ From the opposite perspective, we may wonder what the Greek families did once they had relinquished their Roman slaves. Did they replace them with a fresh batch of Macedonian ones, recently sold by the Romans and their allies at the market in Delos? The market would have been flooded with slaves of Macedonian origin following Aemilius Paullus's defeat of Perseus, and the destruction of some seventy cities, mainly of the Molotti, with the result that he purportedly sold some 150,000 individuals into slavery.¹⁰⁴ Unlike Plautus, Polybius seems to have no interest in the human cost and psychological trauma of broken families, with fates of their loved ones unknown. This must have hung over a large number of households across the Mediterranean. The prisoners' homecoming is presented in the abstract, as part of treaties and diplomatic negotiations; and on the whole it is faceless. There is no tracking of people's journeys home. This may be simply because he did not favour the dramatics of some historians. Or it could be due to the vast number of groups that were away for long periods of time, whose

¹⁰¹ Polybius 19.1, cited in Livy 34.50.5–7: For prices of slaves, estimates and the plausibility of the figures cited: Walbank [1967] 1999: 273–4.

¹⁰² Polybius 19.1, cited in Livy 34.50.5–7: Walbank [1979] 1999: 63 notes that Livy's 500 denarii, stands for 500 drachmae.

¹⁰³ See Chapter 6, p. 224. ¹⁰⁴ Polybius 30.15.

homecoming was diffuse and not a single notable event. This diffusion was a sentiment expressed centuries later in quite different circumstances by Catullus and his friends, who leaving together returned by different routes.¹⁰⁵

When Was It Acceptable to Move People?

The expulsion of one's community members, or the displacement of others through conflict, may have been common enough on all sides in the period during which Polybius was writing.¹⁰⁶ Yet, beyond the battlefield, the attitude to those who caused the dislocation was not consistent. The dominant perspective in the *Histories* is that local populations were driven out *en masse* as a result of greed, ambition or power, typical of tyrannical regimes and enemies such as Hannibal, Philip and the Spartans. But we may wonder to what extent the activities of these adversaries differed from the consequences of the colonising practices and population transfers carried out by the Romans and their allies. The practice of uprooting populations can be used to characterise the enemy. In the list of Hannibal's vices, along with cruelty and violating treaties, Polybius includes the fact that he moved inhabitants.¹⁰⁷ In his account of Philip V's war against the Aetolians, the historian recounts how Rome's rival took possession of Phthiotic Thebes, enslaved the population and planted a Macedonian colony in the town, changing its name to Philippi.¹⁰⁸ Later, not long before Philip's death, as he prepared for war against Rome for the last time, one of his tactics was to deport leading Macedonian families from the cities to Emathia. Part of the aim, according to Polybius, was to replace them with Thracians and barbarians whom he

¹⁰⁵ Catullus, *Carmina* 46: For text and comments: Chapter 1, pp. 3–4.

¹⁰⁶ Polybius 5.11, in his criticism of Philip's destruction of sacred sites in Thermus, comments on what was acceptable under the laws of war, including the destruction of cities, men, ship, crops, but not the destruction of holy places. He is also critical of the stripping of cities' ornaments, discussed in relation to the siege of Syracuse by Rome (9.10.13), and that misfortunes of others should not be used as ornament for their own country. The policy of forcible displacement is well documented by the time it is employed by the Roman state; see, for example, the numerous instances of deportation cited by: Kuhrt 1995.

¹⁰⁷ Polybius 9.26.7–8.

¹⁰⁸ Polybius 5.100.8: Walsh 1993. For comment on the 'settlers': Walbank [1970] 1999: 628. For Polybius's characterisation of Phillip V, and his deterioration into tyranny: Walbank 2002: 102–5. The Macedonians are also blamed for creating a 'Desert Illyria' on the North edge of Macedonia, an area that was strategically depopulated in the 180s BC, so as to create a buffer zone against a Dardanian invasion of Illyria and Macedonia: Polybius 28.8.3–4.

trusted.¹⁰⁹ Writing several generations later, Diodorus attributed similar tactics to Dionysius I, the tyrant of Syracuse, who enslaved the Greek population of Catania and replaced them with Campanians from Italy, one of the many groups providing mercenaries for his cause.¹¹⁰ For Polybius, the Spartans – who are maligned throughout his work – are particularly prone to uprooting citizens, as in the case of its tyrannical leaders Nabis and Chaeron.¹¹¹ In addition, Polybius relates with disdain the Spartan claim that by expelling from their homes the Mantineans, who were their friends and allies, they inflicted no wrong in transferring them from one city to several.¹¹² Such rulers and dynastic regimes treated their populations as ‘transhumant animals’.¹¹³ The eviction of inhabitants without good cause, whether one’s own or others, is what the enemy does.

It is difficult to square these instances of displacement by the rivals of Rome with the fact that the Romans and their allies were increasingly responsible for enslavement and the removal of inhabitants. This was already evident in the Roman treaty with the Achaeans, noted above, which ensured that in any joint venture the conquered city would become the property of the Achaeans, while its population was to be handed to Rome. Polybius passes no comment on the episode of Roman enslavement and deportation to Rome of some 20,000 captured in countryside raids following the 256 BC siege of Apis in North Africa.¹¹⁴ The closest that Polybius gets to criticising Roman removals may be read into the statement about their treatment of the Gauls in North Italy (as distinct from the expelled mercenaries discussed above). He describes how in 232 BC Romans gained dominion by expelling the Gauls and dividing the territory of Picenum among Roman citizens.¹¹⁵ We would expect the Gauls to be unhappy about the outcome, and in this sense Polybius’s reporting may not be surprising. Yet, his comment on the nature of their discontent has added significance. He states that the Gauls were angry because Romans made war on them, not for the sake of supremacy, but with a view to their total

¹⁰⁹ Polybius 23.10.4–7: The status of the Thracians is unclear, and it may be that they were mercenaries, who later received allotments for their services: Walbank [1979] 1999: 230.

¹¹⁰ Diodorus Siculus 14.68.3 Tagliamonte 1994: 135.

¹¹¹ Polybius 13.6; 16.13, with discussion above, pp. 276–77. ¹¹² Polybius 4.27.5–7.

¹¹³ As aptly termed in reference to Philip II, father of Alexander, by: Horden and Purcell 2000: 265.

¹¹⁴ Polybius 1.29.

¹¹⁵ Polybius 2.21.7–9. Then in 225 BC, Polybius again notes that Romans hoped to expel Gauls from the Po region, following the major Celtic defeat (2.31). For the argument that the Gallic invasion had not been a long time coming, but that it was probably responsible for the Ebro Treaty: Erdkamp 2009.

removal and destruction.¹¹⁶ Such an act of aggression, and territorial greed, went beyond what was acceptable under laws of military engagement. But Polybius does not frame this transgression as an act of ethnic cleansing, as it may first appear. He presents it as part of his criticism of the land distribution policy instigated by the demagogic tribune C. Flaminius, which was behind the expulsion. It is this moment that Polybius identifies as the first step in ‘the moral degeneration of the Roman people’, suggesting that here were the roots of the Gallic grievances that pushed them to join forces and challenge Rome in 225 BC.¹¹⁷ To some extent, it has parallels with the grievances of Italian communities in the wake of Gracchan land distribution policies. But ambition and land greed motivated the expulsions not the wiping out of a particular ethnic group.

Roman endeavours in north Italy were not the only actions criticised by contemporary and later authors. More than any other, the act whose legitimacy was questioned almost universally by enemies and allies alike, was the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC, and soon after the destruction of Corinth that same year.¹¹⁸ By then the Punic state was a powerless entity whose populace was forced to find another home. It seemed unnecessary. Polybius gave voice to the criticism of Rome’s decision. For him it represented another step in Rome’s degeneration from Hellenistic virtue towards barbarism.¹¹⁹ The fragmentary nature of the final books, especially 38 and 39, makes it difficult to ascertain whether there was even stronger criticism of the Roman sack of Corinth. Nevertheless, it is clear that the narrative was intended to inspire pity in the reader, and question what is portrayed as a violent, nihilistic act.¹²⁰ The displacement of people is not commented upon in either event. But

¹¹⁶ Polybius 2.21.9. The later comment, at 2.35.4, reflecting on his own travels in Cisalpine Gaul, which have confirmed that except for a few places the Gauls have been expelled, is largely taken as an exaggeration and is contradicted by other evidence, especially the material which shows continuity. See Chapter 5, pp. 181–82, and Walbank [1970] 1999: 211–12.

¹¹⁷ Polybius 2.21.8: Walbank [1970] 1999: 192–3 notes that Polybius’s criticism is probably taken from Fabius Pictor’s hostile treatment of C. Flaminius and his policies, which were strongly opposed by the senate, in a similar vein as that of the Gracchi a century later. Harris 1985: 197–9 in particular, views these policies as a motive for the Gallic War of 225 BC. For discussion of the ‘moral degeneration’: Eckstein 1995: 133.

¹¹⁸ Polybius 36.9.

¹¹⁹ Champion 2004a: 163–6, 197. Baronowski 2011: 87–113 prefers to see the Polybian attitude as being largely understanding of the necessity for the Roman action in perpetuating its empire, despite the ruthlessness of the act. For the ancient discourse on the destruction of Carthage and Corinth: Purcell 1995.

¹²⁰ Polybius 39.2, as cited in Strabo 8.6.28. The destruction of Corinth was clearly a live issue well into the Late Republic, as it is questioned by Cicero in *De Officiis* 3.46: ‘Through a specious appearance of expediency wrong is very often committed in transactions between state and state, as by our own country in the destruction of Corinth.’

from later authors we know about the enslavement and imprisonment of the cities' populations, and the slightly better treatment of their leaders, some of whom lived out their lives in Italic cities.¹²¹

In the *Histories*, dispersal of populations forms one strand in the wider discourse of the 'just war', and the positioning of Rome and her enemies within it. While it seems that for Polybius the dislocation of civilians contradicted the law of nations, he also presents it as the status quo. In the context of conflict, human beings were a mobile commodity, as attested by the clauses in Roman treaties with Carthage and the Achaeans. Allowing a defeated populace to remain in their settlement is presented as a benevolent act by the conquerors, as in the case of the Roman takeover of New Carthage in Spain. As long as a state's use of force was legitimate, it had the right to initiate and direct mobility and dislocation.

Nomads, Barbarians and Other Large Groups on the Move

Polybius's attitude to non-coercive, large-scale movement in his *Histories* links mobility with primitivism, nomadism and the barbarian other. It is one thing, when by coercion, groups become dislocated, but, migration *en masse*, by choice, is not the practice of the cultured and civilised. This dichotomy, however, breaks down as we consider the characteristics which these apparently different modes of displacement have in common. In the *Histories*, large-scale population movements that involved groups of hundreds or thousands are primarily the result of military activity, and it is these which have been the focus of this chapter so far. Outside of military contexts, such as the enrolment of army contingents and mercenaries, or extensive dislocation due to imprisonment and enslavement, there are few episodes that involve mass migration of communities. This appears to have been a conscious choice as emphasised by Polybius's comments in the final 'geographic' volume of his work.¹²² He states that regarding Greece, other authors, such as Eudoxes and Ephorus, have given good accounts of the foundation of cities, colony founders, genealogies and migrations, but, rather than focusing on such processes, he will describe the location of places and give the actual distances – those being the most essential things in geography.

¹²¹ Zonaras 9.30–31 notes that '... But the very foremost men together with the hostages and Hasdrubal and Bithias spent their lives in different parts of Italy in honourable confinement ... At this time also Corinth was destroyed. The chief men of the Greeks had been deported to Italy by Aemilius Paullus ...' With Purcell 1995: 137.

¹²² Polybius 34.1; Strabo 10.3.5. For the geographic nature of Polybius's work: Clarke 1999.

He nevertheless includes instances of large migrations and city foundations, and there may have been others in the last volumes. Within the surviving books and fragments the few colonising ventures mentioned took place in what would have been recent history. One of the earliest recorded events is Hasdrubal's creation of New Carthage in 228 BC, which consolidated Carthaginian advances into Spain.¹²³ At the other end of the Mediterranean, Polybius writes that Philippi was founded in 217 BC in place of Phthiotic Thebes and was populated by Macedonians, after Philip sold the original settlers into slavery.¹²⁴ The only Roman colonial scheme he notes, with more than passing reference to a city's name,¹²⁵ is the creation of Placentia and Cremona in Cisalpine Gaul in 219 BC.¹²⁶ Their insertion was part of continuing Roman pressure in northern Italy, which, as we saw earlier, was already extreme in the 230s BC.¹²⁷ These are presented as single event, military interventions and the result of expanding state ambitions. Polybius is largely uninterested in issues of ethnicity, kinship or the process of migration itself, on which he does comment in reference to early migrations, as we saw in [Chapter 3](#).

The substantial migratory episodes he chooses to narrate describe events in the distant past and not phenomena in his own lifetime. His own day is presented as an environment of settled communities, surrounded by restless wandering groups, especially from Gaul and Asia, operating threateningly from the fringes.¹²⁸ About these he gives little detail. The two extant references to nomads from these areas reveal little about the groups themselves. He mentions them in the context of the military activity of Antiochus III in 209–205 BC. The first is to the Apasiacae, and precedes a discussion of affairs in Asia, evidently part of a general account of the geographic setting for Antiochus's campaigns at Hyrcania.¹²⁹ Polybius's main reason for including the nomads is to ascertain the route they took across the river Oxus on their way to Hyrcania. It allows him to indulge his geographic curiosity by giving two versions of the story outlining the course of the river and describing the topography. The second reference to nomads is more cursory and appears as part of the background negotiations between Euthydemus and Antiochus over the throne of

¹²³ Polybius 2.13. ¹²⁴ Polybius 5.100.8.

¹²⁵ As, for example, the mention of the Romans planting a colony called Sena on the Po Plain in 283 BC: Polybius 2.19.12.

¹²⁶ Polybius 3.40.3–5, with Chapter 5, pp. 181–82. ¹²⁷ Polybius 2.21.

¹²⁸ Chapter 4, p. 120ff, for an alternative history of these groups. For the essential wandering barbarians of the Greek ethnographic tradition: Williams 2001.

¹²⁹ Polybius 10.48. Walbank [1967] 1999: 261–4 suggests that these nomads are most likely the Scythians living on the north shore of the lower Oxus.

Bactria.¹³⁰ The resulting treaty agreement to join forces he attributes to the common threat from hordes of nomads in danger of bringing barbarism to the kingdom. Due to the successful campaigns of Antiochus and his allies this threat was averted.

Another of Polybius's depictions of unruly hordes, if not specifically nomads, is also connected to his geographic interests. It stems from the crisis that Byzantium found itself in as a result of its enviable position on a major trade route connecting two seas.¹³¹ Polybius spends some time describing Byzantium's physical setting, the geography of the land and the seascape, before outlining the circumstances that put them on a collision course with the Rhodians, who were refusing to accept a rise in trade duties. The reason given by Byzantium for having to request higher rates was the encroachment of barbarian tribes, especially Gauls, who, having overrun the neighbouring Thracians, proceeded to force the Byzantines to pay them tribute.¹³² Polybius assigned nomadic characteristics to these groups, whether it reflected their true nature or not, to highlight their barbarian 'otherness' and to distinguish them from civilised settled communities. It is a contrast that runs through his work.

Barbarian encroachments, even if not nomadic, were dangers that need not come only from fringe peoples. Their menacing nature was not wholly dissimilar to that attributed to Rome itself in vehement speeches by Greek envoys in 209–207 BC. Polybius records the harsh words directed at the Aetolians for their decision to conclude an alliance with Rome in opposition to Philip.¹³³ There, the Romans are explicitly referred to as barbarians and dangerous *clouds from the west* – νέφος ἀπο τῆς ἐσπέρας. In the *Histories*, this phrase is initially used by Agelaus (5.104.10), then put into the mouth of Lyciscus (9.37.10), but, by the end of his work, Polybius expresses it in his own voice (38.16.3).¹³⁴ Most of Polybius's labelling of Romans as barbarians is done indirectly; only in a few cases does it come directly from him. One of these, which we considered in the context of kinship narratives, berates the historian Timaeus for the misguided assertion that the Roman practice of sacrificing a horse proves their Trojan origins.¹³⁵ Polybius instead points out that many barbarians have horse sacrifices, Romans among them. His most

¹³⁰ Polybius 11.34 = Paton 11.39. Walbank [1967] 1999: 312–13 suggests this is probably a reference to the Iranian peoples of the Steppes who were collectively known as Sacas.

¹³¹ Polybius 4.38–52. ¹³² Polybius 4.46.

¹³³ Polybius 9.37.6–8; 11.4–6. Walbank [1967] 1999: 176, 274–6 states that Polybius never used the term barbarian to refer to the Romans, as he did not regard them as such. However, in these two passages that is clearly what Polybius is doing.

¹³⁴ Champion's 2004a: 193–203, for the labelling of Romans as *barbaroi*.

¹³⁵ Polybius 12.4b. See Chapter 3, p. 97 for context.

explicit reference is a description of how Philip's scouts follow the movements of the Roman barbarians.¹³⁶ Whether deliberate or not, the designation of Romans as barbarians is significant and indicates a persisting question throughout his narrative. Even in the early second century BC, it was clearly a term used often by Greeks in reference to Romans and Italians, so much so that it is inverted and applied in a self-deprecating manner by Plautus in his comedies.¹³⁷ Rome's position on the Hellenistic–barbarian grid was not fixed; it slid from one end to the other, as it did for others around the Mediterranean, including the Greeks themselves.¹³⁸ In *Cultural Politics in Polybius's Histories*, Champion has shown how Polybius's conception of collective group characteristics was dependent on the nature of the socio-political organisation and genealogy. For Polybius, it is institutions that determine perceived ethnic and cultural traits, and it is institutions that distinguish Rome from other barbarian societies. Hence, although Romans may have once been a threatening force, they are not portrayed in the same way as unsettled barbarians constantly on the move. It is the perceived lack of a single reference point for the institutions and allegiance that made mobile groups so threatening to him. As we will see, this included mercenaries (μισθοφόροι).

The Aegosaurae and Other Armies on the Move with Their 'Baggage'

The absence of rootedness, which characterised some of these mobile groups, could also be an asset, allowing them to serve as mobile forces in the service of warring kingdoms. They may have been depicted as fickle and not wholly trustworthy, but nevertheless they were a useful enhancement of military strength. Polybius describes the predicament that Attalus ran into when on campaign in 218 BC accompanied by the Gallic tribe of the Aegosaurae, not simply the men but also their families who followed the marching troops in wagons.¹³⁹ They had specially crossed to Asia at the request of Attalus to join

¹³⁶ Polybius 18.22.8. ¹³⁷ See Chapter 6, p. 202. ¹³⁸ Champion 2004a: 236–67.

¹³⁹ Polybius, 5.77–8. That this was not a unique case of Gallic mercenaries travelling with their whole families and seeking payment: Loman 2005: 353–4. Polybius in describing Attalus's use of the Gallic Aegosaurae explicitly states that he was worried that unless he addressed their concern for their families who were with them, they would join his opponent Achaëus, and he did not want to lose their support. While this may be the case and Polybius's description of them may fit squarely that of barbarians, he also has a human interest in them and their own plight, giving a detailed description of their negotiations reflecting the interest in the welfare of their families. Hence it may be going too far to state that it is with satisfaction that Polybius (5.111.6–7) narrated their destruction by Prusias, including that of their women and children, as had been suggested by Eckstein 1995: 128–9. Prusias's 'barbaric' treatment of them may be compared with the more lenient treatment of prisoners and hostages by Scipio at New Carthage, for example.

his forces, trusting the pledges he had given them. They helped him overwhelm numerous cities as they marched across Asia. But, just as they crossed Mont Pelecas and encamped near the river Megistus, there was an eclipse of the moon which was taken by the Gauls as a bad omen, and they refused to move further. They only resumed the campaign after Attalus had provided them with land where their families could settle. Attalus's actions, although presented by Polybius as extraordinary, are not dissimilar to what veterans of military campaigns would reasonably have expected. Many were given land in conquered territory. This was also the case for mercenaries, which in effect these Gauls were although not named as such.¹⁴⁰ Greeks, among others who made up mercenary contingents at times, were given territory to settle at the end of service.¹⁴¹ Trundle, in his discussion of Greek mercenaries, notes that the readiness with which they accepted land and citizenship within Sicilian cities meant that, in effect, there was little to distinguish them from colonists.¹⁴²

In the way that Polybius tells the story of the Aegosagae, returning home after the campaign was not a viable option for them, nor was it expected. Rather, their agreement to join Attalus was due to promises made which, along with certain levels of booty and pay, would have also included a final place to settle. The exploits of Campanian mercenaries in Sicily, who were in the service of Syracusan tyrants,¹⁴³ are presented differently to that of the Aegosagae. They have a lot more agency and achieve their will in part through violent means, but with the same result, in that they end up staying in Sicily. Even prior to setting up more permanent settlements in Sicily, such as Messene, these Campanian troops did not seem interested in returning to their place of origin, in line with other Hellenistic mercenaries. After their initial engagement on the island, they remained awaiting their next employment.¹⁴⁴ If their families had followed them on campaign and were nearby, or if they had made new links with locals, or were given land in return for service, reasons for return would be further diminished.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ For the variety of terms used for mercenary-type troops when recruiting military contingents in the second century BC by Rome, including auxiliaries and volunteers: Krasilnikoff 1996: 15.

¹⁴¹ The system of giving land grants for mercenary service was particularly used by the Seleucids and the Ptolemies: Yalichev 1997: 202–3. Land and settlements given to mercenaries for service, see Chapter 5, p. 169, and below.

¹⁴² Trundle 2004: 5. ¹⁴³ As discussed in Chapter 5, p. 168ff.

¹⁴⁴ Tagliamonte 1994: 164, 220. Lee 2000: 20–1 explores whether the 800 Campanian mercenaries who were enlisted by the Chalcidians in the years 413–410 BC (Diodorus 13.44.1–2) subsequently moved to Carthage, rather than returning to Italy.

¹⁴⁵ Chaniotis 2002, with the following response in the same volume: Ma 2002. For a discussion of the relationships between garrisons and local communities in the Greek sphere: Couvenhes 2004.

The image of an army on the move accompanied by families and their belongings encourages the perception of such units as stereotypical nomadic barbarians. But most armies, including mercenary units, would have been followed by long trains of caravans in some form. These would include families alongside provisions, booty, servants, traders, courtesans and other forms of entertainment.¹⁴⁶ Plutarch praised Cleomenes that of all the Hellenistic armies his contained no mimes, conjurers, dancing girls or musicians.¹⁴⁷ The entourages that accompanied troops, with or without such colourful additions, would need to be left at a secure base during military action. In Diodorus's description of the recruitment of Campanians he notes that on being enrolled for service in Sicily in 404 BC, they left their 'baggage' at Agyrium in the care of the ruler Agyris before proceeding to Syracuse.¹⁴⁸ The expression for baggage – ἀποσκευαί – is the same one that is used by Polybius in reference to the baggage of the Carthaginian mercenaries awaiting them in Carthage. This, he makes clear, included their families along with possessions.¹⁴⁹ Tangible evidence for the presence of families on campaign is difficult to find, but one example may be the inscription from Messene that predates the takeover of the site in the early third century BC by the Mamertines – the so-called 'Campanian' mercenaries. It records the Italic name Pachia Pomptia, which, as noted in [Chapter 4](#), may be a relation of Maras Pomptius, cited on an Oscan dedication to Apollo as one of the *meddices* of the *touta Mamertina* that now occupied the site.¹⁵⁰ Could she have initially formed part of the Mamertine 'baggage' that was left at Messene before they took possession of the site for themselves?

We have better evidence from regions with a stronger epigraphic tradition. Studies of garrisons in Eastern Mediterranean cities have found that the origins of soldiers' wives are sometimes attested on inscriptions. According to Chaniotis, they were often from the same regions as the mercenaries themselves.¹⁵¹ Overall there is substantial enough evidence to indicate that women and even children at times

¹⁴⁶ On the importance of women camp followers: Loman 2005: 359–65. Trundle 2004 shows that families would have also accompanied Greek mercenaries on campaign.

¹⁴⁷ Plutarch *Cleomenes* 12.4. ¹⁴⁸ Diodorus Siculus 14.9.2–3.

¹⁴⁹ Polybius 1.66.7–8; 1.68.3 (other references to 'baggage' at 3.76.5; 10.8.3), with discussion of the terminology by Walbank [1970] 1999: 132–3. For the argument that the term baggage included families, wives and children: Holleauch 1926; Loman 2005: 350; Hoyos 2007: 36; Trundle 2004: 35.

¹⁵⁰ Tagliamonte 1994: 196. *Imagines Italicae*: Sicilia/ MESSANA 4, p. 1515–16; Crawford 2006. For the Mamertine takeover of Messina and the archaeological material from the site, along with the Oscan inscription: Chapter 5, p. 169.

¹⁵¹ Chaniotis 2002.

followed their men on campaign. Some communities, such as the Ptolemies in Egypt, in order to attract and secure the services of their mercenaries, would accommodate and protect their families when on active duty.¹⁵² The 20,000 mercenaries who came back to Carthage after service in Italy were met by their families, presumably housed in or around the city for years, potentially in the tens of thousands.¹⁵³ This could not have been a small undertaking. We may wonder what conditions they lived under and what became of them once the soldiers returned, or worse died in battle. Mercenary contracts would at times include clauses to ensure care for widows and orphans in the instance of death, as exemplified in the negotiations between Eumenes I and his mercenaries serving in Phileteraia and Attaleia.¹⁵⁴ It is not surprising that, like the Aegosagae, mercenaries around the Mediterranean, whatever their background, were keen to provide security for their families who were at times with them on campaign as part of the baggage.

The danger was that the 'baggage' could be held ransom or become a bargaining tool. When the mercenaries arrived in Carthage after the First Punic War they were reunited with their families and belongings, which had remained in the city while the men fought in Italy.¹⁵⁵ Allowing the reunion was a Carthaginian mistake, according to Polybius, as they could no longer be held as ransom when trouble arose, which was a common tactic used to weaken the enemy.¹⁵⁶ Polybius's predecessor, Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, makes a similar criticism of Cyrus for not using the families as ransom, despite the fact that they were kept at Tralles.¹⁵⁷ Scipio made no such error. When recounting the advantages of taking New Carthage in Spain, one of the factors was that it contained Carthaginian ἀποσκευαί – baggage.¹⁵⁸ Returning to the Gallic Aegosagae, the lack of a suitable and stable site where their entourage could be left to be retrieved later must have been part of Attalus's problem, as his campaign had ranged far and wide. Their request for a place to settle their families, which Polybius uses to highlight their nomadic qualities, was in practice similar to what would have been requested by most hired armies and veterans. In effect, the experience and condition of these migrating tribes in the service of states and monarchs did not differ substantially from other mobile groups, including mercenaries and even citizen troops.

¹⁵² Chaniotis 2005: 105; Pomeroy 1984: 100–3.

¹⁵³ For possible spaces to accommodate large groups within the city: Hoyos 2007: 32.

¹⁵⁴ Dittenberger 1903–5: 266 = Bagnall and Derow 2004: No. 23. With Chaniotis 2005: 86–7.

¹⁵⁵ Polybius 1.66.7–8. ¹⁵⁶ Polybius 1.68.3; 3.76.5; 10.8.3.

¹⁵⁷ Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.4.8, with Gibson 2013: 172. ¹⁵⁸ Polybius 10.8.3.

Mercenaries

Mercenary armies formed some of the most visibly mobile groups in the Mediterranean.¹⁵⁹ Operating outside community structures, the recruits who made up this vast human flow possessed a degree of independent agency, both as individuals and units. They constituted a volatile force that is habitually presented as threatening even to those employing them. Typically, this part of society is characterised as lacking rootedness and has mixed origins. Yet, the mercenaries may have been no more or less rooted, mixed or mobile than members of communities labelled as sedentary, whether in cities, colonies or veteran settlements. Nor is their process of land and wealth acquisition distinct from the types of community formation that we traced in the context of Italy in [Chapters 4 and 5](#). The difference lies in the source of their allegiance and belonging as fighting units. In this section, we take a closer look at the changing position of the mercenariat, especially in relation to Rome, and the way that Polybius used a particular characterisation of the profession to comment on the socio-political structures of his time and the place of mobility within it.

As Roman hegemony spread across the Mediterranean, opportunities for free-agents to choose their military careers became more constrained. Within Italy, the supply of military contingents was by then determined by the hierarchical status of different communities in their relationship to Rome, whether as allies (*socii*), or as citizens with or without the vote (*civitas sine suffragio*). Therefore, as we will see, the mercenary troops on which Rome would depend came from those communities outside the Roman sphere. The network of alliances progressively centred on Rome required that communities took responsibility for the external military actions of their citizens, and these were severely restricted. By the mid-second century BC, Rome's treaties with Crete, a long-standing source of mercenaries, changed the relationship from supplier and employer to that of ally, which made the supply of soldiers outside that relationship problematic.¹⁶⁰ Such restrictions meant that other powers, such as the Seleucids, had to find new places for sourcing soldiers as they could no longer recruit in areas under Roman influence.¹⁶¹ Mercenary troops still

¹⁵⁹ This seems to have been the case during the Hellenistic period in particular, possibly due to an increased number of stateless men in the wake of Alexander's campaigns, and the vast accumulation of lands by the elite with little property left for settlement, notably in such regions as Crete (one of the greatest exporters of mercenaries in the period): Chaniotis 2005: 80–8. For Italian mercenaries: Tagliamonte 1994. For Greek mercenaries: Trundle 2004.

¹⁶⁰ Krasilnikoff 1996: 15. ¹⁶¹ Sion-Jenkins 2001.

continued to be recruited by individual states, some even from Italy, but they were primarily resigned to the category of rebels, exiles and deserters. Significant numbers from Italic communities accompanied Hannibal to Africa in 203 BC, following his defeat.¹⁶² Strictly speaking, some may have been mercenaries; others were defeated Italians seeking refuge – or traitors as they would have been perceived by Rome. Some of the Italians remaining from the Hannibalic War joined Philip's campaigns in 198 BC and probably other foreign contingents, as part of which they found themselves fighting Rome.¹⁶³ These soldiers would have been in a very different position to their Italic predecessors, who made up the sought-after professional Campanian cavalry of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Nor any longer were there overseas recruiting agents making their way through Italy in the hope of amassing a substantial independent force. Restrictions on such activity were already part of the treaty between Rome and Carthage in 241 BC, with one of the clauses explicitly prohibiting both parties from enrolling soldiers in the dominions of the other.¹⁶⁴ This clause may be compared to one in an Athenian decree of the mid-fourth century BC, which forbade its own citizens and those of its allies from serving as mercenaries, in order to prevent harm to the Second Athenian Confederacy.¹⁶⁵ The measure was not aimed at the action of the states but at individual citizens serving as mercenaries.¹⁶⁶ Unlike this decree, the clause in the treaty between Rome and Carthage laid the responsibility on the recruiting power, not on the members of the community from which the soldiers were enrolled. This suggests that, at least at this point, the individual soldier was still a free agent and free to make the most of opportunities for service as they arose. The aim for Rome was to prevent such opportunities arising from the wrong side in the first place.

The height of Italic mercenary activity was at an end by the time Polybius came to write his *Histories*. There are two main ways in which the mercenary episodes in the *Histories* help us to understand the nature of mobility and attitudes to the migrant. The first addresses the way that the mercenary army, through its mixed multi-cultural contingents, represented the antithesis to the perceived homogeneity of the citizen body of autonomous states. The second concerns the way that mercenaries are depicted as transient, and their condition of perpetual movement objectionable. Hired army contingents who formed a substantial proportion of the forces campaigning across the Mediterranean throughout the

¹⁶² Livy 30.20.5–6; Diodorus Siculus 27.9; Appian *Hannibalic War* 9.59. ¹⁶³ Livy 32.23.9.

¹⁶⁴ Polybius 3.27.4. ¹⁶⁵ Tod 1948: no.154, with Toogood 1997. ¹⁶⁶ Toogood 1997: 296.

Hellenistic period are often included by Polybius to set the scene for battle narratives.¹⁶⁷ Their skills, mobility and professionalism were sought after by despotic and more open regimes alike. At times, he even speaks of their valour, and of the astuteness of their commanders, such as Xanthippus.¹⁶⁸ As a group, however, his characterisation of them is negative. What makes the mercenaries more threatening than the barbarians is that they are a force for chaos, brought into an otherwise orderly society *by invitation*.¹⁶⁹ Their potential for undermining a stable society is therefore greater. The threat is illustrated by its opposite, the acclaim given to leaders who kept their troops in order. It is recorded on honorary inscriptions to mercenary leaders praising their ability to keep discipline, the lack of which frightened local inhabitants hosting a foreign army in their midst.¹⁷⁰ Couvenhes considers the variety of ways that Hellenistic cities accommodated their mercenary troops in service. At times, they were placed in surrounding territory: alternatively, if the troops were employed by a monarch or tyrant, inside the citadel.¹⁷¹ Their numbers could be very large, at least as large as the communities on behalf of which they were employed. The mercenaries who returned to get their payment in Carthage following the First Punic War numbered some 20,000.¹⁷² Their removal from the city to Sicca was because of the threat they posed, one that, as we will see, was not unfounded. Their disaffection on not receiving payment led to the Mercenary War.

The threatening image of the mercenary is coupled with criticism of those who hired them, especially tyrants lacking the support of their own populace.¹⁷³ Some, like the Epirots, are said by Polybius to be simply foolish for allowing a foreign, and worse a barbarian, garrison, stronger than its own citizen force, to protect their city.¹⁷⁴ Inevitably this ends in disaster. This negative perception of those using mercenaries is the reason

¹⁶⁷ Some examples from Polybius's *Histories* are: Greek mercenaries (1.48.3); the forces of Antigonas (2.65–66); the forces of Machanidas (11.13–14). Mercenaries assembled by Carthaginians (1.17), Achaeans (4.37) and the peoples of Dyme (4.60). Hannibal was notorious for his use of a large mercenary force (3.63; 6.52; 11.19; 15.10).

¹⁶⁸ Polybius 1.32; 1.36.1–4 praises Xanthippus, a mercenary commander, adding that he had the foresight to return to his home after a successful campaign, rather than staying and inciting jealousy. Others who are praised for skills and courage: Machanidas (11.13–14), as well as those of the Carthaginians (15.13). Rood 2012: 59–60 finds influence from Thucydides' depiction of the Spartan Gylippus (Thucydides 7.2–5), on Polybius's account of Xanthippus.

¹⁶⁹ Eckstein 1995: 118–60, esp. 125–9.

¹⁷⁰ Couvenhes 2004: 97–8. Also see Chaniotis's 2002 description of the fear of undisciplined foreign soldiers.

¹⁷¹ Couvenhes 2004: 86. ¹⁷² Polybius 1.67.13. See discussion below, p. 300ff.

¹⁷³ Polybius 11.13. ¹⁷⁴ Polybius 2.7.12.

we rarely hear of Roman dealings with hired troops. Polybius notes the use of Celtic mercenary guides lent to them by the Massaliots for their initial move into Spain during the Second Punic War.¹⁷⁵ However, he does not mention the employment of 20,000 Celtiberians in 213 BC, which Livy does record with the express purpose of emphasising that prior to this Romans did not have mercenaries in their camps.¹⁷⁶ On a number of critical occasions the Romans respond to invitations by mercenaries to provide support or join forces, as they had done with the Mamertines, leading them into the First Punic War.¹⁷⁷ Later, they joined with those mercenaries who had deserted to them from Sardinia, using the opportunity to bring the island under their authority.¹⁷⁸ Both of these episodes resulted in criticism and questioning of Roman opportunist policies by ancient commentators, with the implication that they were not acting justly.¹⁷⁹ For the most part, however, Polybius explicitly stresses the Roman virtues of not depending on mercenary troops instead of their own citizens and allies.¹⁸⁰

Rome's use of mercenaries has been a topic of some debate in light of Polybius's views. He presents Rome's superior political organisation as not needing mercenaries, in contrast to Carthage, which depended upon them, with dire consequences. The extensive description of the Mercenary War, and his interest in episodes of mercenaries seizing sites, switching sides or turning on their employers, is in part to portray them as untrustworthy and dangerous.¹⁸¹ The issue is not so much whether Rome employed them or not, since they clearly did, but the extent and nature of their use. As outlined by Krasilnikoff, the discussion focuses on whether Rome used mercenaries systematically or, as had been argued by Griffith, only sporadically for short periods in extraordinary circumstances, without leaving evidence for a system of recruitment and payment.¹⁸² That there

¹⁷⁵ Polybius 3.41. For the Roman friendly relations with Massalia, see Chapter 4, p. 116.

¹⁷⁶ Livy 24.49.7; 25.32. These may have been the same Celtiberian mercenaries later employed by the Turdetani, in their own wars with Rome, Livy 34.17.4. For the historical context of this engagement: Richardson 1986: 87.

¹⁷⁷ Polybius 1.10, with Chapter 5, p. 168ff. ¹⁷⁸ Polybius 1.88.8–9.

¹⁷⁹ Champion 2004a: 48, 119, 200 considers the seizure of Sardinia as part of Polybius's narrative of *anacyclosis* and degeneration. The position of the Mamertines and the legality of their actions is another point of concern.

¹⁸⁰ This is most readily presented on the occasions of the speeches given to the troops before battle, contrasting those of the Romans given to their citizen and allied forces, and those of the Carthaginians given to their mixed mercenary contingents: Polybius 3.63–4; 3.111; 15.10. Polybius 6.52 compares the two systems and finds the Roman one, of using natives and citizens, superior to the Carthaginian dependence on foreign troops.

¹⁸¹ Gibson 2013: 172–3, on the negative references to mercenaries in Polybius's narrative.

¹⁸² Krasilnikoff 1996: 7–8; Griffith 1935.

were mercenaries employed by Rome in the fourth century BC,¹⁸³ and more substantially from the First Punic War, is indisputable. It is also the case that mercenaries only began to be hired in significant numbers by Greek poleis in Italy from the mid-fourth century BC. Krasilnikoff catalogues known instances when Rome used mercenaries in the Republican period, showing that none suggest that the recruitment and maintenance of mercenaries by Rome was extraordinary.¹⁸⁴ Rather, he considers the relationship of the mercenary system to the development of the Roman army. He demonstrates how the changes in the fourth century BC, which led to the use of more flexible maniples and light armed troops supplied by allies, was not dissimilar to the way that other Hellenistic armies used their specialist mercenary contingents. Some of these Italian allies would themselves have been mercenaries and, even when allied to Rome, continued to be in the pay of powers such as Carthage and the Greek tyrants of Sicily.¹⁸⁵ The tactical characteristics of the mercenaries who fought in the West, including their specialisms, whether as cavalry, archers or slingers, Krasilnikoff argues were particular skills required by Western employers, with the increasing importance of light armed troops in combination with the classical phalanx of the East.¹⁸⁶ Those recruited from Italy were most notably Etruscans along with Campanians, Samnites and Ligurians.¹⁸⁷ These groups, Krasilnikoff suggests, were well-suited for such employment since part of the mode of combat in Italy, as well as Gaul, was a form of skirmish warfare. This gave them the necessary professional experience that was in demand with recruiters.¹⁸⁸ While this is a neat resolution, we need to be wary, as such a characterisation of their tactics draws on the stereotype of the aggressive Gallic warrior portrayed in the sources.¹⁸⁹ In the end, Rome and Italy were active players in the mercenary system that operated across the Mediterranean throughout the Hellenistic period, despite the comments of later historians that Rome made little use of it, and that those who were part of it were little more than reprobates or barbarians.

Fickleness, Mixed Origins and the Mercenary War with Carthage

Part of Polybius's negative characterisation of mercenaries focuses on their untrustworthiness and disloyalty. His narrative is full of examples of their trickery and switching sides, as for instance the Carthaginian mercenaries

¹⁸³ A point also acknowledged by Griffith 1935: 234. ¹⁸⁴ Krasilnikoff 1996: 10, 13–16.

¹⁸⁵ Krasilnikoff 1996: 17–18. ¹⁸⁶ Krasilnikoff 1996: 7, 10–12.

¹⁸⁷ Tagliamonte 1994: 209–16. ¹⁸⁸ Krasilnikoff 1996: 10–12. ¹⁸⁹ Williams 2001: 89–90.

who attempted to join the Romans during the First Punic War, only for their plot to be revealed by Alexon of Achaea, a fellow mercenary.¹⁹⁰ But such fickleness also needs to be seen from the perspective of the mercenary contingents, whose loyalty was dependent on their employer's ability to pay. If the employing power was unable or unwilling to pay it is unsurprising that mercenaries switched to a winning side where payment was more secure, or larger. Alternatively, they could choose to take matters into their own hands and resort to plunder to make up any deficit. Payment in whatever form was after all the primary incentive for signing up for service.¹⁹¹ It is likely that dispute over pay is what encouraged the actions of the Gauls, who had been in the service of the Carthaginians during the First Punic War, and who plundered Agrigentum and eventually deserted to the Roman side.¹⁹² The Campanian mercenaries, as we saw in [Chapter 5](#), were also portrayed as arrogantly fickle and capable of brutality, taking sites such as Entella and Messene and terrorising other communities during their sojourn in Sicily. Plautine comedies may glorify the profession but they also allude to its hardships. The mercenary character is mostly presented as an itinerant braggart with only his winnings on his mind, whether booty, glory or women.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, for some of Plautus's main characters, the choice of becoming a mercenary was no easy decision. The Plautine youths saw it as a last option, resulting from loss of love or money, and which could take them into perpetual rootless wandering.¹⁹⁴

Poverty as an incentive figures as a strong motive for joining as a mercenary, but as Luraghi argues, it is '...more than economic crisis, it is structural and comparative poverty that seems to be conducive to mercenary service'.¹⁹⁵ Mercenaries recruited by well-organised, wealthy polities from communities on their margins form one framework for how the system functioned. From this perspective, Italic communities that supplied mercenaries appear on the fringes of more powerful entities such as Carthage, Athens or the Sicilian tyrants. But the case would be harder to make for enrolment in the flourishing Etruscan and Campanian

¹⁹⁰ Polybius 1.43.

¹⁹¹ For an overview of what motivated the Greek mercenary to join, indicating that individuals of different social standing would sign up, and some not just for wealth gain, but also perhaps the strength of the leading generals: Trundle 2004: 40–79, 58–68.

¹⁹² Polybius 2.7.7–11. Krasilnikoff 1996: 13.

¹⁹³ Most spectacularly embodied in the character of Pyrgopolynices, a mercenary recruiter for the Seleucids, in Plautus's *Miles Gloriosus*.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter 6, pp. 213, 222–23. Trundle 2004: 46 notes that by the fourth century BC, the mercenary was omnipresent, and the wandering soldier was a stock character of new comedy.

¹⁹⁵ Luraghi 2006: 22.

regions during the Archaic period: hardly fringe communities at that time. Another model for mercenary incentive may be drawn from Luraghi's proposition which challenges the notion that in the Archaic period the Greek mercenary was an elite phenomenon and quantitatively marginal. He goes on to show that there were large numbers of Greek mercenaries serving in the Near East from the eighth century BC onwards, and that their roots lie in the activities of pirate-traders operating in the Levant.¹⁹⁶ The prominence of Etruscan trading networks, already notable in the Orientalizing period and, alongside, the activities of Etruscan pirates,¹⁹⁷ may suggest that here too the mercenariat may have had piratical roots. By the third century BC, the incentives for mercenary activities for members of communities in Italy may indeed have been primarily driven by other factors. Tagliamonte notes that in this later period, when Italic *mercatores* and *negotiatores* were active across the Mediterranean, those choosing military service would have been the most destitute, without capital to invest. Alternatively, they may have had little option for socio-political reasons, whether exiles, deserters or rebels.¹⁹⁸ The range of incentives that drove individuals to become mercenaries does not take into consideration issues of loyalty or belonging. There seems to be no sense that patriotism represented a disincentive.

This lack of rootedness, and hence lack of loyalty to a state, is what allows mercenaries to serve as part of mixed armies for foreign causes. Polybius's depiction of the untrustworthiness of the mercenaries is enhanced by the characterisation of them as a group from mixed backgrounds that was unpredictable in its actions.¹⁹⁹ One of Polybius's vivid and most threatening images depicts hordes of armed men speaking a multiplicity of tongues.²⁰⁰ The ability to control such a horde allows him to praise even Hannibal as a general who managed to keep his mercenaries together and loyal to him throughout his campaign, despite the fact that their disparate origins meant they had little in common.²⁰¹ Ennius encapsulates this in the lines of his *Annals*, which Hannibal delivers to his troops before the battle of Cannae in 216 BC:²⁰²

¹⁹⁶ Luraghi 2006: 24, 35. ¹⁹⁷ See Chapter 4, pp. 112–14. ¹⁹⁸ Tagliamonte 1994: 212.

¹⁹⁹ Livy (28.12.4; 30.33.8; 30.34.2), continuing in the same vein, presents a similar dichotomy between the comprehensibility of Roman allies, and heterogeneity of Hannibal's army: Habinek 1998: 41.

²⁰⁰ Polybius 15.12.9.

²⁰¹ Polybius 11.19. The description of Hannibal's troops as if they came from the ends of the earth is carried through by other authors: Urso 1994.

²⁰² Ennius, *Annals* 8. 276–7, cited by Cicero *pro Balbo* 22.51. For contrasting pre-battle speeches by Romans and Carthaginians, see above, p. 299, note 180.

He who will strike a blow at the enemy – hear me! he will be
 a Carthaginian,
 whatever his name will be; whatever his country

*Hostem qui feriet mihi erit Karthaginiensis,
 quisquis erit, quoiatis siet*

During the First Punic War, the Carthaginian army included men who were Libyans, Spaniards, Ligurians, Celts, Phoenicians, Italians and Greeks.²⁰³ The heterogeneity of this force is vividly detailed by Polybius in his narrative of their war with Carthage, the so-called Mercenary War of 241 BC.²⁰⁴ Polybius stresses their inability to communicate with each other because of the variety of languages, and the difficulties that the Carthaginians had in getting their pleas across, since they had to do it through each group's individual leaders.²⁰⁵ This heterogeneous group, nevertheless, could self-organise and mounted a substantial combined force against the Carthaginians, demanding the pay they were promised and more besides.

The importance of this episode for Polybius may be ascertained from the amount of space that he dedicates to it. It is some twenty-four chapters (1.65–1.88), just under half the number given to the First Punic War.²⁰⁶ In his prelude to the events of this Mercenary War, Polybius outlines his reasons for dwelling on it: (1) it is a good example of a truceless war; (2) it provides a lesson and warning for those who use mercenaries; (3) it illustrates the way that customs which are mixed and barbarian differ from those of a citizen body; (4) it helps to understand the causes of the Hannibalic War.²⁰⁷ The third reason, which is at times combined with the second, is the one of most interest for our purposes here. It is not simply their barbarian nature which distinguishes them, but also the fact that they are of mixed origin, which somehow amplifies their barbarity. But it is not these characteristics that drove them to extreme measures. Igniting the conflict was the Carthaginian demand that the mercenaries, who were returning from campaigns in Italy to their base in North Africa, should wait for their pay at Sicca (modern Le Kef), located some 180 kilometres away from Carthage. This was a stalling measure for the Carthaginians to acquire the funds they were struggling to find as a consequence of their defeat by Rome. Polybius's

²⁰³ Polybius 1.67.7–8.

²⁰⁴ Polybius 1.65–88. For a comprehensive study of the war: Hoyos 2007.

²⁰⁵ Polybius 1.67.10–11. ²⁰⁶ Gibson 2013: 160–2.

²⁰⁷ Polybius 1.65.5–9: For a discussion of these aspects, and shared characteristics between barbarians and mercenaries: Eckstein 1995: 125–9; Hoyos 2007: 272–5. For Polybius's uses of barbarian (βάρβαρος): Erskine 2000; Champion 2004a: 70–5; 245–54.

account of how Carthage found herself threatened by her own mercenaries puts the blame on the Carthaginians.²⁰⁸ Once at Sicca, their requests having been ignored, they had the opportunity to organise themselves, and with a force of over 20,000 they marched towards Carthage. Eventually, some were appeased and on receiving payment went home. But others chose to stay and the situation escalated into a major conflict drawing in surrounding communities, especially the Libyans, who joined the mercenary-led army. The war was finally brought to an end, but not before it had caught the attention of the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia, who appealed to Rome for help, which only made the situation worse as it brought Rome back into the picture, leading to further losses for Carthage.²⁰⁹

The episode provides a stark example of how, at their worst, such units could degenerate into the chaos of wild beasts, an attribute that Polybius holds to be a characteristic of all mercenaries.²¹⁰ This ignores the fact that this apparently amorphous mass was composed of individuals who would have been citizens in their place of origin, some from Greek cities. Nonetheless, Polybius does not list the Greek contingents who would undoubtedly have been among the troops. He admits only to *μῆττινες* – half-Greeks, made up of deserters and slaves.²¹¹ Gibson relates the way that there are elements in common with Xenophon's *Anabasis*, deeply interested in ethnicity, and the division among the mercenary contingents of Greeks that made up the Ten Thousand.²¹² Yet Polybius's mercenaries, mainly non-Greeks, present a more complex picture. For both there is the tension caused by disunity and heterogeneity. And conversely, both Xenophon and Polybius detail the debates, elections and assemblies of the mercenary army, as if an impromptu polis.²¹³ Such organisational ability was not attributed by Polybius to talented leadership or contingency planning on the part of these mercenaries. If anything, the radical democracy elements which allowed them to mount such a formidable challenge would have been abhorrent to him.²¹⁴ He saw

²⁰⁸ Polybius 1.66.7. ²⁰⁹ Polybius 1.88.8–12.

²¹⁰ Polybius 1.67.4–7; 1.79.8; 1.81.5 – 11. Eckstein 1995: 127 lists the instances in the *Histories* of mercenary destructiveness. For Polybius's depiction of the mercenaries during the Mercenary War: Roveri 1964: 122–4.

²¹¹ Polybius 1.67.7: with Gibson 2013: 169.

²¹² Gibson convincingly argues that to understand Polybius's interest in this war we need to read it in parallel with his interest in Xenophon's *Anabasis*: Gibson 2013: 168–72.

²¹³ Polybius 1.69.14; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 3.1.47 – 3.2.1, with Gibson 2013: 171.

²¹⁴ See Champion 2004a: 207 for the background to Polybius's vehemence against demagogic regimes and policies, arguing that 'There is ample evidence to suggest that, both in international politics and in intramural, factional struggles, Greek statesmen in this period charged one another with demagogic policies before Roman authorities.'

himself and those he wrote for as responsible for defending society against such destabilising, chaotic forces.²¹⁵

Disapproval of groups with diverse origins was not only reserved for the mercenariat. A similarly negative attitude to heterogeneity is rehearsed in Polybius's scathing opinion of Alexandria, which he found inhabited by three classes of people: the volatile and headstrong native Egyptians; the mercenaries who are overbearing, numerous and uncultivated; and the Alexandrians, who although of mixed origin and not fully civilised, are better than the mercenaries, since they originate from Greeks and remember Greek customs.²¹⁶ It is not so much the presence of foreigners in the city which Polybius finds abhorrent, but multiplicity. The heterogeneity of the Alexandrian populace is contrasted with the perceived homogeneity of a single citizen body, or rather a community which ascribes to a single cultural and institutional tradition, whatever foreign elements it may contain. Alexandria's cosmopolitanism is singled out as different to that of Rome, Athens, Delos, Carthage, Byzantium or indeed most of the other cities that Polybius frequented and wrote about, or those that appear in the Plautine corpus. It may be less to do with real difference than his discomfort when confronted with groups that appear uncommitted to a single entity and are contrasted to those fighting for their own country and institutions.²¹⁷ If we accept the model proposed by Champion, that the socio-cultural framework within which Polybius operated conceived of collective group characteristics as dependent on institutional background,²¹⁸ then the mercenariat would have posed a problem, as it lacked single institutional form, except that of the self-interested mercenariat itself. Since a mercenary group was rarely homogeneous, the mercenariat itself was considered the institution. Hence for mercenaries to move from the position of barbarism towards cultured Hellenism, they would have to cease to be mercenaries.

Conclusion

The ideal which Polybius presents – of a citizen body with a single origin – has long roots in the Greek tradition. The question is whether

²¹⁵ Eckstein 1995: 118–60 outlines what these destabilising forces were, and mercenaries among them.

²¹⁶ Polybius 34.14 (Strabo 17.1.12 (797)). For an overview of the Polybian attitude to Alexandria: Walbank 2002: 59–62.

²¹⁷ Polybius 6.52. ²¹⁸ Champion 2004a: 68–70.

this traditional ideal was similarly strong in the Romano-Italian context. Even if not a celebration of mixed origins, the Roman foundation myth of Romulus' asylum and the *tri-corda* of Ennius suggest the acceptance of mixed origins without stigma. This particular interpretation of Rome's beginnings gained popularity just as Polybius was writing his *Histories*. Cato's *Origines* unravelled community origins by incorporating ethno-geographical material and stories of foundation and lineage.²¹⁹ These were of no consequence to Plautus, whose plays present casts of characters from multiple backgrounds, and show little interest in the origins of specific citizenships. Polybius's choice to single out the diversity of Alexandria was to stress its otherness and to juxtapose it against the ideal, stable polis. At the extreme end, the mercenary contingents, with their multiplicity of origins, tongues and cultures, represented the horde – the very antithesis of the polis. This aspect was more of an issue for Polybius and his contemporaries than their mobile nature, or what may appear as their semi-nomadic practices, although these too would have helped to locate these groups among the barbarians. It mattered little that some of the individuals who made up this mob would have been citizens of the self-same Greek states held to be the ideal model poleis.

Although human movement pervades Polybius's narrative, it is rarely the focus of his interest, and the episodes that contain nomadic groups are few. It is rather the agents responsible for displacement who come under attack, whether tyrants who exile their own community members, or kings and states who transplant and expel communities *en masse*. In light of the extent of mobility, it is perhaps surprising to us, who are daily bombarded with news headlines about keeping migrants out and calls for tougher border controls, that no such concerns are voiced by ancient communities in Polybius's *Histories*. The restrictions on movement, which form part of treaties such as those between Rome and Carthage, are either to do with military operations or commercial ventures and free trade agreements. We have no sense that civilians were denied access to any site, except those who were exiled. On the contrary, Polybius provides examples where communities took in large groups of migrants, such as the women from Locri and their slaves who settled in what became Locri Epizephyrii,²²⁰ and even large contingents such as the Mamertines at Messene. Whether these stories, which ended badly for the locals, are true, is hard to tell. But there are no stories of

²¹⁹ See Chapter 3, pp. 92–95.

²²⁰ See Chapter 3, p. 135ff.

the opposite situation where civilians were turned away on account of overpopulation, economic factors or xenophobia. That does not mean that they had equal rights or access to the privileges of the local community. But it does suggest that 'the foreigner in our midst' was simply part of everyday life, and in itself not interesting enough for comment.

PART IV

9 | Social War: Reconciling Differences of Place and Citizenship

Given Italy's multi-polar distribution of power and high levels of mobility – high enough to render the notion of political communities being centred at one particular place problematic – the question faced was how to accommodate diversity in a single structure? This was a key concern for the rivals in the Social War of 91 BC. It was a conflict as much about how Italy should be organised as about where power should be placed. Its outcome was an Italy re-configured around Rome and a Roman citizenship that was extended to all Italians south of the Po. But this was not a foregone conclusion. There were other options, embodied in the role of Corfinium during the War, advocating a heterarchical conception of political power. But the Roman hierarchical model prevailed, ensuring Rome's position as the central hub of Italy and the Empire. Under this, how communities and individuals related to places had to change. Bureaucratically, this took only a few decades, but the transformation in terms of belonging would take generations. The aim of this chapter is to approach this transformation, from the position of a highly mobile, interconnected and cosmopolitan environment that was not an Italy of discrete and internally coherent communities or *ethné*.

Prior to the Social War, alliances underpinned conglomerates operating through multiple localities alongside Rome, but without necessarily drawing their identity from any single one, even if some had more power than others. Flexible and wide-reaching networks of allied elites were instrumental in the formation of large armies and the infrastructure which spread Romano-Italian power across the Mediterranean. They had also provided the means to challenge Roman hegemony during the Social War. These challengers became known as the *socii* (allies), who chose Corfinium as a capital through which to operationalise their campaign. The relation of this centre to the *socii* was different to that of Rome and its allies. The roles that Corfinium and Rome had during the Social War provide two different models of power distribution in Italy. Simply put, the Roman one was a hierarchy with Rome at the top. The Corfinian model maintained

a multi-polar distribution of power. In this sense, Corfinium had shared elements with large rural sanctuaries as gathering points for multiple communities. In each model the relationship between power, allegiance, citizenship and locality were differently structured. These had to be reconfigured following the success of Rome and her allies.

Structurally, a series of new Roman citizenship laws, the proliferation of *municipia* and the institution of the *origo* (official place of origin) ironed out remaining diversities from the preceding period. These mechanisms also eliminated variety in inter-community political relations. The enactment of Roman citizenship across the peninsula meant that there was now a single means to advance into the higher ranks of power. It encouraged elite ambitions to be channelled through Rome and steered them towards a common cause. But, integrative practices existed before the war, especially for Italians outside of the peninsula. It could even be argued that the conflict was a moment of dis-integration, making the choice of allegiance difficult. Following the war, the integrative process resumed at a new pace, politically and culturally. Increasingly, the elite were keen to have their achievements, and links to Rome, displayed across the Italian landscape. This is visible through inscriptions that publicised their local patronage and connections to multiple settlements. Local places gained a new meaning and despite convergence, or because of it, site-specific traditions were re/invented.

In the generations following the War, for those sharing Roman citizenship the challenge was how to overcome the divisive meaning that the place of Rome had and make it coherent. From this perspective, place is a cultural system that positions people in the world. At any given moment it is the creation of multiple imaginaries, as well as the culmination of a shared understanding of what it is. Simultaneously a pause in motion and a juncture, it is changeable and, as shown by Bourdieu, forever reconstructed through practice.¹ It also changes us, as Massey asserts, 'not through some visceral belonging (some barely changing rootedness, as many would have it) but through the *practising* of place, the negotiation of intersecting trajectories; place as an arena where negotiation is forced upon us.'² The Social War was part of a contest between different models of place and its relationship to politics, identity and representation. The nature of the conflict highlights the fluid relationship between people and locality, which is central to this inquiry.

Rome may have won, but Rome itself was changed. It took a concerted effort over two generations to establish Rome's role as *patria* (fatherland)

¹ Bourdieu 1977.

² Massey 2005: 154, and that at any moment negotiations of place take place on the move, between identities which are on the move, p. 158. She draws on the work of: Lefebvre [1974] 1991: 10–12.

across Italy. Even Cicero, a Roman consul and a renowned patriot,³ had to resolve the dual-loyalties between his birthplace Arpinum and Rome – his would-be *patria*.⁴ Not long after Cicero's death in the last decades of the Republic, a new construction of Rome was offered by Livy in the *Ab Urbe Condita*, his annals of Rome. Through its appeal to common myths and history, it provided one way of reconciling (or masking) divergence. By developing a particular imaginary of Rome, it conveyed the sense of a shared, if volatile, understanding of what Rome is, which we will explore in the final chapters of the book.

Introduction to the Social War

What at first appeared as a local flare-up in the 90s BC became a full-blown war that quickly spread across the peninsula, and according to some claimed 300,000 lives.⁵ It was fought between Rome and her supporters on the one side and the Italian allies – referred to as the *socii* – on the other, hence the name Social War (at times also known as the Marsic War). Most of the *socii* were based in the central and Southern part of the peninsula,⁶ constituting a network centred on a newly created capital city, a *caput imperii* at Corfinium.⁷ The main period of fighting took place between 91 and 87 BC. Only a year into the war, Rome was making concessions to keep her allies on side, granting Roman citizenship by the *lex Julia* to the loyal Italian communities in 90 BC. This primarily affected the Latins, Etruscans and Umbrians.⁸ These three 'peoples' are generally presented as coherent entities in the sources, but we need to imagine them as conglomerates of communities. Even within this group there were some that were excluded, such as the Latin colony of Venusia and possibly the Umbrian Tuder, presumably because of their disloyalty.⁹ The official end to the war came a year later in 89 BC, with an agreement that all Italian communities south

³ Plutarch *Cicero* 49.3. ⁴ Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.1–6, with Chapter 11, pp. 401–05.

⁵ Velleius Paterculus 2.15, see also Diodorus Siculus 37.1–2. On the figures: Steel 2013: 80.

⁶ The groups listed as the rebels include: Picentes, Marsi, Samnites, Lucanians and some cities in Campania. However, none of these were homogeneous groups, and some among those listed supported Rome, as will be shown below.

⁷ Velleius Paterculus 2.16.4. Sherwin-White 1973: 137, 147; Mouritsen 1998: 139; Keaveney 2005.

⁸ These are the main groupings, although there is debate as to who was given citizenship at this time: Pobjoy 2000b: 195; Thomas 1996: 104–7; Bispham 2007a: 162–76; Steel 2013: 86; Coşkun 2009b: 143–7.

⁹ Taylor 1960: 107, 112; Harris 1971: 236–40; Bradley 2000: 120, note 59; Bispham 2007a: 184–6; Coşkun 2009b: 148. I am grateful to Altay Coşkun for discussing these issues with me and letting me see his unpublished papers.

of the river Po were to have Roman citizenship. The fighting, however, continued through the rest of the 80s as the conflict merged into a Civil War between the factions of two Roman statesmen Sulla and Marius.¹⁰

The traditional view of the war is that it was a revolt by the Italian *socii* sparked by the Roman refusal to grant them citizenship. This is how it was understood by later ancient writers of the Empire. In recent scholarship there has been a significant shift in perception,¹¹ primarily as a result of moving away from a Romano-centric focus, and the substantial contribution of archaeological research. In-depth studies of material remains have highlighted the growth of Italian communities by the late second century BC.¹² Investment in such monumental sites as the sanctuary of Pietrabbondante,¹³ and a proliferation of settlements across the peninsula in the period – even if along different models – point to apparently stable communities with a strong resource base. At this time, there is evidence for a substantial role of Italian merchants and businessmen in Mediterranean-wide exchange networks.¹⁴ In any case, without considerable reserves, the *socii* would have been unable to sustain their challenge to Roman-based power for several years. They had a 100,000-strong military force, created a representative body in the form of an allied council and minted their own coinage.¹⁵ In part, their military recruitment relied on mechanisms similar to those used by Rome, at the centre of which would have been the census. If the *lex Osca* is indeed a pre-Social War document from the community of Bantia, as the latest research suggests, it clearly shows the stringent census procedures and a lack of tolerance for non-registration.¹⁶ Punishments for *incensi* of the *ceus Bantins* (the Oscan equivalent of the Latin *civis Bantinus*) were no less

¹⁰ For the shift from one war to another: Steel 2013: 80–120.

¹¹ Mouritsen 1998, has emphasised that the conflict should not be seen in terms of a teleology of Italian national unification, which he shows to be a later scholarly and ideological construct. See also Pobjoy 2000; Jehne and Pfeilschifter 2006; Bispham 2007a; Bispham 2007b.

For debates surrounding the outbreak of the war, and that some of the causes need to be sought in Roman domestic politics: Steel 2013: 39–42, 80–97. See also Dart 2014, which was received too late to fully incorporate into this book.

¹² Gabba 1994b: 106–8 on Italian increasing wealth and investment.

¹³ See discussion below p. 326ff.

¹⁴ See Chapter 2; Patterson 2006b: 35; Wilson 1966; Sherwin-White 1973: 134, 142; Bispham 2007b: 208.

¹⁵ See discussion below, p. 322.

¹⁶ *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* lines 18–23 (IV 9–10) = *Roman Statutes* Law 13, (Vol. I, 277), for the dating see especially pp. 274–5. Also in *Imagines Italicae*: Lucania / BANTIA 1, 1437–45. For other references to *incensi* and the extent of punishment for non-registration, including flogging and sale of property, which are also known to have been the case in Rome (Cicero *pro Caecina*, 99; Dionysius of Halicarnassus 4.15.6): *Roman Statutes* Vol. 1, 289.

harsh than those imposed by Rome on its own *cives* (citizens). The importance of the census among these Italic communities may be ascertained from the prevalence of censors on Oscan inscriptions, found both in settlements and on dedications at sanctuaries such as Rossano di Vaglio.¹⁷ A record of men able to bear arms would have been essential for any substantial war effort. It is clear from the organisation of the *socii* in readiness for the war, that it was not a spur of the moment rebellion. It relied on strong links within an elite network centred differently to the one that operated through the Rome of Sulla's circle, but which did not exclude it, as we will see.

The Social War now tends to be viewed as an attempt by Italian communities to gain power equal to if not surpassing that orchestrated by Rome. This is in line with the views expressed by Cicero, who saw the conflict between Rome and her Italian allies in the context of wars fought for supremacy.¹⁸ Scholarship has also moved away from seeing the two sides as coherent, definable groups. The 'federation' of the *socii* was not ethnically or geographically determined. Nor was the decision to be part of the *socii* governed by the status of individual settlements in relation to Rome. The Latin colony of Venusia, for example, which was founded by Roman initiative, was among the so-called rebels. As we will see, recruitment drives in the heartland of the *socii*, such as Hirpinia, were being conducted by Italian commanders fighting for the Roman cause. It is even difficult to designate whole settlements, such as Aeclanum, as pro-Roman or anti-Roman. Allegiances were divided.¹⁹ In Italy, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean, members of the elite adopted different attitudes to questions of external relations to pursue advantage. Moreover, there are indications that the *socii* had encouragement and support from influential Romans such as Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, an associate of Marcus Livius

¹⁷ References to censors and their activities: *Lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae*, lines 18–23 (IV 9–10) = *Roman Statutes* Law 13 (Vol. I, 277) and especially p. 288 for a list of other occurrences of the term in Oscan texts. See also the list in: *Imagines Italicae*: 1633. They appear on second century BC inscriptions at the sanctuaries of Pietrabbondante: *Imagines Italicae*: Pentri / TERVENTVM 4, 1150–1; Pentri / TERVENTVM 8, 1156–8. And at Rossano di Vaglio: *Imagines Italicae*: Lucania / POTENTIA 1, 1364–5.

¹⁸ Cicero *de Officiis*, 1.34–38 distinguishes between wars fought with an enemy for survival, and ones fought for dominion or empire. *de Off.* 1.38: *sic cum Celtiberis, cum Cimbris bellum ut cum inimicis gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret, cum Latinis, Sabinis, Samnitibus, Poenis, Pyrrho de imperio dimicabatur.* (. . . thus the war with the Celtiberians, and with the Cimbri, was carried on as with enemies, the question being which should survive, not which should command; with the Latins, Sabines, Samnites, Poeni, and with Pyrrhus the contest was over dominion). With Bispham 2007a: 32; Harris 1985: 165–6.

¹⁹ See summary below, and for the events involving Aeclanum and Hirpinia more widely, during the time of the Gracchi and the Social War: Isayev 2013.

Drusus, whose actions and death are believed to have triggered the war.²⁰ It is hard to identify shared grievances and endorse ethnic or regional division as the root cause of the conflict. This would mean disregarding both high levels of cross-community links and conflicts within single communities. To envisage Italy as a mosaic of stable and coherent ethnic groups that formed the basis for communal action in the last two centuries BC would underplay the extent of individual mobility within the peninsula over the preceding centuries, and wider Italian mobility around the Mediterranean. Questions of allegiance, rather than belonging, are therefore crucial for understanding these events.

Views of the War from Outside and Inside Italy

We can look at the Social War from multiple perspectives. This demonstrates the complexity of the phenomenon and the difficulties that historians, ancient and modern, have in understanding the motives behind the conflict, the distribution of loyalties and the nature of the resolution. These would have been perceived differently by those living at distance from the peninsula and those experiencing them first hand from within.

As Viewed from Asia Minor

First, we will consider the perspective from abroad. We have no way of knowing the reaction of Italians and Romans in Asia Minor to the war, or to the subsequent enfranchisement of Italy. But it is plausible that news of a war raging in Italy which was not with a foreign enemy would have come as a surprise. Even more unexpected would have been rumours that Italian *socii* had approached Rome's enemy Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, in the hope of gaining assistance against the Roman-led forces.²¹ This was the same Mithridates who was responsible for the massacre of Italians and Romans in Asia Minor in 88 BC,²² only three years after the start of the Social War.

²⁰ The references in this chapter are all to Marcus Livius Drusus the younger, tribune in 91 BC. For Scaurus's connection to Drusus: Steel 2013: 81–2. For the contribution to the tension, as a result of the *Lex Licinia Mucia* of 95 BC: Tweedie 2012.

²¹ Such an offer of an anti-Roman alliance is considered by Diodorus 37.2.11; Posidonius, fr. 253 (E-K), lines 89–92. There may have also been a coin issued to encourage his agreement, an Italian *aureus*, which closely resembled a bronze coin from Amisus: Sydenham 1952: no. 643. That the gold *Aureus* is not a forgery: Crawford 2004: 135–8; *Imagines Italicae*: Italia / ITALIA 1 Coinage, No. 406 (Vol. 1, 71). See also Crawford 2008: 637; Mouritsen 1998: 164, n. 34.

²² See Chapter 2.

We can envisage other responses to the conflict: relief that they were not in Italy to witness what looked like an ugly civil war; worry that their relatives and friends may be fighting each other;²³ uncertainty about the benefits or liabilities of a new citizenship. Perhaps they thought it was about time Romans and Italians shared equal opportunities. Alternatively, they may have favoured an Italy not wholly centred on Rome. One of the catalysts for the Social War, which pitted communities in Italy against each other, may have been the disparity between the situation on the peninsula, and that of their compatriots who lived outside. An integrative environment, such as that in Asia Minor, uninterested in distinctions between Romans and other Italians, was at variance with the heightened attention to status differences for those within Italy. The discrepancy between the diverse communities on the peninsula, or more particularly their ruling elites, was evident in their access to privileges and resources, wealth distribution and decision-making potential.

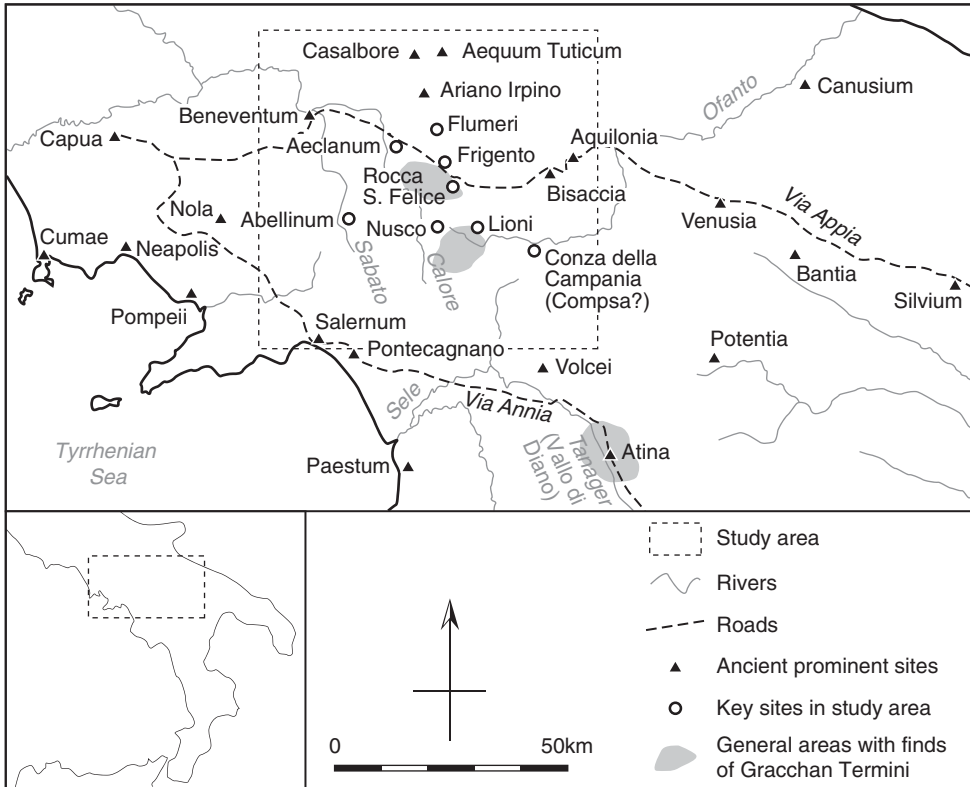
The View from Central Italy: Magius and Other Elites across the Divide

The view from within Italy reveals the complexity of allegiance networks in the early first century BC. The ambiguous relationship that these had with individual communities may be exemplified in the dealings between elites and their followers in Hirpinia. This region, just inland from Campania and seemingly in the heartland of the Italian resistance, was beset by divided loyalties, even in single settlements ([Map 10](#)). During the Social War, powerful individuals, who were not Roman citizens or even Latins, contributed substantially to the Roman-led side, at times even sacrificing their own communities. Minatius Magius, an ancestor of Velleius Paterculus, was a prominent member of the elite in Aeclanum who recruited a legion in Hirpinia which he led as part of Sulla's Roman contingent.²⁴ He helped the Roman general take Herculaneum, besiege Pompeii and occupy the neighbouring Hirpinian town of Compsa. However, his allegiance, whether to Rome or Sulla, did not prevent the Roman forces from sacking his home town of Aeclanum in 89 BC.²⁵ The main reason for this would have been strong anti-Roman sentiment in Aeclanum, despite the pro-Roman affiliations of some of its elite. Appian records that the town had awaited the help of Lucanian troops

²³ Diodorus Siculus 37.15.2 relates how in the Social War the soldiers recognised their fellow soldiers on the opposing side as they shared relations through friendship and marriage.

²⁴ Velleius 2.16.1–3. Isayev 2013. See Sumner 1970: 257–65 for the Velleius Paterculus tradition.

²⁵ Velleius 2.16.1–3.



Map 10 Ancient Hirpinia and surrounding area with key sites in south-west Italy.

just as the Roman contingent besieged the city and burnt its wooden walls.²⁶ Had Magius been on the side of the *socii*, rather than Rome, his powerbase and access to a substantial military force could have easily protected Aeclanum and surrounding sites.

Magius's choice to support Rome was not determined by allegiance to an ethnic or place-based community. It was motivated by opportunities within the network through which his ambitions could be realised, incorporating individuals and groups of similar status and aspirations from different communities. As we saw in previous chapters, such networks had a long history, as evidenced by the prevalence of mixed communities revealed in the epigraphic evidence, tokens of gift exchange, and other symbols and stories of elite ties, discussed in [Chapter 3](#).²⁷ They also had a Mediterranean-wide heritage. Rome's power meant that client kings

²⁶ Appian *BC*, 1.51. Hekster 2012.

²⁷ The tradition of Romano-Italian elite ties is based on a strong long-standing heritage that includes references to the Italic elite having residence in Rome, sending their sons to study

increasingly relied on liaisons with its leading individuals, rather than just the Roman state *per se*. It was a world in which all had to be wary of factions and regime change.²⁸ The Magii would have been equally hedging their bets. As evidence from the post-war period shows, they did well to align their interests with those of the elite who operated through Roman channels. Their descendant, Velleius, proudly records that Minatius's allegiance gained his sons the praetorship in Rome, when the number of those elected was only six (that is before Sulla extended the number to eight in 81 BC).²⁹ The continuing importance of the Magii in directing Romano-Italian affairs is also attested by two Latin inscriptions from Aeclanum, the town they continued to inhabit with renewed and extended powers.³⁰ One of their offspring, a Marcus Magius Maximus, gained the prestigious position of praefect of Egypt at the time of Augustus.³¹

We know little about the specific circumstances that led to Magius's decision to support Sulla. Most likely, in the period preceding the Social War, he was one of the many members of the Italic elite content to see their increasing status and wealth spearheaded by Rome – for them it was an investment. This is not to say that those influential Italians who formed part of the *socii*, and bank-rolled their so-called rebellion, operated through channels running only in parallel to those based in Rome. They had friends in common and relied on supporters from both sides. One of the main leaders of the *socii*, Quintus Pompeidius Silo, had a friendship with the controversial Roman Marcus Livius Drusus, tribune of the plebs, who, as noted above, was assassinated in 91 BC on the eve of the War, an event that may have sparked the conflict.³² Plutarch and Diodorus both note that Silo

there, and Roman intervention in local matters at times on request. For examples of such interaction between elites of Rome, Campania and Latium: Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2008: 42–54.

²⁸ For the context of such relations: Hekster 2012.

²⁹ Velleius 2.16.1–3. The two sons may have been P. Magius and M. Magius, who could have held the praetorship in early 81 BC or several years prior to that date: Brennan 2000: 391, 748, 913 n. 302. For the Late Republican careers of the Magii; Sumner 1970: 260; Santangelo 2007: 72, n.18.

The continuing allegiance of members of the Magii to the Roman side earned them tribute in the Roman tradition. Individuals with the same *nomen* are mentioned in a number of ancient narratives: Livy 23.7–10; 24.19.1–3; Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*, 21; 33; *In Pisonem*, 24. For a list of references: *Der Neue Pauly* 1999, Vol. 7: 683–6.

³⁰ A late Republican inscription records a Marcus Magius Surus, son of Minatius, as one of the *quattuorviri* responsible for rebuilding the town's fortifications, with the support of Gaius Quinctius Valgus: *ILLRP* 2.523 = *ILS* 5318, *CIL* I(2) 1722: C. Quinctius C. f. Valg(us), patron(us) munic(ipii), / M. Magi(us) Min(ati) f. Surus A. Patlaci(us) Q. f. / IIIIvir(i) d(e) s(enatus) s(ententia) portas turreis moiros / turreisque aequas qum moiro / faciundum coiraverunt, with Bispham 2007a: 270–1; 476, Q12.

³¹ *ILS* 1335 = *CIL* IX 1125.

³² For internal Roman politics that led to hostilities, involving Drusus: Steel 2013: 36–41, 81–2.

had sought Drusus's support for their cause, and even visited his house to do so.³³ Paradoxically, some ancient writers credit Drusus's younger brother, Mamercus Aemilius Lepidus, for the defeat of Silo's forces and his death in 88 BC during the Roman siege of Venusia.³⁴ The strain that the war put on such relationships is epitomized in the legendary statement by Pompeius Strabo during a meeting between Roman forces and those of the *socii*. Cicero recalls witnessing how, when the leader of the *socii*, Publius Vettius Scato, asked Pompeius how he should be addressed, the response was: 'by choice a friend, by necessity an enemy'.³⁵ The Social War reveals the presence of powerful Italians in both camps³⁶ who wielded authority that did not have to be rooted in their own communities. They could act without their community support. These flexible power relations would need to be accommodated once the conflict came to an end; or rather, they would need to be re-integrated in newly aligned relationships, via access to senatorial and other official positions of authority within the *res publica*. Having been instrumental in creating the new Rome they would need a place within it.

A Tale of Two Cities: Corfinium and Rome

We may know what Rome became, but what was Corfinium, as an idea and as a city? In its role as the capital of the *socii* it may have been the first of its kind in Italy. A substantial settlement, it was situated at the northern extremity of the territory where many of the *socii* were based in the area associated with the Paeligni. The physical location of Corfinium could not be more different to that of Rome.³⁷ It lay on the east side of the Apennines, near modern Corfinio, on a plateau surrounded by mountains, some, such as Monte Morrone, rising as high as 2000 metres (Map 11). On its west side, the river Aterno cut through the highlands creating an access route between the east and west coasts. The valleys on either side of Corfinium served as the route for the Via Valeria, which joined with Alba Fucens and

³³ Plutarch *Cato Minor* 2.1–4. Wiseman 1971: 34; Patterson 2006c: 139–40.

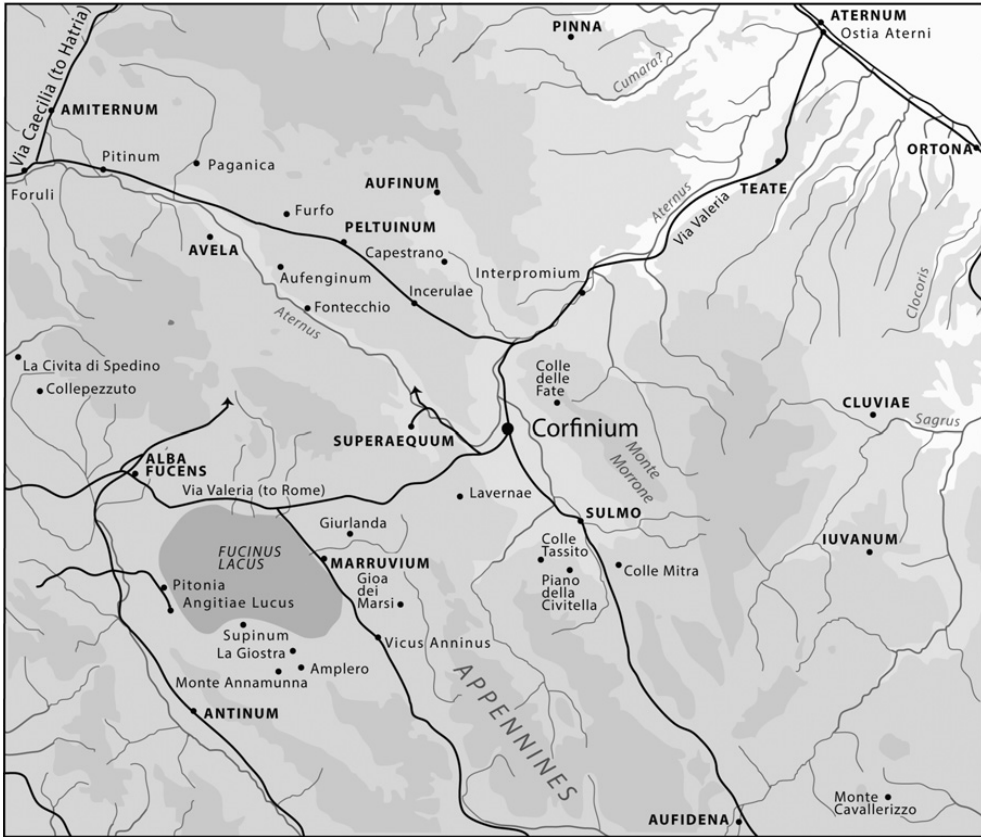
³⁴ Livy *Periochae* 76. Broughton, *MRR II*, 1952, 42–3, with critical commentary by Sumner 1964: 44, n. 34.

³⁵ Cicero Phil. 12.27. 'Quem te appellem?' inquit. At ille: 'Voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem'. Patterson 2006c.

Lomas 2012 suggests that the fluidity of Granovetter's 1973, 'weak tie' social network model helps to understand why such networks of *hospites* do not always lead to cohesion and integration, but, rather, outbreaks such as the Social War.

³⁶ Coşkun 2009b: 136–43.

³⁷ Ancient authors praised their ancestors' choice of location for Rome, ideally situated to become the centre of empire. See Chapter 10, p. 376.



Map 11 Corfinium and surrounding sites in central Italy.

then continued to Rome along the route of the Via Tiburtina. Roads radiated to key sites, such as Aufidena, Aesernia, Bovianum and Beneventum in the south and to Hatria by the Via Caecilia to the north.³⁸ Corfinium shared the fertile plain with Sulmo, another major settlement only seven miles to the south, renowned for being the birthplace of Ovid.³⁹ The importance of this valley continued into the era of the Civil Wars between Caesar and Pompey when both sites became opposing strongholds.⁴⁰ Corfinium's strategic location must have been a key factor in being chosen as the *caput imperii* during the Social War. Its role as host to the institutions necessary to run the campaign and the federation (if that is what it was) may be comparable to the position of London as a global

³⁸ Nagle 1973: 373; Pobjoy 2000b: 191.

³⁹ Hence Ovid's proud exclamation that he is the glory of the Paeligni: *Amores* 3.15, see also below, pp. 356–57. The earliest context in which Sulmo is mentioned is the Hannibalic War: Livy 26.11.11.

⁴⁰ Caesar *Bell. Civ.* 1.15–23; Appian *Bell. Civ.* 2.38; Cicero *ad Att.* 8.3.5, 9.7; Suetonius, *Caesar* 34.

capital city, or New York as the seat of United Nations headquarters. The location of both London and New York, their size, infrastructure and positions as centres of connectivity, determined by their history, make them ideal choices as intersections of power and representatives of a state, federation or league. Corfinium was such a centre of connectivity.

According to the ancient sources, this centre became the seat of the allied council of 500 with representatives from different communities.⁴¹ Its creation, arising out of conflict, also meant that it acted as a military hub for the army of the *socii*, which was led by two generals. While the structure may have in some ways mimicked a Roman organisation, the two key differences are that the council of 500 was a multi-community deliberative body and that the two Italian generals were not from the same settlement.⁴² The details of the institutional structures it hosted may be uncertain, but the numismatic evidence makes it clear that they constituted a sophisticated and representative body. The symbol of what this represented was stamped onto allied coinage and used both Oscan and Latin scripts.⁴³ Some coin issues carry the legends *Italia* or its Oscan form *víteliú*. Others have images of oath-taking scenes with groups consisting of up to eight figures, believed to represent the allied leaders (Fig. 19). These features – coinage, public institutions with representatives of multiple communities, and multi-focal military leadership – are what we would typically expect a capital city to have. Corfinium, however, was as far as we know the first site in Italy to be given this role. As such, it provided an alternative way of conceptualising place during the Social War.

The creation of Corfinium as a capital was a departure from Italian tradition in the area. It did not follow the established model of centres in Italy that may be termed *poleis* (city-states), such as for example Capua, Caere or Taras. These wielded power as coherent units with a defined membership, and gathered small empires around them through influence and alliance. This general definition does not encompass all that a *polis* was; nor does it address the volatile nature of such a concept, as demonstrated by Vlassopoulos.⁴⁴ It simply denotes its most basic characteristics as understood by ancient authors who used the term in reference to settlements that acted as political centres of citizen communities with local self-government.

⁴¹ The key source for the organisation at Corfinium is Diodorus Siculus 37.2.4–7. For the reliability of the text and its use of the Roman institutional model: Mouritsen 1998: 139–40; Pobjoy 2000b.

⁴² Mouritsen 1998: 139–40; Pobjoy 2000b: 187–211.

⁴³ For Italic Social War coinage: *Imagines Italicae: Italia/ ITALIA 1* Coinage Nos. 408, 411, 413, 415, 423, 425, 428 (Vol. 1, 67–74). Also see Burnett 1998; Pobjoy 2000b.

⁴⁴ Vlassopoulos 2007: 80–1, for extensive and ‘minimum’ definitions of a polis.



Fig. 19 Silver Denarius 90–89 BC, issued by the Italian *Socii* (allies) during the Social War. Obverse: Head of Italia, laureate, left; behind, inscription (*Italia* in Latin). Border of dots. Reverse: Oath-taking scene of eight warriors, four on each side of pig held by attendant; behind, standard; in exergue, control-mark. Border of dots. (HN 408 (type))

Unlike a *polis*, Corfinium's position as a capital meant that the *socii* did not have a direct interest in its territorial placedness, or any allegiance to the specific community in the town. As far as we know, it did not bring with it citizenship or any expectation of belonging. Instead, Corfinium's primary role was as a forum or intersection for the meeting of those who made up the powerbase, from wherever in Italy they originated. Power was not rooted in Corfinium, but placed there by choice and possibly only temporarily. The alliance and the 'rebel' cause that brought it into being preceded the location where it was lodged, rather than emerging from it. Corfinium presents a challenge to place-based politics, as does Rome, but, as we will see in quite different ways.⁴⁵ It is difficult to identify any other Italian settlement with a similar role to Corfinium in the early first century BC. We do not need to look to the Greek East to find precedents for the concept which the Italic capital represented, although influences came through that channel as well.⁴⁶ A more direct model may be found within Italy itself, in the role played by its large rural sanctuaries, with two prominent examples from the Apennines, which we will consider below.

⁴⁵ Reconciling de-centred power, membership and place-based politics is still an urgent issue, particularly in the context of globalisation: Harvey 2009: 196–7; Dirlík 2001.

⁴⁶ The institutions of *isopoliteia* and *sumopoliteia* allowed for reciprocal political rights, but the example of Olynthus, as described by Xenophon, in the way that it expanded to engulf its neighbours, is more suitable for what becomes the Roman model than the Italian one. Xenophon *Hellenika* 5.2.12: 'These [the Olynthians] brought over some of the cities to their side on the condition that they should use the same laws and share their citizenship. Then, they also took over some of the larger cities.' See Bispham 2007a: 37–8.

The role which the *socii* gave to Corfinium was novel in the context of Italy, and ancient authors used a variety of terms to describe it. Velleius Paterculus wrote that they chose the city as *caput imperii sui* – head of their dominion/empire – and named it *Italica*.⁴⁷ The phrase *caput imperii* is not used with reference to any other site in Velleius's extant work. Diodorus Siculus calls Corfinium by a term familiar in Greek narratives, κοινὴ πόλις – the head city-state.⁴⁸ Strabo uses similar Greek terminology but goes further and expresses Corfinium's role through association, stating that this metropolis of the Paeligni was to be a city common to all Italians in place of Rome.⁴⁹ These may have been the most convenient labels available to describe what today we might call a 'capital city'. Yet, none of these terms are necessarily what the Italians themselves would have used. Of these, Strabo's comment that Corfinium held a position to counter-balance that of Rome provides the most insight. However, the opposed power hubs did not hold equal positions among their supporters, and it is in that difference that we find alternative definitions of place.

Corfinium was a headquarters of operations as well as a symbol embodied in what some authors believed was its new name *Italia* (or *Italica*).⁵⁰ The term *Italia* has a long history, but up to this point its use by ancient authors such as Cato and Polybius, and its appearance within legal texts, such as the *lex Agraria* of 111 BC, was primarily to designate a geographic entity rather than one which was political.⁵¹ The concept of *Italia* may have arisen from the events of the mid-third century BC, and was formed in opposition to the

⁴⁷ Velleius Paterculus 2.16.4: . . . *Caput imperii sui Corfinium legerant atque appellarant Italicam* . . .

⁴⁸ Diodorus Siculus 37.2.4, 7, 9.

⁴⁹ Strabo 5.4.2: . . . Κορφίνιον, τῶν Περίγνων μητρόπολιν, κοινὴν ἔπασσι τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις ἀποδείξαντες πόλιν ἀντὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὁρμητήριον τοῦ πολέμου, μετονομασθεῖσαν Ἰταλικήν. . .

⁵⁰ The term *Italia* we know from the coin evidence, while the textual sources suggest that the new name given to Corfinium itself may have been *Italica*: Strabo 5.4.2; Velleius 2.16. For *Italia* in the Social War context: Pobjoy 2000a. For *Italia* as a juridical and ideological concept: Bispham 2007a: chapter 1; Ando 1999; Dench 2005: 188–9. Integration of Italy as an intellectual problem in the Late Republic: Habinek 1998: 88–102. The amalgamation of the territory of *Italia* and the Roman state at the end of the Republic: Sherwin-White 1973: 159.

⁵¹ Cato *Origines*; *de Agri Cultura*; Polybius 3.86.2; *Lex Agraria* lines 1–2 = *Roman Statutes* Law 2, (Vol. I, 113, 156–7). For the development of the term *terra Italia* from a geographical to a political concept: Crawford 1996: 156–7.

There is some debate about the extent that Italy was a unity beyond the administrative, political and fiscal level, and when the idea of Italy arose, especially in relation to Cato's *Origines*: Wallace-Hadrill 2000; Dench 2005: chapter 3. Italy as a historic unity for Cato: Cornell 2013: Vol. 1, 211–12.

Sordi 2008: 94–5 argues that *Italia* was a product of the Second Punic War, particularly as suggested by the Sibylline oracle of 205 BC, which makes direct reference to *terrae Italiae*: Livy 29.10.4.

threat of Punic dominion by Carthage, as suggested by Russo.⁵² But if it did, this is not the dominant meaning that comes through in these texts. The Italy which Cato was writing about in the second century BC was *terra Italia*, a physical geographic entity, the stage on which his *Origines* were played out.⁵³ For him, while Rome may be the most central *Origo*, it is only one of many others that surrounded it, and which only formed a unit in the sense of being allied to Rome.⁵⁴ That the concept of Italy was gaining momentum is demonstrated by another *Italica*, the name given to the settlement in Spain on the Baetis river founded by Scipio Africanus in 206/5 BC where he settled his wounded soldiers.⁵⁵ These terms were not yet representative of the *Italia* (or *víteliú*) that appeared as a symbol of unity, in opposition to Rome, on the coinage of the *socii* during the Social War, and then as a symbol of reconciliation with Rome on post-war coinage.⁵⁶ It did not yet have the power and confidence embodied in the *Italia* for which Corfinium acted as a capital city – a position it did not hold for long.

The meaning of Corfinium to the Italian *socii* was not the same as the meaning of Rome to the Romans or her allies. Corfinium was the conduit for a wider imagined community with a framework different to that of Rome. The constructed relationship between the place and the community in Rome was based on a particular kind of hierarchy and allegiance, which Corfinium did not have, nor was intended to have. Corfinium's role was primarily representative rather than hierarchical, in terms of the communities which came together under its aegis. We hear of no change in the nature of citizenship across Italy that would have been tied specifically to the centre or the larger entity for which it stood. It is also unlikely that the elites who were based there had a more significant role than those from other communities who made up the *socii*. The infrastructure was mobile, it did not need Corfinium, but it did need *a* Corfinium.

⁵² Russo 2013: 45–8.

⁵³ For Cato, as a landowning member of the elite and a Roman statesman, it is a lived and contemporary Italy as much as a historic one. Already in the early second century BC Cato treated the peninsula as if it was his high street, noting in his *De Agricultura* 22 the best places to get provisions for running a farm: if purchasing an olive press best to go to the yard of Rufrius in Pompeii.

⁵⁴ Cato *Origines* F50 (= Chassignet 2.21, Peter F50, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 2.49.1–5): Bonjour 1975a: 236. Jefferson argues that the *Origines* were targeted at the Italian elite, as a way to integrate them into Roman history: Jefferson 2012. See also Chapter 3, pp. 92–95.

⁵⁵ Appian *Iberica* 38.

⁵⁶ The coin, a silver denarius dated to c. 70 BC, shows on the reverse an image of *Italia* shaking hands with *Roma*: Crawford 1974: no. 403; Sydenham 1952: 797; Dench 2005: 188. For the personification of *Roma*: Chapter 11, pp. 406–07, note 71.

The *socii* did not collapse on the takeover of their capital by the enemy, even if it can be argued that they were greatly weakened by that point in the conflict. As the war progressed and Corfinium could no longer withstand the onslaught, the city was overrun by the Roman side. In its place, first Bovianum⁵⁷ and then the Latin colony of Aesernia, which the *socii* had starved into submission, was made the capital.⁵⁸ The symbol embodied by Corfinium at the start of the war, whether it was unity, autonomy, power or resistance, was portable. Should Rome have succumbed to the same fate as the capital of its allies, it would have been unlikely to survive relocation. This is the point of Livy's Camillus speech, that Rome could not be moved. If it was moved it would no longer *be* Rome. It may be that the Italian grievances, which led to the Social War, can in part be understood in light of the distinction between the two possible capitals. It is conceivable that what the *socii* desired was not so much a parallel state, as implied in Appian's narrative,⁵⁹ but for Rome to be *a* Corfinium.

Italic Models for Corfinium – The Large Rural Sanctuaries

We may have no evidence that anything like *a* Corfinium existed before the Social War, but the framework for the centre's relationship to the network of *socii* can be discerned in the large rural cult-sites. These liminal spaces allow insight into how such an organisation functioned. Most of what we know about the roles of large Italic sanctuaries comes from their impressive archaeological remains. They were more than just the intersections of the human and divine, they were also relatively neutral, inter-community meeting spaces.⁶⁰ In Italy, extra-mural sanctuaries and sacred groves were a significant part of the mechanism through which multi-settlement and supra-community ties were negotiated and from which military action was organised. Ancient texts record the use of rural sacred sites for gatherings, such as that of the Latins on the Alban Mount for the festival of the *Feriae Latinae*,⁶¹ or the more military assembly of Etruscans at the

⁵⁷ Appian *Bell. Civ.* 1.51.224. ⁵⁸ Diodorus Siculus 37.2.4–9 ⁵⁹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 1.34–35.

⁶⁰ Although much smaller, in this sense their role may have been similar to that of Delphi and Olympia. They were theatres for state displays of power and provided a stage for ostentatious dedications by wealthy citizens: Neer 2004. Vlassopoulos has shown that Delphi and Olympia challenge the polis-centred approach to Greek History and the Mediterranean. He presents alternative frameworks, in particular the application of the *système-monde* model that moves away from viewing the polis as a solitary entity, instead taking into account multiple points of power and interconnectivity to highlight its interdependence within the wider system: Vlassopoulos 2007: 168–89, 195–202.

⁶¹ *Feriae Latinae* are noted in Livy 32.1.9; 37.3.4. Livy also records the assembly of the Latins in the grove of Ferentina: Livy 7.25.5; and Cato relates the creation of the shrine of Diana in the wood

fanum Voltumnae.⁶² As we saw in [Chapter 3](#), the two major Etrurian sanctuaries at Pyrgi and Gravisca were like gateways, providing an in-between space for locals and outsiders in the service of Caere and Tarquinii, respectively.

In the Apennines, the large sacred sites appear to have combined the character of gateways with a socio-political role similar to the gatherings on the Alban Mount and at *fanum Voltumnae*. There is no direct evidence that this was the case, or that the large Apennine cult sites differed significantly in their role from those in, for example, Etruria and the lowlands. Yet, the particular character of the settlements in the more mountainous regions created opportunities for wider functions. The landscape of the central and Southern Apennines, from which the Oscan speakers are said to have spread into surrounding communities in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, was characterised by a variety of settlement forms. As we saw in [Chapter 5](#), its mountainous terrain sustained a substantial population that inhabited numerous small- and medium-sized sites on high plateaus and inter-mountain plains.⁶³ From what we know about the layout of these settlements only a small number have anything resembling public spaces or monuments. Where there are open spaces within the fortifications, they are small and have few, if any, structural features. Neither an agora nor a forum-type space, were parts of the settlement design. The lack of such features should not be taken to indicate that these sites and their communities were at a lower level of development from their contemporaries. The wealth found in their cemeteries, and their military potential, testifies otherwise.

Architecturally impressive large open spaces, some of monumental proportions, did feature in the central and southern Apennine regions, but as part of the large rural sanctuaries. Most notably, these include Pietrabbondante in Samnium⁶⁴ and Rossano di Vaglio in Lucania,⁶⁵ both of which have had substantial archaeological investigations that allow for a better understanding of their changing role over time. The diversity and

of Aricia: Cato *Origines* F36 (= Chassignet 2.28, Peter F58), with discussion in Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 82–5. On the relationship of the *Latii* to the *Feriae Latinae*: Pasqualini 1999.

⁶² Livy 4.23.5–7; 4.25.6–8; 5.17.6–8; 6.2.2.

⁶³ For Samnium: Oakley 1995; Bispham 2007b; Bispham 2007a: 38; Scopacasa 2015. For settlement patterns in Lucania: Isayev 2007a. See also Chapter 5, p. 145ff.

⁶⁴ La Regina 1976: 223–30; La Regina 1989; Stek 2009; Bispham 2007b; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 137–43.

⁶⁵ Cracolici and Nava 2005; Chianese et al. 2010; Isayev 2010. Recently, De Cazanove 2008b has proposed that Lucos on the Peutinger Map, positioned some 18 km. north-east of Potentia, may be a reference to the site at, or near, the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio.

wealth of material from these sites indicates that they attracted a wider constituency than any single settlement or group. Their location suggests they existed independently of any individual settlement,⁶⁶ or at least that they would have been under the jurisdiction of several communities, as in the case of *fanum Voltumnae* or the sacred site on the Alban Mount.⁶⁷ They may have acted in the same way that a forum would in a city. But they were shared by a number of settlements, perhaps under the remit of a *touta*, the Oscan term for community that could also be a multi-group designation.⁶⁸

We have little understanding for how these sanctuaries came into being and who was involved in their creation, whether one group or site, or several. It is also possible that initially they had no permanent structures and may have evolved as common meeting places through continued use. Over time they may have been embellished and gained a more physical presence. Sacred sites often had temporary structures made of impermanent materials and could have been assembled specially for each occasion.⁶⁹ Sacred spaces could also be mobile, as the formula recorded by Varro for setting up an *auguraculum* or *templum* indicates.⁷⁰ It describes how a sacred boundary on land, in space and in the sky is created by drawing virtual lines between natural features in the landscape. It is plausible that the sanctuaries at Pietrabbondante and Rossano di Vaglio may have begun as temporary activities that became fixed in place through repeated performance. Nonetheless, by the third century BC both of these sites had substantial structures on areas of pre-existing worship. They were then significantly embellished over the next two centuries before severe reduction of activity at the end of the Republic, and complete cessation by the first century AD.

Monumentalisation, whether at rural sanctuaries or within cities, is representative of centralisation through communal investment and organisation of resources.⁷¹ It is also a staged display of power. Ammerman's study of the complex ways that zoning decisions were made, to locate and

⁶⁶ Their positioning may be distinguished from those of extra-urban sanctuaries that are located immediately outside a specific settlement: Stek's investigations, particularly around the sanctuary at S. Giovanni in Galdo, show that these sites were not located in empty landscapes: Stek 2009: chapter 5; Crawford 2003: 62–3.

⁶⁷ Livy 4.23.5–7; 4.25.6–8; 5.17.6–8; 6.2.2.

⁶⁸ Importance of sanctuaries as administrative units: Bispham 2007a: 81; Buonocore 2002: 30–44. Isayev 2007a: 137. For the *pagus-vicus* system, and the role of rural sanctuaries within it: Stek 2009: chapters 4 and 6. For *touta* see Chapter 5, p. 157.

⁶⁹ One such temporary shrine has been paradoxically preserved in marble, in the form of the *Ara Pacis* in Rome.

⁷⁰ Varro *Lingua Latina* 7, see Chapter 10, p. 415. ⁷¹ Murray 2011: 210.

create public spaces, shows how they reflect transformations in power-sharing within emerging urban communities.⁷² Such spaces allow for power and authority to be legitimised and symbolised through the creation of monuments. For Lefebvre, such legitimisation is possible because this material symbolisation occurs in the spaces of everyday life; it forms the city's face and rhythm that shapes its past, present and future.⁷³ Necessarily when such symbols of legitimisation are not in the city, the spaces of everyday life, but exist outside them, as in rural sanctuaries, we need to envision a different connection between the elite authority and their communities. Or rather, we need to ask at whom these symbols of legitimacy are directed. If spaces for such monumental display are lacking within the settlements but are found in rural sanctuary sites, the implication is that it is here that power-sharing and its legitimisation took place. These extra-urban sites were the competitive arena for the elites of multiple centres and authorities, who were its target audience.

Once these sites began to be built up, from the fourth century BC onwards, they drew on diverse cultural and architectural traditions. Pietrabbondante's theatre-temple complex showcases some of the latest Italic trends and Mediterranean-wide Hellenistic fashions of the last three centuries BC.⁷⁴ It must have surpassed other such structures on the Italian peninsula during its most intense phase of monumentalisation from the end of the second century BC⁷⁵ (Figs. 20a and 20b). Carved griffins guarding the seating rows, and Telamons kneeling to support the retaining walls of the *parados*, survive *in situ*. Under the shadow of the temple, these creatures stare at each other across the theatre, which from its height faces an uninterrupted, breath-taking view of the valley. No similar monumental structures survive at the sanctuary of Rossano di Vaglio, which draws on different architectural traditions.⁷⁶ This site is centred on a large paved court area, or piazza, with water features and a central altar of considerable proportions (Figs. 21a and 21b). Surrounding this open area are buildings, some with porticos and large rooms, which may have been used for ritual dining or votive deposition. Although it does not have a stone theatre, slanting into the piazza is a natural bowl-shaped terrace that could have easily functioned as a theatre. It still has the remains of a central stone

⁷² Ammerman 2011. ⁷³ Lefebvre 1961; Elden, Lebas and Kofman 2003: 88–92.

⁷⁴ The dating of the theatre-temple complex is believed to be end of the second century BC, or early first century BC. It was built on the site of an earlier sanctuary precinct: Strazzulla and di Marco 1972; La Regina 1976: 223–30; La Regina and Coarelli 1984: 230–57.

⁷⁵ For the structures: La Regina 1976: 223–30; Stek 2009: 40–53; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 137–43.

⁷⁶ For sanctuary traditions in Lucania: Isayev 2007a: 31–41, 84–6, 224; Isayev 2010; Cracolici and Nava 2005; Chianese et al. 2010.

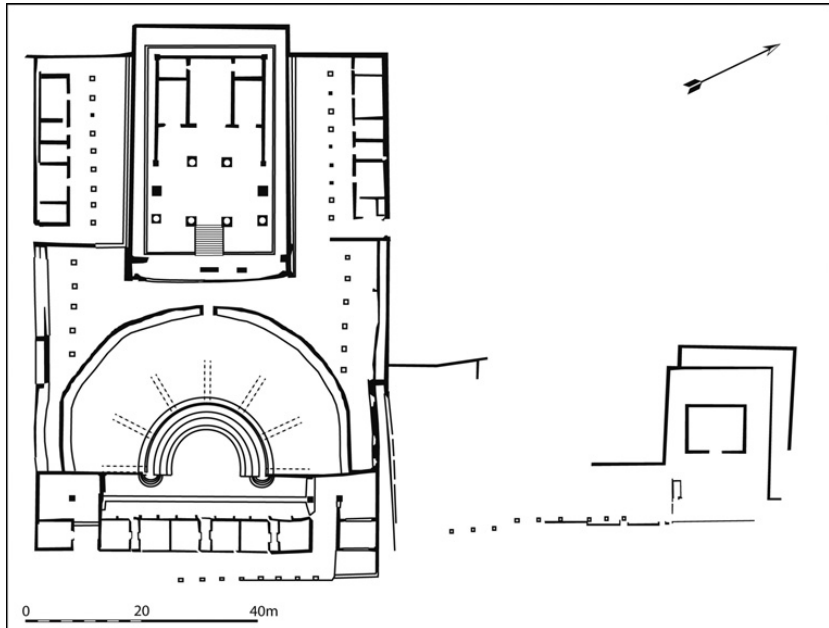


Fig. 20a Pietrabbondante schematic plan of the Theatre – Temple complex.
Drawing by John Davey after La Regina 1989: 370, original drawn by B. Di Marco.



Fig. 20b (i) Sanctuary at Pietrabbondante, view from the theatre to the valley.
Details of arch, telamon and griffin in the cavea.



Fig. 20b (ii) (Cont.)

entrance flanked by two fountains. The lack of a temple has more to do with the particular architectural and ritual context of the region, where a number of cult sites use a similar layout of buildings around a courtyard, rather than having the temple as the focus of sacred activity. Despite the different architectural model to that of Pietrabbondante, the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio displays all the features of a significant gathering site, with provision for communal cult activity that served a large area.



Fig. 20b (iii) (Cont.)

Such monumental construction is revealing about the balance of wealth investment between the sanctuaries and their surrounding settlements. In both Samnium and Lucania, our primary evidence for the communities that inhabited these regions prior to the fourth century BC is derived from the cemeteries, which are the main extant sites of wealth deposition.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ On the changing pattern of grave-goods deposition in the central Apennines: Scopacasa 2015.



Fig. 20b (iv) (Cont.)

From the fourth century BC, wealth was in part diverted to enclose settlements in impressive fortification circuits, which remain their most prominent feature. Wealth display and public investment of the kind that is evident at the sacred sites is nowhere to be found in the context of the settlements of these regions. While Roman generals exhibited their booty and erected temples in and around the city of Rome to celebrate their



Fig. 20b (v) (Cont.)

victories over the Samnites, at the same time Roman armour was deposited at Pietrabbondante, as part of the spoils taken by the Samnites in their own victories.⁷⁸ The sanctuary was the ultimate site for triumphal display. Aside from the architectural monuments and buildings, Rossano di Vaglio and Pietrabbondante both have other rich material remains, largely in the form

⁷⁸ Deposition of foreign armour at the sanctuary goes back to at least the fifth century BC: Stek 2009: 39.

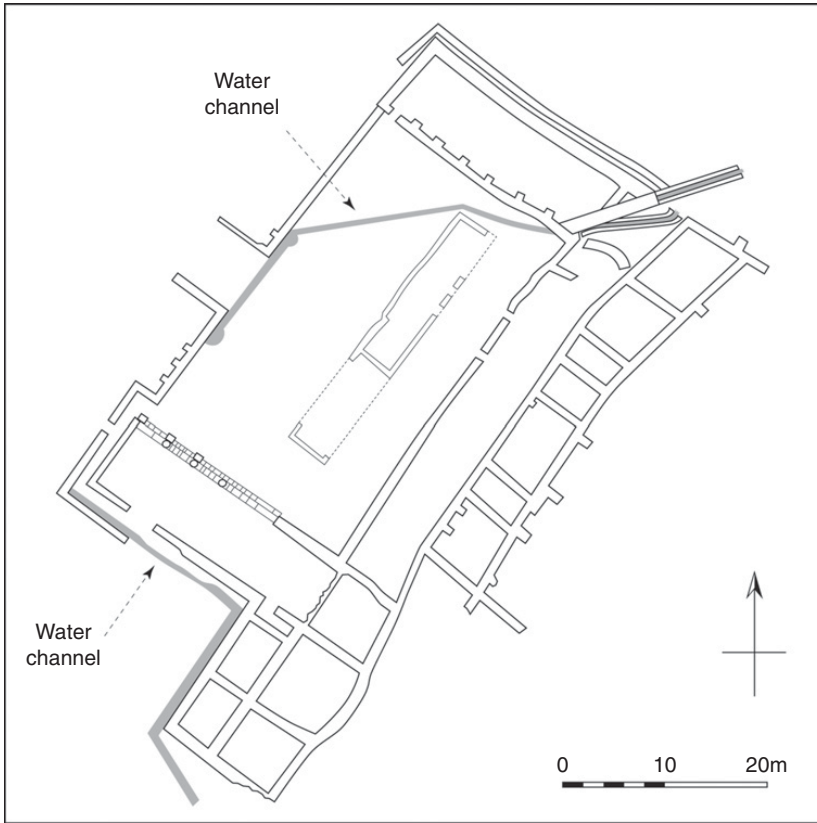


Fig. 21a Sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio. Schematic drawing by Adam Wainwright after Adamesteanu 1992: 63, fig. 111.

of votives that include sculpture, jewellery, coins and a large number of inscriptions of which a significant proportion are in Oscan.⁷⁹ The substantial epigraphic evidence from both of these sanctuaries provides a record of the patrons who contributed to the embellishment of the sites and institutional frameworks. These include references to magistrates and deliberative bodies that operated through them, or at least who encompassed them in their business. What makes the collection of epigraphic texts stand out is the otherwise small number of inscriptions dating prior to the first century BC recovered from the regions where these sanctuaries were based.

What does this tell us about the role of the large rural cult-sites? Some have argued that they should be seen as federal sanctuaries, but this may

⁷⁹ For Pietrabbondante: *Imagines Italicae*: Pentri / TERVENTVM 1–33 (Vol. II, 1147–99). For Rossano di Vaglio: *Imagines Italicae*: Lucania / POTENTIA 1–38 (Vol. III, 1364–1421).



Fig. 21b Sanctuary courtyard at Rossano di Vaglio looking south-west from the entrance steps.

not be representative of the Italic societal structure in this period.⁸⁰ Also problematic is the idea that these sanctuaries were the materialisation of borders or an expression of territoriality. This is how the role of such sites was conceived by D'Ercole and others in their application of Thiessen Polygons to establish community territories, by theoretically positioning a site within a hierarchy and projecting the extent of its territorial control.⁸¹ One can see why positioning the cult sites in this role would be appealing as they appear to materialise the traditional definition of the state, as expressed by Hansen: '... every town is the centre of a small state comprising the town plus its immediate hinterland and, conversely, every state is a micro-state centred on a town which controls a small territory.'⁸² However, it is not a given that all communities and polities occupy uninterrupted space and border on others. Other political entities are possible.⁸³

⁸⁰ For Pietrabbondante as a federal and political centre and the context of the inscription with the ethnic *safinim*: Stek 2009: 46–7, 53–4.

⁸¹ D'Ercole, Orfanelli and Riccitelli 1997. For Thiessen Polygons and XTENT model: Chapter 5, pp. 143–44.

⁸² Hansen 2000: 15.

⁸³ For a discourse on spatial analysis in relation to the polis and the *système-monde* approach: Vlassopoulos 2007a: 168–72.

Instead of viewing the position of rural cult-sites on boundaries, Crawford has shown that they are often located in the midst of a resource landscape, such as pasture land, and possibly at the meeting of transhumance routes.⁸⁴ Their positioning would, therefore, indicate not territorial peripheries but centres of shared resources. Equally, Stek has shown that there is no evidence from Mid-Republican colonies that colonial cult places served to demarcate territory. Rather, these cult sites correlate with rural settlement nucleation.⁸⁵ In his broader study of Italic cult-sites, despite suggesting that some may have been on borders, he concludes that the function of the sanctuaries was not to signal boundaries, demarcating groups from each other, but to serve as a meeting place.⁸⁶ The earliest explicit evidence of a sanctuary involved in a border dispute appears on the *cippus Abellanus*, dated to the end of the second century BC.⁸⁷ The inscription comes from the sanctuary of Hercules, which lay in a no-man's land between the territories of Abella and Nola. It records the resolution of a dispute between the two towns, stating that the land and the sanctuary were to be held in common. The dispute coincides with the drafting of the *lex Agraria* in 111 BC, in the wake of the Gracchan land division and re-distribution projects, when such bordering practices were becoming more evident.

A spatio-political approach that envisages sanctuaries as part of bordering practices is not a useful model for understanding the role of sites such as Pietrabbondante and Rossano di Vaglio, as it assumes a division of power linked to territorially fixed, absolute space.⁸⁸ Part of our difficulty in thinking about politics, power and territory, as articulated by Hirst, is that 'our political ideas have been shaped by what we might call a "double territorialisation"'. The actual construction of exclusive territorial rules has been reinforced by a reinterpretation of the past as if it too conformed to

⁸⁴ Crawford 2003: 62–3. ⁸⁵ Stek 2014. ⁸⁶ Stek 2009: 64–5.

⁸⁷ *Imagines Italicae*: Campania / ABELLA 1, (Vol 2, 887–892). La Regina 2000 dates the inscription to 120–110 BC, while Crawford 2011: 887 dates it slightly later to c. 100 BC.

Despite the dispute, even this cult site of Hercules had a role as a meeting place more than a boundary, in a similar way that the sanctuary of Lucus Feroniae near Capena served as a market place between the Latins and Sabines: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 3.32.1.

Other sacred sites had different roles in the landscape, some on liminal boundaries, such as the 'natural' cult place at Valle d'Ansanto, where the sulphur pools were thought to have been entrances to the underworld: Vergil, *Aen.* 7.563. A shrine to Mefitis at the site is noted by Pliny *NH* 2.208. Reports on the excavations: Bottini, Isnenghi Colazzo and Rainini 1976; Colucci Pescatori 1991; Rainini 1996; De Cazanove, 2003: 162–3, where he notes that Valle d' Ansanto, as a 'natural' cult site is unlike Rossano di Vaglio.

⁸⁸ For discussion of absolute space in contrast see Chapter 10.

modern models of politics.⁸⁹ The communities which these Italic sanctuary sites hosted cannot easily be translated into territorial or ethnic entities. In part, this is because the nature of such groups was constantly changing, and ethnicity was not necessarily the underlying basis for group cohesion. Instead, these large rural sanctuaries in Italy were facilitators of interaction and socio-economic relationships, as well as platforms for political and imperial accomplishments. They were one mechanism of power that was relationally conceived, but not dependent on the control of absolute space. It is this role which Corfinium embodied as the *caput imperii* for the cause of the *socii*.

Why Rome Could Not Be a Corfinium

Rome's position in Italy, like that of Corfinium, was constantly shifting; it too was not simply a territorial state. So what was Rome by the time of the Social War? Some consider that Rome along with other communities in Latium were city-states by the sixth century BC, if not earlier.⁹⁰ It is debatable, however, whether Rome can still be described as a *polis* by the end of the Republic, which is how it is often referred to in ancient narratives.⁹¹ Once Roman citizenship extended to communities and individuals beyond it, the extent to which the city itself continued to be the core of political life, and the natural focus for patriotic sentiment for those with citizenship, became uncertain.⁹² A link between territorial entity and belonging, at times expressed as citizenship or ethnicity,⁹³ can be either strengthened or weakened depending on the socio-political circumstances and the needs of the governing elite. In the final chapters of the book we will consider how an expression of belonging is articulated through a direct tie to the soil by analysing Livy's speech against moving Rome. Paradoxically, the argument is made at a time when civic ties to the site of Rome were largely meaningless except in an administrative sense for the purpose of registration. Roman

⁸⁹ Hirst 2005a: 27 also observes that 'pre-modern states and other political entities were seldom spatially homogeneous'. See also Hirst 2005b: 69–71.

⁹⁰ Cornell 2000; Smith 2011: 219–20.

⁹¹ Ando 1999. Smith 2011 is also cautious about the extent to which the concepts of polis and the state were developed in the early *res publica*. Connolly 2007: 87–8 suggests that Rome's self-definition as a geographically contiguous unit was engineered in the last decades of the Republic and then projected into the past.

⁹² Thomas 1996; Ando 1999: 8; Bispham 2007a: 37.

⁹³ Most scholars now emphasise that membership in a city-state was more important and quite separate from ethnic identity, which citizenship could supersede in socio-political contexts. Yet there is still an insistence that Mediterranean citizenship presumed a certain ethnic origin: Farney 2007: 28–9; Cornell 1997: 9–10.

citizenship was in fact linked to communities across Italy. How belonging mapped onto that is another matter.

When the link between Roman citizenship and territory was transformed is a matter of debate. Connolly places the main shift in thinking about Roman citizenship in the second century AD, which is evident in the juridical texts of the period. He argues that 'rather than local attachments and actions, the 'citizen' came to denote membership in a community of shared law, which had no necessary relation to contiguous territory . . .'⁹⁴ Despite his late dating for such a development, he nevertheless acknowledges Schofield's findings which, tracing the roots of such 'displacement' of citizenship from the purely local, show that they are already present in Cicero's writings.⁹⁵ For Cicero, blood is neither a basis nor a barrier to citizenship. For him, the political association of the Republic is one joined by reason and common belief connected by consensus about justice in a partnership of mutual usefulness.⁹⁶ Cicero's perspective develops strands already embedded in Roman myths about the city's early beginnings as a state founded by refugees. But we can push back even earlier than Cicero, since the extension of citizenship to individual communities began well before his time, not least to his own Arpinum in 188 BC. It pre-dated the profound changes to enfranchisement laws and attitudes to the institution of citizenship that resulted from the Social War and Caesar's conquests. Rome's extension of citizenship beyond its own inhabitants challenges its position as a *polis*, and the Aristotelian notion of a virtuous, homogeneous citizenry intimately linked by geographic proximity and the shared experience of living together.⁹⁷

Though the citizen community extended beyond the city boundaries, Rome could not be a Corfinium. If it was to follow that model, it would mean giving up that privileged (and contradictory) part of the status that allowed Rome to operate as if it was a *polis*.⁹⁸ A key concern would have been Rome's secession from a position of autonomy in foreign relations, which interestingly was not part of the Greek concept of the *polis*.⁹⁹ The actions of the *socii*, in the organisation of a capital city and in their rumoured approach of Mithridates, point to a joint foreign policy by the

⁹⁴ Connolly 2007: 84. ⁹⁵ Schofield 1995: 70–2. ⁹⁶ Cicero *De Re Publica*, 2.12

⁹⁷ Connolly 2007: 87–8.

⁹⁸ For the contradictory position of Rome as *polis*: Mouritsen 1998: 95–9; Ando 1999; Bispham 2007a: 37.

⁹⁹ Autonomy was not part of the Greek concept of the *polis* either in theoretical or practical terms. Autonomy, in the sense of political independence in external relationships, formed no part of discussions on the essence of *polis* and Greeks had no problem calling a variety of communities *poleis*, with relationships of differing strengths: Vlassopoulos 2007: 116; Hansen 1995.

socii as a whole and not by any individual state leading the alliance.¹⁰⁰ We would not expect that in the last century of the Republic the Romans would have allowed Rome to be regarded as a representative body or a seat of shared power. The Roman elite laboriously shaped their network (which some call dominion) to ensure that Rome was at its centre, not just conceptually but physically. My preference for the term ‘network’ is that it was populated by groups that were given Roman citizenship, or communities of Rome’s own creation and appropriation, such as colonies. Some were elites of other backgrounds and held other memberships, such as the Magii, for whom Rome was operating as a global city.¹⁰¹ For these elites, Rome already formed part of their imagined community, and it in turn relied on them for enhancement. Their relationship was reciprocal. This was not only in terms of power but also culture. The Rome that grew to deserve the name of capital by the Augustan Age drew on cultural resources from Italian communities in terms of grandeur in architecture, theatres and baths. Rome became an Italian project.¹⁰²

The system of small groups and powerful individuals in early Italy continued to have substantial impact in shaping the power structures of the peninsula. In previous chapters, we have considered how such elite bonds functioned, whether through stories of characters, such as Demaratus, or institutions recognisable through contracts such as the *tesserae hospitales*, which ensured not only hospitality but reciprocal support. The Hannibalic War may have re-oriented some of the networks and undermined key, long-standing players, but it did not quite get rid of the structure of the *sodalitates* of earlier centuries.¹⁰³ In the Archaic period, the followers of such leaders as Poplios Valesios¹⁰⁴ may have been a smaller group than those of his later compatriots such as Silo, Magius, Sulla or Caesar. But these men of the first century BC equally relied on direct personal allegiance alongside loyalty to a state or a cause. Recently, the whole notion of the state in the context of ancient Italy has been questioned. Some scholars conceptualize it as a tool used by elite groups and

¹⁰⁰ *Imagines Italicae*: Italia / ITALIA 1 Coinage, No. 406 (Vol. 1, 71).

¹⁰¹ The variety of elite networks was not only driven by economic factors: Morley 1997. For Magii see below.

¹⁰² Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 137–43; Wallace-Hadrill 2000; Stevenson 2000: 38–9.

¹⁰³ Habinek 1998: 44–5. Varro’s *Lingua Latina* 10.39 includes the terms *sodalis* – fellow and *sodalitas* – fellowship. Plautus uses *sodales*, largely to mean friends: *Epidicus*, 345; *Mercator*, 845. Maurice 2003. The earliest reference to *suodales* is on an inscription from the Archaic period, known as the *Lapis Satricanus*: *CIL* I² 2832a.

¹⁰⁴ Poplios Valesios cited in a dedication to Mars by his *suodales*, on the so-called *Lapis Satricanus*: *CIL* I² 2832a. See Chapter 3, p. 104.

individuals to further their own agendas. Focusing on the case of Rome in the early Republic, Terrenato presents the state as a temporary truce between clans. This situation, he argues, did not persist as an embedded archaic trait as political structures developed. Rather ‘the presence of clans, factions and other forces that operate outside state norms and pursue their own agenda remains a characterizing long-term element of the Roman system’.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, their city-level dealings were part of diplomatic relationships with similar entities across the Mediterranean. He demonstrates the continuing agency of individuals and small groups in the Mid-Republic through the wide-reaching connections of the Plautii, who were able to manipulate activities in central Italy through positions in Rome, Caere, Tibur and Praeneste. He contemplates the possibility that the goal of such powerful actors was to advance the agenda of an inter-city elite network, ‘not to assert the hegemony of the abstraction called Rome over other Italians’.¹⁰⁶

For powerful individuals, such as the prominent personalities of the Social War – Pompeius Silo and Livius Drusus – friendship was essential to reach their goals. It offered a combined resource base, connections, knowledge, expertise and access to privileges and opportunities that arose from successful campaigns and ‘international’ negotiations that were led by Rome. Elite links of the ‘wrong’ kind posed a threat to stability and governing authority, hence there were efforts to control them. Attempts at their curtailment feature in a slightly later law that alludes to events after Caesar’s death, which have come down to us on a Flavian inscription the *lex Coloniae Genetivae* found in Urso Spain.¹⁰⁷ It records the careful procedure that permitted a Roman senator or his son to be adopted as a *hospes*, or allowed members of a community the formation of a *hospitium* or a *tessera hospitalis* with any such individual. This part of the law testifies to the significance of such relationships, and implicitly acknowledges their power. They fuelled an alliance that created its own infrastructure with a capital city, raised an army to challenge Rome in the Social War and then provided ammunition for the competing contingents in the Civil War that followed, between the Roman generals Marius and Sulla. By this point, a Corfinium was no longer possible, and Rome had to adjust to a state beyond that of the *polis*, with a citizen body that extended across the whole peninsula, and possibly elsewhere. We will consider below how it enacted this.

¹⁰⁵ Terrenato 2011: 243. ¹⁰⁶ Terrenato 2014: 55.

¹⁰⁷ *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, chapter 131, lines 3–4 = *Roman Statutes* Law 25, (Vol. I, 393, esp. 416, 395–8, 453). The law is thought to date but was inscribed probably in the Flavian period.

Integration before the War

The scale of the Social War may have been a surprise for Romans and Italians living abroad, as much as it was for those in Italy. This is because socio-cultural integration between different Italic communities (including Rome) was widespread for generations prior to the conflict. In Italy, the extent of inter-community and extra-peninsular mobility in the preceding period, notwithstanding large, state-initiated migratory projects, indicates that there were already numerous shared practices, integrated socio-economic networks and mixed-populations. For those of Italian origin living abroad among Greeks, Asians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Gauls and Spaniards, the integrative process was particularly acute. From this perspective, the Social War appears as a point of dis-integration, a glitch in an otherwise increasingly integrative and homogenising environment. But there is no denying that the conflict was the pivotal moment for Roman and Italian integration on the peninsula. The question is: how much integration was there before the War? The extent of Romano-Italian integration in the last two centuries BC, and the systems that encouraged or prevented it, continues to be a point of scholarly debate in three recent studies.

Tensions are evident in the collection edited by Jehne and Pfeilschifter: *Herrschaft ohne Integration?* (Dominion without Integration?).¹⁰⁸ What the volume demonstrates is that Rome had no interest in a policy of integration, whether or not we agree that Italy was a largely unintegrated environment at the time of the war. Some contributors, especially Patterson, David and Galsterer,¹⁰⁹ emphasise the strength of non-state integrative practices, including cultural interchange, formal patronage and other personal networks. Other studies have the underlying premise that, with the exception of some personal or elite ties, until the second century BC the Roman and Italic communities remained largely separate, static and homogeneous.¹¹⁰ Rome is then presented as the main driving force behind the mixing of populations that disrupted previous traditions. Key to this would have been initiatives of mass migration, including deportation, colonisation and veteran settlement.¹¹¹ Rome's military organisation is

¹⁰⁸ Jehne and Pfeilschifter 2006.

¹⁰⁹ David 2006; Galsterer 2006; Patterson 2006c. Patterson 2012 continues arguing for alternative integrative practices.

¹¹⁰ Pfeilschifter 2006, and 2007: 39 argues for little integration, and a lack of interest by the Roman elite in any equitable relations with Italian nobles, whom they perceived as inferior.

¹¹¹ Pina Polo 2006; Scheidel 2006: 215.

credited with generating an integrative environment. Scheidel's view is that the military experience offered a setting for integration.¹¹² Jehne's assessment is more nuanced.¹¹³ He shows that while the army may have functioned as a melting pot for Roman citizens from rural and urban backgrounds, it was less so for those who were allies, since they fought in separate regional units. Similarly, Pfeilschifter argues that the military experience would have maintained segregation between Romans and their allies. But it would have enhanced internal identity of the regional contingents by encouraging ties between local communities.¹¹⁴ Rosenstein meanwhile has convincingly challenged the extent to which such segregative practices would have existed in the Roman army, although he still believes that the allies continued to perceive themselves as ethnically distinct.¹¹⁵

All in all, there is no question that allied groups would have experienced shared military service under Roman command, and this would have had some integrative effect, even if its extent is debateable. It would have been more intense at the elite level, not least through joint action as part of the *extraordinarii*, an elite cavalry and infantry unit that assembled the most skilled warriors from diverse parts of Italy.¹¹⁶ What is more difficult to ascertain is the difference in the experience of fighting under Rome, than for example under Carthage, or other factions with a mixed militia. Hannibal's army was renowned as a motley group of soldiers, combining Italians, Carthaginians, Africans and mercenaries from around the Mediterranean.¹¹⁷ Pyrrhus's Tarentine and Italian allies would also have fought together on the same side, even if under their own commanders. In light of these experiences, and the high rates of mobility beyond state initiatives, it is hard to believe that atomised isolation was broken by Roman enterprise. The reality was much more fluid.

Similar issues are raised in Roth and Keller's volume *Roman by Integration*, a study of integration with a more archaeological approach.¹¹⁸ Contributors focus on the identity of the elite, and demonstrate that conquest, military service and urban settlement all strengthened group identity at ethnic and local levels. They are particularly interested in Rome's cultural role in this. Their studies show that Roman culture stimulated the eventual integration of such groups, whose identities were not necessarily bound up with being Roman but were unthinkable without the institutions, materials and rituals provided by the Imperial project. The conditions that culminated in the Social War are presented as

¹¹² Scheidel 2006: 220–3. ¹¹³ Jehne 2006. ¹¹⁴ Pfeilschifter 2007.

¹¹⁵ Rosenstein 2012: 92–3, 103. ¹¹⁶ Polybius 6.26.6–9, with Patterson 2012: 216–18.

¹¹⁷ For Hannibal's mixed army: Chapter 8, pp. 302–03. ¹¹⁸ Roth and Keller 2007.

a consequence of competing interests among Italians for newly available resources in Rome's growing empire, in combination with internal political tensions within Rome itself.¹¹⁹ Many of the contributors try to explain the situation as the disintegration of a working system, when diverging interests led beyond reconciliation. One point that pervades the volume, notably articulated by Keller, is that the Italian elites would have focused on maintaining local power and stability, tempered by local connections and tribal allegiances.¹²⁰ Yet, we also need to build into this picture elite networks that went well beyond the local and sometimes opposed their home communities, as the example from Hirpinia shows. The extent of such networks is demonstrated in a more recent volume on integration edited by Roselaar: *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*.¹²¹ Her contribution, along with those of Patterson and Lomas in particular, presents alternative socio-political and geographic contexts for the integrative experience.¹²²

What all these studies show is that the Italic elite, entrepreneurs, merchants and craftsman were Mediterranean-wide players. Their activities abroad, and perhaps especially there, were conducted on a more level playing field, no matter whether they were Roman or from another Italic community.¹²³ The contrast between the position of Italians overseas and their second-class status within the peninsula may have been one of the pressures that led to the Social War. The pressure increased once the stakes got higher, such as Attalus's bequest of his Pergamene kingdom to Rome at the time of the Gracchi, precisely when issues of citizenship and the needs of the allies were high on the Roman political agenda.¹²⁴ What mattered for powerful and increasingly wealthy individuals was that they and their supporters had equal access to opportunities to further their ambitions. Sectarian divisions would have arisen from that and not from allegiance to an ethnic tribe or local community. In any case, it is a false assumption that the majority of individuals who lived in Italy were confined to their community territories until army recruitment or colonial projects moved them on. The integrative process was well under way by the time of the Social War, and it is what made an Italy-wide civic membership a possibility – perhaps even the logical next step. How in the end this became a reality through Roman citizenship is examined next.

¹¹⁹ Roth 2007a: 9. ¹²⁰ Keller 2007: 47, 49–50. ¹²¹ Roselaar 2012b.

¹²² Patterson 2012c; Lomas 2012; Roselaar 2012c.

¹²³ Keller 2007: 47–8 tends to separate the activities of Romans and Italians abroad.

¹²⁴ Steel 2013: 15–41 traces increasing tensions within Rome in dealing with foreign and domestic politics. For the wider context in Asia Minor: Chapter 2, p. 49ff.

After the War: New Citizenship and Origins

Officially, the Social War came to an end once Rome offered enfranchisement and it was accepted by the *socii* in 89 BC, although fighting continued. In the following two years, hostilities were gradually refocused around the clash between Marius and Sulla, which divided allegiances along ever more fractured lines reaching well beyond the peninsula.¹²⁵ Communities in Italy that appeared to have little direct participation in the Social War could see their towns destroyed if their elite ended up on the wrong side. At times, these were a stone's throw from Rome itself, such as Praeneste and Norba.¹²⁶ It would be wrong to see the end of the Social War as merely the defeat of the *socii*; it was also the conclusion of negotiations concerning the distribution of power and its new centre.¹²⁷ There is no question that the side led by Rome got the upper hand. But neither were the *socii* completely defeated. Otherwise the Italian communities would not have been in a position to complain about the voting tribes to which they were assigned soon after they became Roman citizens.¹²⁸ Nor would we expect to find the descendants of 'rebel' leaders in the Roman senate.¹²⁹ It is true that in the decades immediately following the Social War the majority of the Italians who did enter the Roman senate were not from the heartlands of the *socii*. It is not until Caesar abolished Sulla's restrictions on the sons of the proscribed in 49 BC that we begin to see individuals from those areas become senators in Rome.¹³⁰ At a certain level, the Italian 'rebels' were

¹²⁵ See, for example, activities of Sertorius, Chapter 2, p. 58.

¹²⁶ Destruction of Praeneste and Norba by Sullan forces: Appian *Bell. Civ.*, 1.88–95. Relations between local elites: Cébeillac-Gervasoni 2008: 56–7.

¹²⁷ Bispham's analysis of the stages of enfranchisement investigates the balance between the offer of citizenship as a measure to prevent disaffection and, alternatively, as a favour given to the defeated. He demonstrates that the Italians were in a position to negotiate for different terms throughout the war, even if they did not necessarily get what they wanted: Bispham 2007a: chapter 4, esp. 162–99.

¹²⁸ Most of the complaints were about the creation of new tribes, a decision which was soon reversed and all the Italians were enrolled in the already existing thirty-one rural tribes. There is another debate as to whether some of the Italian communities would have been enrolled in the more favourable tribes (for example, Aeclanum was assigned to the Cornelia tribe): Taylor 1960: chapter 8, esp. 102–3, 111–12; Bispham 2007a: 178–9, 189–99. Sherwin-White 1973: 156 notes that, in regard to the distribution of the new citizens among the voting tribes, the deals completed by radical leaders do not seem malicious or partisan.

¹²⁹ Most notably, Poppaedi Silo, in 39–38 BC, a descendant of the Marsic leader in the Social War, Q. Poppaedi Silo: Wiseman 1971: 253, no. 339; Brunt 1965: 96. Other descendants of leaders among the *socii* cited by Wiseman 1971 include: C. Asinius Pollio (no. 50); M. Herrenius (no. 205); P. Ventidius (no. 474); and possibly L. Staius Murcus (no. 411); T. Stailius (no. 413), Staius (no. 414).

¹³⁰ Wiseman 1971: 8, 24–5.

treated no differently than other Roman citizens who ended up on the wrong side of Sulla and were barred from participating in Roman governance. It may also be possible that the Italians who had fought on the side of the *socii* would not have necessarily wanted Roman senatorial status.¹³¹ Those who had supported Sulla could hope to fill the seats of the newly extended senate, as its size had doubled.¹³² If Sulla's rival, Marius, had survived and dominated Roman politics, no doubt there would have been more Marsic names on senatorial lists earlier on, such as that of Poppaedi Silo. Therefore, it was not simply enemies of Rome who were punished, but the *inimici* of Sulla.

What benefits the new Roman citizenship brought the Italians is not immediately apparent. For the majority of the populace outside of Rome it probably offered few tangible gains.¹³³ But then it was not 'the majority' that the authorities in Rome were concerned about, despite rhetoric to that end, or what later authors wanted to believe. It was about the advantages to be gained from the ability to influence decision-making at the highest levels. Hypothetically speaking, Livius Drusus would have been keen to see Poppaedi Silo by his side in senate, as he could probably rely on Silo's support and resources more readily than those of some of his fellow Romans. How Silo's followers would have been affected by gaining citizenship was less of an issue. If the non-elite of Italy were to benefit, it would have been primarily through their ambassadors in Rome who achieved high positions, and who, at the crucial moment, like the Magii, managed to end up in the right camp, namely Sulla's.

The impact of the new Roman citizenship that is of most interest for the purposes of this study is the effect it had on the individual's relationship to their place of birth, residence, new centre of power and the previous location of their civic membership. While enfranchisement did not turn Rome into a *Corfinium*, there still had to be a shared understanding of this new membership and its connection to place, and in particular to Rome. The city-elite seceded some of its control, in part by allowing Italian representation on its senate, along with the provision of key positions for Italian elites such as the Magii. In essence, it had to be more of a *caput* (capital) than a *polis*, which it achieved in part through the system of *municipia*, in combination with colonies and prefectures. As Bispham notes in his milestone work on *municipia*: 'Municipalization was more

¹³¹ Bispham 2007a: 430–1 notes that for some Etruscan aristocrats, e.g. Caecina and Maecenas, with prestigious heritage, the entry to the Roman senate would have been a step down.

¹³² Wiseman 1971: 6–8.

¹³³ Mouritsen 2006; Mouritsen 1998: 82, 87–99; with comments in Bispham 2007a: 2, note 6.

than a matter of administrative convenience, it was a vehicle for bringing the new citizens of Italy into a Roman political thought-world, one that had the inbuilt capacity to transcend local limitations, while preserving what was valuable in local loyalties.¹³⁴ The shift allowed Rome to be perceived as a political centre rather than as a hegemon. The question of what was Corfinium forced a reconfiguration of Rome's role as well. Cicero's philosophical writings on *patria* in the middle of the first century BC embody some of this rethinking, which we find continuing in Livy's speech of Camillus. What these dialogues reflect is a rebalancing from a more relational and fluid approach to place, embodied in Corfinium and *Italia*, to one that was more absolute and fixed territorially in Rome.¹³⁵ To this end, an intricate system was created which used a particular understanding of origin to mediate the inherent contradiction that encompassed both rootedness and movement.

The new framework, which established an official relationship between citizenship and place, was provided implicitly by the laws through which Roman citizenship was extended. These included the *lex Julia* in 90 BC, which was probably no more than an emergency measure to stop the spread of fighting;¹³⁶ the *lex Plautia Papiria* in 89 BC, a more complex statute as will be discussed below; and the senatorial decrees in the years which immediately followed.¹³⁷ For the first time across Italy all communities and individuals were to have a single shared understanding of how each related to, and was defined by, a specific place. This became necessary to enact one's citizenship and served to define the citizen body through the census.¹³⁸ An individual had to register either in Rome itself or in his designated settlement of 'origin'. This became known as the *origo*, the term which appears in later legal texts, but the concept was likely formulated in this earlier period, even if it was not referred to as such.¹³⁹ The chosen *origo* determined not only that individual's membership and voting tribe, but

¹³⁴ Bispham 2007a: 48.

¹³⁵ For discussion about relational and absolute approaches to space and place: Chapter 10, p. 390ff.

¹³⁶ The *lex Julia* of 90 BC, created at a time of emergency, is unlikely to have dealt with the complex arrangements necessary to integrate such a wide range of communities: Bispham 2007a; Steel 2013: 86. See also Coşkun 2009b: 143–50.

¹³⁷ For the variety of laws that granted Roman citizenship: Bispham 2007a: chapter 4; Sherwin-White 1973; Coşkun 2009b: 148–50; Thomas 1996: 106–7.

¹³⁸ A description of the census procedures in *municipia*, colonies and prefectures of Roman citizens exists on a Late Republican inscription of Heraclea: *Tabula Heracleensis*, lines 142–56 = *Roman Statutes* Law 24, (Vol. I, 355, 368, 388–89).

¹³⁹ Thomas argues that the concept of the *origo* was not just introduced at the time of Hadrian, but ingrained into the laws of the Late Republic in the wake of the Social War: Thomas 1996: chapter 5, esp. 127–32, 187–90.

also that of his descendants.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, the *origo* of an Italian leader, such as the pro-Roman Minatius Magius, would have been the *municipium* of Aeclanum, which was inscribed in the Cornelia tribe, as part of which he would then cast his vote.¹⁴¹

For those communities in Italy that did not necessarily orient themselves around clearly definable centres, a site still had to be chosen that could acquire *municipium* status that would then act as an *origo*. In the case of the Marrucini, for example, it was Teate which played that role. Sherwin-White notes that even with this change such communities retained their earlier corporate existence, based around a wider designation, perhaps that of a *touta*, which remained the basis of local political organization, and which they continued to employ on their inscriptions.¹⁴² ‘In-between’ places also existed, and no doubt there would have been some way to ensure that their populations were visible and counted, even if our evidence for the method is wanting. The system of census and registration was refined throughout the first century BC, as indicated on the statute inscribed on the *tabula Heracleensis*.¹⁴³ The clauses on this inscription outline the procedure for the census, but it remains unclear from the surviving text how those who lived in *fora* and *conciliabula* would have registered, whether at a nearby centre or in Rome itself, as these smaller settlements lacked official status as colonies, *municipia* or prefectures.¹⁴⁴ The statute does make explicit the necessity of having a clear Roman name formula for registration, *nomina*, *praenomina*, *cognomina*.¹⁴⁵ For some, this may have brought about further change in locating and defining oneself in society.

There was an interest in fixing people in space, aided by the new structures necessary to ratify enfranchisement, which required individuals to have a designated origin. While that may be the case, the laws still had to cater for the reality of ongoing mobility. For those who moved between multiple residences, one of them had to be identified as the *origo* (or the Republican equivalent of the term).¹⁴⁶ The *lex Plautia Papiria* of 89 BC,

¹⁴⁰ Thomas 1996: 187, 190. Bispham suggests that provisions for the municipal framework and distribution of the citizen body into tribes were probably the result of senatorial decrees which followed the *lex Julia*; Bispham 2007a: chapter 4.

¹⁴¹ Taylor 1960: 92, 111, 310.

¹⁴² Sherwin-White 1973: 153–4, with reference to: *ILS* 932; 6553; *CIL* III 4060.

¹⁴³ *Tabula Heracleensis*, lines 142–56 = *Roman Statutes* Law 24, (Vol. I, 355, 368, 388–89). Thomas 1996: 117–26.

¹⁴⁴ *Tabula Heracleensis*, lines 142–58 = *Roman Statutes* Law 24, (Vol. I, 355, 368, 388–90), see discussion on the census esp. 388–9.

¹⁴⁵ *Tabula Heracleensis*, lines 146–47 = *Roman Statutes* Law 24, (Vol. I, 355, 368, 389).

¹⁴⁶ Thomas 1996: chapter 5.

which was brought in following the initial grant of Roman citizenship by the *lex Julia* in 90 BC, may have been created in part to reconcile those cases where an individual's domicile and *origo* did not overlap.¹⁴⁷ We know very little about the *lex Plautia Papiria* as there is only one surviving reference to it in Cicero's speech *pro Archia* 7, where it is used to support Archias's right to hold on to his Roman citizenship. It is unclear whether what he records is only part of a more substantial statute, with provision for all those from federated states who may have other residences; or whether the statute is documented in its entirety and is more narrowly geared toward specific cases of *adscripti* such as Archias, a foreigner given honorary membership of an Italian community.¹⁴⁸

Whether broadly or narrowly conceived, the *lex Plautia Papiria* recognised mobility and provided a means to ensure that certain parts of the population were not excluded, but it also outlined limitations. An individual who was already inscribed as a member of an allied community prior to the passing of the law, in order to qualify for the Roman citizenship had to be resident in Italy at the time the law was passed, and from that point he only had sixty days for registration.¹⁴⁹ Such limitations would have been prohibitive to any Italian resident abroad at the time the law was passed, assuming it applied to them at all. Whether in the form of the *lex Plautia Papiria* or another law like it, there must have been provision in place to deal with their situation. The substantial size of the Italian population abroad when the law was passed makes it more likely that the driving force behind its creation was not to be inclusive, but exclusive, ensuring that all those who were living abroad had little opportunity to

¹⁴⁷ For an overview of the law: Sherwin-White 1973: 151–3; Bispham 2007a: 172. *Domicilium* was separate from *origo*, and an individual could have several domiciles: Thomas 1996: chapter 5, esp. 106–7, 117–26.

One of the key documents that addresses multiple domiciles in the Late Republican period is the *Tabula Heracleensis*, lines 157–8 = *Roman Statutes* Law 24, (Vol. I, 355, 369, 389–90). For domicile in relation to the *Lex Tarentina*, Col I, line 43 = *Roman Statutes* Law 15, (Vol. I, 301, 305, 311).

One of the earliest instances of *domicilium* occurs in Plautus's comedy *Miles Gloriosus*, 450–1, in which an abducted maiden, Philocomasium states: *Hosticum hoc mihi domicilium est, Athenis domus est Atticus* (This is my domicile while I am abroad here, and my home is at Athens in Attica.)

¹⁴⁸ In his speech, *Pro Archia* 7, Cicero states; *Data est civitas Silvani lege et Carbonis: si qui foederatis civitatibus ascripti fuissent, si tum cum lex ferebatur in Italia domicilium habuissent et si sexaginta diebus apud praetorem essent professi*. 'The citizenship was given by the law of Silvanus and Carbo: if any had been added to allied citizenships, if then when the statute was being passed they had had their residence in Italy and if within sixty days they had made a declaration before the praetor.' Translation and commentary: Bispham 2007a: 172. Sherwin-White 1973: 151–3.

¹⁴⁹ As outlined in Cicero, *Pro Archia* 7.

claim Roman citizenship. Whether those Italians who lived in Asia Minor, or other provinces, would have been interested in acquiring Roman citizenship at this time, or whether for them it was an empty label, is another matter.¹⁵⁰ We may also wonder if it would have left them in a kind of limbo, as earlier memberships of Italic communities were officially no longer valid. At least for Mithridates, when it came to the massacre, the distinction mattered little. As far as we know, all those who were Italian or Roman were classed as *Rhōmaioi*.

The legal mechanism through which citizenship was enacted implies that the *origo* could be distinct from birthplace and also from domicile, of which there may have been several. As Thomas observed in his study of the subject, since the *origo* did not necessarily have to be the individual's or his ancestors' place of birth or residence it created a juridically constructed yet fictional territoriality.¹⁵¹ The extension of the Roman citizenship induced a fundamental shift in the meaning and relevance of origin, and a dissociation of the Roman *populus* from its locality. The juridical concept of the *origo*, by affording a physical place a role in determining one's identity as part of the *cives* or *populus Romanus*, presented a new basis for allegiance and belonging. It allowed the creation of a shared homeland based on a legal fiction that transcended geographic and perceived ethnic boundaries.¹⁵² This development may be seen as the continuation of the flexible system of integration that Rome had been operating for centuries, which depended on differential legal statuses that were not necessarily determined by geographical location or ethnicity. For Eckstein, it was precisely this flexibility that led to Rome's success, and resulted in what he sees as its unique inclusiveness.¹⁵³

While the role of Rome was not that of Corfinium, the *caput imperii*, it did embody some of its elements, and Rome was representative of what Cicero saw as universal membership – *universae civitatis*.¹⁵⁴ That this role was widely accepted is shown by the number of Italians who ended up in the Roman senate, including those who had been on the side of the *socii*.¹⁵⁵ Other places such as the *municipia*, first in Italy and then the empire, were

¹⁵⁰ For Italians' presence around the Mediterranean at this time: Chapter 2.

¹⁵¹ Thomas 1996: 160.

¹⁵² Thomas 1996: 160; Ando 1999: 8. While on the surface it implies fixity through a tie to absolute space, in its application it acknowledged that a relationship between identity and place existed in what Lefebvre identified as relational space-time, where different temporalities co-exist and intersect: Lefebvre [1974] 1991.

¹⁵³ Eckstein 2006: 311–12.

¹⁵⁴ Cicero *de Legibus* 2.2.5: . . . *qua rei publicae nomen universae civitatis est*.

¹⁵⁵ Wiseman 1971: 8, 24–5.

connected to Rome in a way that created an organism with territorial spread, which was not a territorial state. On the surface, the new framework artificially bound previously fluid relationships between site, community and individual to points in the landscape, in the form of Rome and its officially designated settlements such as the *municipia*. But there was more flexibility within the system than we might think. Bispham notes that it 'met the needs of the Italians to belong to a recognizably Roman political system, whilst retaining to a large degree the communal identities and some of the values associated with those identities, of their communities of *origo*'.¹⁵⁶ The process created an additional layer shared by all, including Rome. Like Gabba, Bispham questions the extent that these measures led to Italian unity, and contemplates whether there was simply a decline of particularism due to the dismantling of traditional structures.¹⁵⁷ While there is no doubt that from this point there was rising homogeneity across Italy, most notable in the rapid spread of Latin, as we will see below, certain types of local particularism were not wholly dismantled but encouraged and celebrated.¹⁵⁸ What is clear is that alongside even greater opportunities for mobility there was a (re)invigorated interest in locality and in displaying ones connections and patronage to it.

Elite Epigraphy: Marking One's Place in the Landscape

The new membership, and Rome's central position within it, necessitated a reconfiguration of individuals' relationships to sites in the landscape. We witness growing ties to specific settlements, or at least an interest in making the association visible, through the emergent practice of recording acts of patronage on inscriptions. This trend of documenting *euergetism*,

¹⁵⁶ Bispham 2007a: 438–9.

¹⁵⁷ Bispham 2007a: 444; Gabba 1994a: 14–16; 17–31, 141–2.

¹⁵⁸ Our understanding of the potential role of the state in such contexts of political incorporation may be aided by studies of more recent periods. Watkins presents a demographic study of socio-cultural homogenisation in the context of emerging nation-state boundaries in Europe towards the end of the nineteenth century. By focusing on familial social practices such as child rearing, nursing trends and fertility rates, she traces the way nationalistic trends and national boundaries enhance a move from regional heterogeneity to national homogeneity. The key sources of influence are no longer those living nearby but others who are part of the national community. She concludes that the role of the state in the association between the political and the demographic community are twofold: (1) the state evens out local socio-economic circumstances, hence citizens live more similarly within national territory; (2) the state influences the creation of community through rights and the concept of citizenship: Watkins 1991.

already evidenced throughout Italy and overseas in the second century BC, rapidly gained momentum in the Late Republic.¹⁵⁹ A substantial number of epigraphic studies charting this development highlight the rising concern to assert one's position as patron to a specific site or to record a duty done as part of an official magisterial role.¹⁶⁰ Before 90 BC, there are relatively few examples of voluntary elite *euergetism*, with a very steep rise from the Sullan period onwards. Increasingly, these declarations appeared in settlements at the same time as they disappeared, almost completely by the first century AD, from such prominent rural sanctuary sites as Pietrabbondante and Rossano di Vaglio.¹⁶¹ The changes in the epigraphic habit and its rapid growth in Rome and Italy are a reflection of a shift in the relationship between identity and locality.

The practice of creating permanent textual records for public display served not only to advertise an individual's wealth and status but also to make a permanent link with the site. The setting up of such public inscriptions was a way to fix and assert a place within history, society and the cosmos.¹⁶² As their number across Rome and Italy increased substantially from the end of the first century BC, these monuments did not simply preserve memory but created it and publicised it. The legitimising process through monuments was now embedded in the spaces of everyday practice.¹⁶³ Perhaps it was an attempt to respond, with a false claim of permanency, to what may have been a time of anxiety about social dislocation.¹⁶⁴ Also, it would have been a way to lay claim and extend the patronage networks that were more easily accessible after the Social War, and through a new territorial structure were opened up to fresh opportunities.¹⁶⁵ This structure privileged the link between Rome and the *municipia*, and hence the only position that mattered was the settlement's relationship to Rome, not the former links they may have had to

¹⁵⁹ For the overseas context: [Chapter 2](#)

¹⁶⁰ Inscriptions in Italy: Cooley 2000; *Imagines Italicae*; Woolf 1996; *Les bourgeoisies* 1983; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1998; Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1996; Lejeune 1990; Rix 2002; Lomas, Whitehouse and Wilkins 2007; Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi 2006; Weiss 2010; Beard 1985; Beard 1991; Mouritsen 1997.

¹⁶¹ See references above for inscriptions at these sanctuaries, pp. 328, 335. I am also grateful to Michael Crawford for sharing his preliminary ideas that, according to the currently available evidence, it appears that in the second century BC, during a period of restructuring, there may have been a shift in the nature of dedications within the sanctuary at Rossano di Vaglio. The earlier private inscriptions seem to have been removed and reused within the rebuilt sections, while a new wave of magisterial dedicatory texts took priority of place within the cult site.

¹⁶² Woolf 1996. ¹⁶³ See above, p. 329, in reference to Lefebvre 1961.

¹⁶⁴ Woolf G. 1996: 29–31, 39.

¹⁶⁵ Whole communities could become clients: Wiseman 1971: 45.

each other, nor to anyone outside of Italy. However, those prior links would have played a part in structuring the new system, and hence, to an extent, would have been incorporated within it. For example, Minatius Magius' special relationship with Sulla would have helped to ensure that his hometown, Aeclanum, was inscribed in the prominent Cornelia tribe, as distinct from his neighbouring communities in Hirpinia, which were shunted into the seemingly less prestigious Galeria.¹⁶⁶

Fortuitously, at Aeclanum we have late Republican inscriptions that record the funding of public works by Marcus Magius Surus, the son of Minatius, and other new, local patrons, such as the Sullan supporter Gaius Quinctius Valgus.¹⁶⁷ Valgus' generosity did not just stem from a sense of belonging or attachment to Aeclanum itself. Patronage could be spread across a number of locations, and we know that he was also a patron of nearby Frigento.¹⁶⁸ His wealth, which allowed him to possess substantial territory in the region of Hirpinia, was, according to Cicero, the result of others' loss in the proscriptions.¹⁶⁹ Bispham's findings corroborate that such phenomena as Valgus' multi-town magistracy and extra-local importance reveal some of the ways that public cooperation and interaction between cities and elites prior to enfranchisement may have become institutionalised within the process of the *municipium* after the Social War.¹⁷⁰ These were now the new *fora* for display and interaction.

Alternative sites for similar practices, such as rural sanctuaries, could no longer maintain the previous socio-political role within the new framework. This may explain why such major sites as Pietrabbondante and Rossano di Vaglio fell out of use by the end of the first century AD.¹⁷¹ Other reasons have been investigated by Stek, especially the extent to which these sites were seen as foci of resistance, and may have been dismantled for that reason. He concludes that their decline does not appear to be a direct result of Roman action but part of a wider refocusing away from the countryside and onto the urban sphere.¹⁷² While there were some exceptions, such as the Etruscan *Fanum Voltumnae*, where festivals were

¹⁶⁶ Salmon 1989: 232–3; Santangelo 2007: 71; Taylor 1960: 92, 111, 310. Isayev 2013.

¹⁶⁷ ILLRP 2.523 = ILS 5318, CIL I(2) 1722. With note p. 319, note 30, above.

¹⁶⁸ ILLRP 2.598: C. Quinctius C. f. Valgus / L. Sepunius L. f. quinq(ue)n(nales) / murum portas forum / porticus curia(m) cisterna(m) / d(e) d(e)curionum s(ententia) facie(ndum) curar(unt) ei(dem)q(ue) prob(arunt). With Bispham 2007a: 498, Q79. For Frigento: Isayev 2013.

¹⁶⁹ Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* 3.2.8

¹⁷⁰ Municipia were not only the primary areas for elite display but encouraged competition between communities: Bispham 2007a: 430, 434. Lomas 1997.

¹⁷¹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 137–43. Rossano di Vaglio continues to have sporadic evidence of activity until the first century AD: Isayev 2007a: 132–9, 224; Isayev 2010.

¹⁷² Stek 2009: 1–2, 6, 34, chapter 3.

revived in the following period,¹⁷³ in most cases it seems they functioned as cult centres only, disassociated from their other roles. That may not have been enough of a reason to continue their upkeep. Or perhaps the main cult activities were now hosted by the nearby settlements.¹⁷⁴ Buonocore traces the progression of *magistri* of sanctuaries into *magistri pagorum*, whose responsibilities became the administration of settlements.¹⁷⁵ Those elites for whom the cult sites were a stage for display prior to the Social War had either been killed or transferred their activities to theatres with bigger audiences now gathering in the *municipia*, and in Rome. The clusters of networks that previously filtered through different types of centres, sanctuaries among them, were re-oriented to the new capital.

Local Traditions Re-invented

Within the Italian landscape of *municipia* and settlements with new status designations, there were old established centres with rich histories. Some housed well-known cult sites, festivals and traditions. Interestingly, the practices associated with them did not disappear. Only the large rural sanctuaries were no longer active. At other sites, if anything, they were encouraged to be re-instated and re-enacted, as we will see below. In light of the discussion on integration earlier in the chapter, it may be surprising that this particularism gained momentum in the Late Republic and was at its height during the Augustan age, precisely when integrative practices were also most vigorous. Augustus, well known for his interest in antiquarianism, encouraged the propagation of local place-based cultural traditions and rituals which, by the time of his reign, would have been no more than nostalgia and (re)invented relics.¹⁷⁶ These were fixed in space through the growing practice of mapping and, in time, by the proliferation of inscribed calendars, containing ever-increasing celebrations connected to the princeps and his family.¹⁷⁷ Bradley traces the Late Republican trend in the renewed celebration of traditions and practices at

¹⁷³ See discussion below p. 356.

¹⁷⁴ Lejeune 1990: 39 suggests that the cult of Mefitis at Rossano di Vaglio was moved to the nearby colony of Potentia in the early Imperial period.

¹⁷⁵ Buonocore 2002: 30–44.

¹⁷⁶ Some of the trends are outlined by Dench 2005 and Bradley 2007, but their primary interest is the changing nature of *ethné* and identities, rather than how these may be affected by changing perceptions of place.

¹⁷⁷ For the Calendar: Feeney 2007; Rüpke 2011.

the local level.¹⁷⁸ From the variety of instances, some stretching back into the second century BC, it is difficult to identify a single driving force behind this development. In part, it has been interpreted as survival of local tradition, but also as resistance to Roman hegemony. Resistance may have been the case prior to the Social War in specific contexts, most notably as exemplified by the *lex Osca*.¹⁷⁹ The statute of the Bantian community was inscribed in Oscan at the start of the first century BC on a re-used bronze tablet that had an earlier inscription in Latin on the reverse. As the editors of the statute point out, the Oscan text was probably written by individuals who were Latin-speakers as it integrates Latin elements and has shared features with an earlier charter of a Latin colony from circa 300 BC.¹⁸⁰ Resistance, or rather local-pride, may have been behind the creation of this text in Oscan. But language alone was not a dividing line between the opponents, as the coins of the *socii* demonstrate, bearing legends both in Oscan and Latin. The rapid spread of Latin across Italy in the decades after the Social War suggests that the Oscan language may have been a weak marker of identity even prior to the conflict.

Paradoxically, the post-war renewal of diverse Italic traditions went hand in hand with the promulgation of the common heritage of Rome and Italy in the Augustus era. The situation is comparable to that of the USSR and her republics after the 1917 revolution, each given specific cultural traits. The renewed celebrations, local rituals and re-creation of traditional objects, which appeared throughout Italy after the Social War, were not acts of resistance by communities under threat. Instead, they were part of an almost celebratory re-focusing or re-prioritisation of the local, as illustrated by the upsurge of epigraphic displays of *euergetism*. For the elite, who now had to fit themselves into a new framework of greater competition, these traditions provided another outlet to display their power and status, and to strengthen their local networks. They also allowed this highly mobile group to have presence, even at those sites where their physical presence was minimal.

We find this resurgence of tradition most vividly in the Etruscan context of the Julio-Claudian period. It is visible in personal objects, such as the Corsini throne, which was made to look like its prototype of the Archaic period.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ See especially Bradley 2997; Torelli 1999 and others have pointed to the resurgence of local myths and traditions in coroplastic art, especially in religious contexts in the second century BC.

¹⁷⁹ *Lex Oscae Tabulae Bantinae* = Law 13 *Roman Statutes* (Vol. 1, 271).

¹⁸⁰ *Lex Latina Tabulae Bantinae* = Law 7 *Roman Statutes* (Vol., 193). The editors suggest a date of the late second century BC (pp. 195–7, 276).

¹⁸¹ Torelli 1999: 150–64; Bradley 2007: 312–13.

It is evident in the creation of public monuments, such as the Cerveteri relief depicting personifications of Etruscan cities. Continuity with the past was fabricated, for example, through new records such as the Tarquinian *fasti* of *summi haruspices* – the venerated Etruscan priests.¹⁸² This record was displayed under Claudius's reign, presumably imitating earlier lists. Interestingly, the later *fasti* included more non-Etruscan than Etruscan names.¹⁸³ Celebrations helped to create a particular pre-Roman Italy. *Fanum Voltumnae*, once the theatre for Etruscan deliberations on war and peace between multiple communities, now hosted a revived religious festival that acted as a symbol of some primordial Etruscan collective identity, and became part of the relaunched cultural mosaic of Roman Italy.¹⁸⁴ It was not local incentive alone that fuelled this resurgence. Etruscan customs were also notable in Rome. The *prophecy of Vegoia*, either a late Republican or Imperial text, shows continuing Roman fascination with Etruscan theories of time. It was also included in the corpus of the Roman land surveyors to act as a warning against attempts to move traditional land boundaries.¹⁸⁵ The early emperors, Augustus most notably, were particularly interested in re-invigorating the traditions of the once-powerful Etruscans. Even his Mausoleum in Rome – a round tumulus with an earth mound – may have been designed to echo the Etruscan tumuli of ancient Caere.

Throughout Italy, local heritage pre-dating the Social War was sought and exhibited. At the Umbrian city of Iguvium, the *tabulae Iguvinae* recording ancient and obscure community rituals were put on display, although some were hung upside down.¹⁸⁶ Individuals too were keen to find suitable traditional backgrounds for themselves and display their local origins. Ovid plays on this trend in an ironic statement in the *Amores*: 'Mantua rejoices in Virgil, Verona in Catullus: I will be known as the glory of the Paeligni.'¹⁸⁷ The twist here is that the Paeligni were the bulwark of the *socii*, and in their remit was the site of Corfinium. It is notable that he does not cite a specific city but a whole people. His remark makes visible the constructed nature of such identities, and the bi-focal ability to take pride in one's birthplace while being fully a part of Roman culture. Ovid, operating from Rome, was not only the consumer of Roman culture but its creator. His poetry provided the archetype of how to pine for Rome.

¹⁸² Tacitus *Annals*, 11.15. ¹⁸³ Tacitus *Annals*, 11.15. ¹⁸⁴ CIL XI.5265: Coarelli 2001.

¹⁸⁵ Harris 1971: 34 no. 2; Adams 2003: 182; Feeney 2007: 146–7.

¹⁸⁶ For *tabulae Iguvinae* – Iguvine tables: Ancillotti and Cerri 1996; Bradley 2000: 74–6; Sisani 2001; Weiss 2010.

¹⁸⁷ Ovid *Amores* 3.15.7–8: *Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo; Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego.*

We may remember the outpourings of nostalgia in his exilic corpus, the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, written from Tomis on the Black Sea. These are reserved for Rome, not his birthplace. We see a similar nostalgia for Rome in Cicero's writings from exile.¹⁸⁸

Aside from poetry, another way to publicise one's pride in local traditions, and the personal histories associated with them, to a wide audience was through coinage. Farney has shown that there is increasing interest in advertising mythical symbols in association with specific places, or images of key monuments from their local cult sites, detectable in the moneyers' choice of coin imagery.¹⁸⁹ His analysis of ethnic *cognomina* further indicates how Augustan senators were keen to advertise their ancestral Italian origins, as long as they were of the appropriate kind.¹⁹⁰ The most popular name was Sabinus. This is confirmed by Cicero, who comments ironically on the respectability that taking on such a *cognomen* would bring to those seeking electoral success.¹⁹¹ An interest in assuming Italic names does not reflect a reversion to a pre-Social War identity. Paradoxically, as Bradley observes, the prominence of such names in our historical sources is a sign of the success of these small-town notables in leaving their own origins behind.¹⁹² Augustus himself was the grandson of a banker from Velitrae.¹⁹³

It is as if there was a desire to give more value to the local through emotional and mythical attachment. For Torelli, the antiquarianism is a sign of the political decline of the traditional elite who revert to the greatness of their past, which has little influence in an imperial present.¹⁹⁴ Except, of course, for the princeps, who uses the same cultural language to legitimize his power through a reconstructed family narrative, linking to the founders of Rome and Venus herself. This is most clearly displayed visually through the sculpture programme of the Augustan Forum. Nostalgia is not ever-present in ancient society. But in the last decades of the Republic, and during the principate, it was re-invigorated and became a central part of politics and identity. Ovid's and Cicero's literature fuelled it.¹⁹⁵ It is in this period that inscriptions of Italians overseas begin to record the deceased's *origo* or local citizenship on the tombstones of those who died away from home.¹⁹⁶

¹⁸⁸ See Chapter 11, p. 395ff. ¹⁸⁹ Farney 2007: 49–53. ¹⁹⁰ Farney 2007: 215–27.

¹⁹¹ Cicero *ad Fam.* 15.20.1: Farney 2007: 91–7. ¹⁹² For names of Haruspices: Haack 2006.

¹⁹³ Suetonius *Divus Augustus*, 2–3, 7: Wiseman 1971: 9–10. ¹⁹⁴ Torelli 1975: 191.

¹⁹⁵ See Chapter 11, p. 395ff. ¹⁹⁶ Woolf 1996: 32–3, 38–9.

Conclusion

Any memory that Corfinium was once a possibility, an alternative way of distributing power in Italy and the Empire, seems to have vanished by the time of Augustus. From this perspective, we can explain the Social War not as an opposition between Rome and Corfinium, or Rome and Italy, but as a contest between two different models of place; how place relates to politics, identity and representation. Ties to ethnic groups or states did not fuel this, although some historical narratives couch the events in nationalistic terms. Rather, the conflict was a struggle between ambitious elites, with wide-ranging networks, keen to ensure that they and their supporters had equal access to the privileges and opportunities of empire, in which they had been investing resources for generations before the War. Had the Italian *socii* been successful, we have no way of knowing what their system of governing Italy may have looked like, nor how long it would have lasted, and whether it would have become like Roman practice in the end. But we might expect that there would have been a different approach to the centre of power, the capital – *caput imperii* – and the way in which other communities would link to it. We may wonder whether there would have been a single civic membership for all on the peninsula, although under a different name. Perhaps an Italian citizenship? Whether this would have prevented the massacre of Romans and Italians in Asia Minor in 88 BC or the Civil War between Marius and Sulla is speculation. But in the case of the Civil War, we might imagine that there would have been less at stake to fight for.

Speculation aside, we know the Roman model succeeded in the end, requiring a reconfiguration of the role of place and a re-alignment of the networks that linked the nodes and vectors directly to it. The extension of Roman citizenship to communities across the peninsula created a new understanding of the local and its incorporation into a greater whole. With the cessation of separate alliances, and the privileged status held by the Latin colonies, allegiance now had a single focus in Rome. Officially, it put communities outside the metropolis on a new footing, but in practice the standing of the local elite among the key players in Rome determined their fate, as before. Perhaps reluctantly at first, the new system seems to have embedded itself within a few decades of the Social War. The rapid change in the organisation of the inhabited landscape was astounding. *Municipia* rose alongside new road systems, while previously prominent centres, whether settlements or sanctuaries, receded. Some stopped functioning altogether, either due to destruction during the wars or because the new routeways left them behind in space and history.

Following the interlude of the Social War, language, architecture, organisation of space and consumption habits, became increasingly homogenised throughout the first century BC. Even the parallel rise in re-invigorated local traditions had the same roots. The new structures privileged and encouraged a more fixed, absolute approach to space, over one that had previously been more relational with multiple foci of allegiance, not necessarily tied to the land. Yet, even within the new Roman Italy, as the [next chapter](#) will demonstrate, neither the state nor the administrative units, nor even the city, were conceived of as bounded territorial designations in the way they appear to have been in the later Imperial period. The imagined community still had to recognise a more fluid connection with actual territory and an acceptance of mobility and the circulation of people, even if the place they now circulated around was Rome.

10 | Mapping the Moving Rome of Livy's Camillus Speech

If Rome was not a Corfinium, then what was it by the end of the first century BC, as a city, an idea and a homeland? Could it be made into more than the mobile or metaphorical city of Kandinsky's dream – perpetually changed through experience?¹ Rome encompassed a dispersed and transient community made coherent through ties to a specific point in space and in the imagination. Its physical being and the site on which it stood were imbued with increasingly mythic significance, reinforcing its position at the centre of power and allegiance. This final section of the book, focusing on Rome in the first century BC, will show how place-specific belonging was generated in people's historic experience. It will use Cicero and Livy as key witnesses and, through the exploration of cartography, illustrate how ancient conceptions of space made it difficult to map and physically define Rome. Today, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights anticipates and protects the seeming permanence of the bond between a territorial state and belonging.² But what if we are to withhold such an assumption? And think instead that the link changes depending on its context in time and space; and that it is affected by the political and socio-cultural environment which can emphasise or suppress it. If there is no true, authentic or essential relationship between people and territory – body and soil³ – how does the bond between land and identity come into being? The perspective provides an alternative to Kant's conceptualisation of world communities as territorially bounded and existing in absolute space.⁴ Embodied in the formation of Rome is the paradox of place, both mobile and fixed.

¹ Kandinsky 1969: 57. 'A great city built according to all the rules of architecture and then suddenly shaken by a an unpredictable and incalculable force'. The city is changed through movement and practices, creating under the surface a metaphorical or mobile city within the one that is planned. In this work, Kandinsky conceives of spatial experience mainly in psychoanalytic terms, and traces it to the experience of space in childhood. In relation to practiced space: De Certeau 1984: 110.

² In particular, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, Articles 9, 13 and 15.

³ This was the most crucial observation of our 2008–9 project, *De-Placing Future Memory*, which considered the permeability of the bond between memory and place, as articulated by the geographer John Wylie. <http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/deplacingfuturememory/index.php>.

⁴ Kant 1974; Kant 1990. With critique by Harvey 2009: chapter 1, 17–36, 77–8.

How was Rome constructed in the imagination? Could it be moved to exist anywhere, or was its material locatedness essential for it to be Rome? These concerns are addressed directly in the legend that will be our starting point: the speech of Camillus which implored Romans not to move from the site of Rome to nearby Veii after Rome's destruction in the Gallic Sack.⁵ One version of this episode was recorded by Livy at the end of the Roman Republic to conclude the fifth book of his 142-volume work, *Ab Urbe Condita – From the Founding of the City* (the speech is given in its entirety in [Appendix D](#)). The context of its retelling, and the original events that inspired Livy's narrative, have been central to understanding Roman identity, myth-making, empire-building and religion. For our purposes, it reveals the challenges that Livy faced in making Rome's physical fabric and its spatial location meaningful to those who called themselves Roman, but who lived diverse and dispersed lives. Others before him may have tried to articulate this, but Livy's work highlights that the issue was acute in his time, as evident in the writings and practices of his contemporaries. Camillus's speech will be used to understand Livy's Rome, not the historic one of the fourth century BC, in which the speech was set. For those who lived outside the City at the end of the Republic, and were linked to it through citizenship, their allegiance and loyalty needed to be re-inscribed, as did the orientation of their *patria* – fatherland. The challenges to achieving this and the context in which Livy writes will be explored first. The [next chapter](#) will consider the social structures available at the time by examining the subtle differences between Cicero's and Livy's understanding of Rome.

The Roman Setting of Livy's Camillus Speech

Livy wrote at a crucial moment for the Roman Republic.⁶ The young Octavian was about to become Augustus, and retrospectively Rome's first emperor, which effectively ended the Republic. Livy's annalistic history clearly had Rome at its centre; a biography of the city which required it to have a physical form. He was one of its greatest biographers, although himself originating from northern Italy, near Padua. His Cisalpine home only received full Roman citizenship when he was about ten years old, decades after the rest of Italy was enfranchised in 89 BC.⁷ The position of

⁵ Livy 5.51–54. Full text and translation: [Appendix D](#).

⁶ Livy is believed to have published the first part of his work by 27 BC: Luce 1965.

⁷ The Cisalpine region was probably enfranchised in 49 BC: Sherwin-White 1973: 157–9; Williams 2001: 15–16. For the enfranchisement of Italy in 89 BC: [Chapter 9](#).

the city of Rome within the newly configured community of the first century was not wholly self-evident. It needed to be argued for, defined and made meaningful. This is the task taken on by Livy in recounting the speech of Camillus. It was to have been delivered in 387 BC,⁸ in the wake of the Gallic Sack of Rome, some three centuries before Livy's time.⁹ The historian evokes the setting for the decisive events by drawing the reader into the audience of the assembled inhabitants poised at a moment of conflicting emotions: joy at finally expelling the Gauls and reclaiming Rome for themselves, countered by grief at seeing it devastated. The narrator alludes to the traces of recent struggles and destruction of the urban fabric (5.53.1–8). We see the houses burnt and the streets littered with debris. The most sacred sites and the citadel on the Capitoline hill are reminders of the sacrifice of those brave citizens who refused to abandon the citadel and surrender their *patria*. The pain of these events is felt more acutely since only six years previously (as we would have read in the first part of book five (5.1–22)) it was the Romans who had been victors in the siege and occupation of Veii. How different were these emotions to the glorious celebrations of such a short time ago.

From this moment of pathos Livy draws our attention to the returning inhabitants, who, having carried out their immediate religious obligations, are at the point of deciding what to do next. The expectation is of a new beginning, starting with the reconstruction of the city and its urban infrastructure. And we, as well as the ancient reader, know that the final result was indeed that, but it may not have been. The outcome depended on the resolution of a debate between two opposing factions, presented partly as a divide between plebeians and patricians. The debate is centred on the proposal that instead of rebuilding the ruins of Rome, the inhabitants should move to the perfectly good city of Veii, which having been recently conquered, was ready for occupation. The argument against the move is delivered by Camillus. His aim is to prevent the abandonment of Rome by appealing to the emotional and practical sensibilities of his audience. He draws on homeland and sacredness, in an attempt to construct the city as a site of communal practices and memory. Driving the speech are a series of harsh questions for his fellow Romans (5.51.3–4):

For why did we seek to win her back, why rescue her, when besieged, from the hands of the enemy, if now that she is recovered, we desert her? And although, while the Gauls were victorious and in possession of the entire City, the Capitol nevertheless, and the Citadel were held by the gods and men of Rome, and now that

⁸ The date of the Gallic Sack as 387 BC: Williams 2001: 13. ⁹ Livy 5.51–54.

the Romans are victorious and the City recovered, are the Citadel and Capitol to be deserted? Shall our prosperity make Rome more desolate than our adversity has done?

Quid enim repetiimus, quid obsessam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si reciperatam ipsi deserimus? Et cum uictoribus Gallis capta tota urbe Capitolium tamen atque arcem dique et homines Romani tenuerint, uictoribus Romanis reciperata urbe arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur et plus uastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet quam aduersa fecit?

So did Camillus succeed? Did he convince the assembled Romans not to move? Livy's comment, to our surprise, is: not quite.¹⁰ In a short postscript to the speech, which closes his fifth book, the historian records that it was not the speech that finally convinced the populace to stay, although they were moved by its religious elements, but a seemingly unrelated event. Livy describes how a centurion marching through the forum with his cohort was heard calling to his standard bearers: 'Fix your standard; it will be best for us to remain here!'¹¹ The senators took this as an omen and with the support of the plebeians the decision was taken to stay and rebuild the city. At this point in the narrative, as if through the lens of a camera panning out, the entirety of what is Rome comes into view. The image which we are left with from a bird's eye perspective in both time and space is of the urban fabric being rapidly re-instated. We follow the activity of the inhabitants below. Livy's voice-over explains that in the haste of construction rebuilding was haphazard, hence the roads of Rome (his and our Rome) run every which way, and it has the appearance of a city occupied by settlers rather than one methodically planned.¹²

Historicity of the Debate about Moving Rome

The following is a short back-story to Livy's narrative in the context of first-century BC Rome. By the end of the Republic, the Sack of Rome by the Gauls, and the heroism of a Marcus Furius Camillus, had gained legendary

¹⁰ For the ending of book 5, and the 'unsuccessful speech' as a narrative tool to convince the outside audience, if not the internal audience: Chaplin 2000: 86–8.

¹¹ Livy 5.55.1: *signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime* . . . Why there was a centurion marching with his cohort inside the pomerium and placing a standard in the forum is another matter.

¹² Livy 5.55.5: *formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam diuisae similis*. The implication is that it does not resemble the other great, planned Mediterranean cities, and hence perhaps is not worthy of being a capital, yet. The imperial building programmes would ensure it was. Kraus 1994 considers other meanings of *occupata*, including the possible evocation of the occupation of the Gauls, and Tacitus's use of the episode in reference to Nero's fire, which he presents as worse than the Gallic Sack.

proportions. These were used in dramatic performances and by ancient writers to evoke an atmosphere of pathos, allegiance, patriotism and moral conflict.¹³ Livy, writing at some considerable distance from the original events, provides the most complete surviving historical narrative of the episode.¹⁴ He recounts how, following a crushing defeat at the Allia and the Roman retreat, the Gauls captured the city of Rome and razed it to the ground. All was destroyed except the Capitol, which continued to be occupied by a few brave Romans who managed to withstand the siege until the enemy was driven away with the help of Camillus. A number of other ancient writers record that Rome had suffered an attack by an armed group from the north in the early fourth century BC.¹⁵ We have enough robust evidence to be confident that such an event did happen and that it had a significant enough impact to have been of wide interest beyond Rome itself, although it became somewhat exaggerated in the annalistic tradition. Who exactly comprised this group, why they occupied Rome, the extent of their destructive tendencies and how they were finally persuaded to leave have all been matters for speculation and colourful historical discourse.¹⁶ Over time, the narrative mutated into the form that was received by Livy, which converted the memory of defeat and capture into a story of victory and rebirth. Initially prominent narrative strands were replaced by others and embellished to suit the needs of the times.¹⁷ Early versions of the Gallic Sack highlighted the importance of the role of Lucius Albinus and his transfer of the priestesses of Vesta and the *sacra* (sacred objects) from Rome to Caere for safekeeping during the siege.¹⁸ There were even suggestions that the Capitoline stronghold had in fact fallen and the Gauls left, unharmed and undefeated.¹⁹ In later versions, including Livy's narrative, the transporting of the *sacra* and the Vestals still appears, but only in passing (5.50.3), instead the focus is on the long, but unsuccessful,

¹³ For the Republican popularity of the Camillus myth: Bruun 2000; Gaertner 2008; Coudry and Späth 2001.

¹⁴ For other narratives of the events: Dionysius of Halicarnassus 13, and in Plutarch's *Camillus*. Plutarch's Camillus is shown in a less favourable light, as arrogant and over-ambitious, and his role is more balanced than the single heroism and piety of Livy's character.

¹⁵ Some of the more extended narratives are in Livy 5.35–55; Ennius *Annales* 227–8 Sk; Silius Italicus 4.150–1, 6.555–6, Tertullian *Apologeticus* 40.9

¹⁶ For the historicity of the Gallic Sack: Williams 2001: chapter 4; Holloway 1994: 91–102; Cornell 1995: 313–18; Kolb 2002: 140–1; Roseberger 2003. For issues of dating the events, Oakley 1997: 105–6; Ogilvie [1965] 1978: 628–30. For the extent of destruction and what the Gauls were doing as far south as Rome: Forsythe 2005: 252.

¹⁷ Williams 2001: chapter 4, esp. 142. ¹⁸ Williams 2001: 144–5, 149.

¹⁹ Polybius, 1.6.3–4 provides the first mention that the Capitol remained unoccupied: for the plausibility and dissemination of alternative traditions: Williams 2001: 143–71.

siege of the Capitol.²⁰ The indestructible nature of the Capitol with its temple of Jupiter and other sacred occupants became symbolic of the gods' investment in the site and, by extension, acted as a divinely ordained guarantee of Roman power and inviolability. The fluidity of the narrative over time may be frustrating from the point of view of reconstructing events, but is insightful for understanding the historical context of transmission. The Capitol emerged as the bedrock of Rome.

Equally elusive is the historicity of the debate about whether part or all of the Roman population should move to Veii. According to Livy, the debate began before the coming of the Gauls. It surfaced after Veii was captured following a ten-year siege by Rome, and gained momentum after the Gallic Sack. Other sources mention the debate, which suggests that, at the very least, there was a strong tradition by the end of the Republic that it had taken place,²¹ although the extent of Marcus Furius Camillus's role in it remains questionable. In Livy's version, once Veii was captured and became part of the *ager Romanus* – the area over which Rome exercised power²² – there was a proposal for a move to this newly subdued city (5.24.4–11). It was only 17 kilometres north-east of Rome on the other side of the Tiber, and would have been familiar to the Romans. Its proximity was one of the reasons that many of Rome's inhabitants took refuge there during the Gallic Sack. Other incentives were Veii's wealth in art and architecture, for which it was already well-known in the Archaic period, as we saw in [Chapter 4](#).²³ According to tradition, it was to Veii that Rome turned in the sixth century, when it commissioned Vulca, the Etruscan master-craftsman, to make the terracotta statue of Jupiter for the roof of the Capitoline temple.²⁴

Livy's narrative does not provide the counter-argument in favour of the move. What insight we have comes from earlier sections of book five (5.24.4–11), which describe the situation in Rome after the capture of Veii. One of the reasons the plebeians were keen on the move was that Veii was preferable to setting up a colony in the marshlands of the Volsci, which is where some 3000 of them were to be sent (5.24.5).²⁵ Divisions between patricians and plebeians pervade Livy's narrative and not just in

²⁰ Williams 2001: 150–3. ²¹ Plutarch *Camillus*, 31–2; for the debates: Gaertner 2008: 39.

²² Livy 5.30.7; 5.31.5. For a discussion about the territory and Livy's use of *ager Romanus*: Ogilvie [1965] 1978: 5.30.7; 5.31.5.

²³ For a summary of the historical evidence: Cornell 1995: 309–13. For Veii and its position in the Tiber valley: [Chapter 3](#) and 4.

²⁴ Pliny *NH* 35.157. For the story and its inconsistencies: Cornell 1995: 129.

²⁵ For colonisation in Volscian territory, and the plebeian–patrician tensions: Bradley 2006: 167; Patterson, 2006: 194–7.

relation to Rome. The piety, heroism and patriotism of the patricians in the Gallic Sack are likely to have formed a tradition invented much later.²⁶ The division between the two 'classes' raises the issue of the way in which the construction of place is socially dependent. To do this subject justice is beyond the scope of this work, but any further discussion of it would incorporate Cornell's investigation of the events surrounding the plebeian secession, O'Neil's study on popular speech in ancient Rome and Kohn's analysis of the way that subaltern classes create spaces of power.²⁷

As we know, the final resolution to the dispute following the Gallic Sack was to stay in Rome. But we also know that the plebeians were allotted plots of land in Veientine territory (5.30.8), following the conquest of Veii. What about the Veientes themselves?²⁸ The vanquished city is presented as an empty space – *terra nullius* – which is familiar from many colonial narratives through the ages.²⁹ The little we hear about its populace may both upset and relieve us. One story recounted by Livy earlier in book five (5.22.1) is that the bulk of the population was sold into slavery, although Cornell is doubtful whether many were actually enslaved.³⁰ In Livy's next volume (6.4.4), we are informed that a number of loyal Veientes were given Roman citizenship in 388 BC, the year before the Sack. He also notes that some Romans had to be forced to return from Veii, where they had gone to occupy some of the empty houses.³¹ So something was clearly moving if not Rome itself, through the extension of its community via citizenship and conquest, and the dispersal of those already with Roman citizenship beyond the city.

The Real and Imaginary Camillus

The authenticity of the speech and the debate about the move to Veii are closely tied to the figure of Marcus Furius Camillus. To a large extent, both the speech and the debate are an invention of the Middle and Late Republican periods. The speech is wholly Livy's creation, but some of the

²⁶ Wiseman 2004: 128–9.

²⁷ Cornell 1995: chapter 10, 242–71; O'Neill 2001; O'Neill 2003; Kohn 2003.

²⁸ Propertius critically uses Rome's treatment of Veii in his own poetry, *Elegies* 4.10: Edwards 1996: 55–7.

²⁹ Gosden 2004: chapter 6, 114–52. ³⁰ Cornell 1995: 320.

³¹ Livy 6.4.4–6 describes how in the wake of the Gallic Sack, Rome had to induce its citizens to return from Veientine territory. Also, Dionysius of Halicarnassus 7.18.3 notes that when Rome suffered internal struggles some of its populace took refuge in the surrounding cities, which took the opportunity, in some cases successfully, to lure the asylum seekers in with offers of citizenship and other incentives.

strands in it are noted by other authors writing about the same events, in particular Plutarch.³² These other narratives present the arguments not as part of a speech by a single individual, but as a drawn-out exchange between a number of statesmen. Livy chose the character of Camillus to deliver it because his popularity in the Late Republic was unequivocal. In Livy's narrative, Camillus is presented as an unblemished leader. His ingenuity is responsible for the final takeover of Veii and the end of the ten-year siege. This hero is then ungratefully and foolishly exiled by his fellow citizens, only to be recalled on the eve of disaster, this time to save Rome from its occupation by the Gauls. Camillus is the ultimate patriot, and Gaertner has definitively shown the extent to which he became a figure of emulation for Roman statesmen (especially from the Sullan period onward), including Pompey, Caesar, Cicero and Augustus.³³ Livy, therefore, had not invented, but inherited, the image of Camillus as saviour and re-founder of Rome, an icon of justice and *pietas*, who drew on the virtues of multiple well-known fourth-century figures.

The Republican hero was a composite of a number of historical characters. One of them is the Marcus Furius Camillus who, although not associated with the events of the Gallic Sack in other records, must have rapidly become a legend. Bruun has argued it is his image, with the name Marce Camitlnas above it, which appears among the depictions of battling warriors in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci, dated to the late fourth century BC³⁴ (Fig. 22). It was most likely this Camillus, according to Wiseman, who was grafted by the myth-makers onto the patrician commander Marcus Furius Fusus, whose exploits would have provided the base narrative for the story.³⁵ The real hero of the Gallic Sack may have been a Quintus Sulpicius Longus. He is another of Livy's leading figures in the background, prior to the recall of Camillus from exile.³⁶ These are the cast of characters who were necessary to create the ultimate Late Republican patriot, embodied in the hero of Camillus.

What Is Rome and What Is It Not?

Through the speech of the patriot Camillus, Livy provides one answer to the question: What is Rome? The response had to appeal not only to the

³² Plutarch *Camillus* 31–2. Gaertner provides an extended discussion on the historicity of the elements within the speech: Gaertner 2008: 39–43.

³³ Gaertner 2008: 38–40. ³⁴ Bruun 2000. ³⁵ Wiseman 2004: 128–9, 328–9.

³⁶ Livy 5.36.11 with note by Ogilvie [1965] 1978: 717.

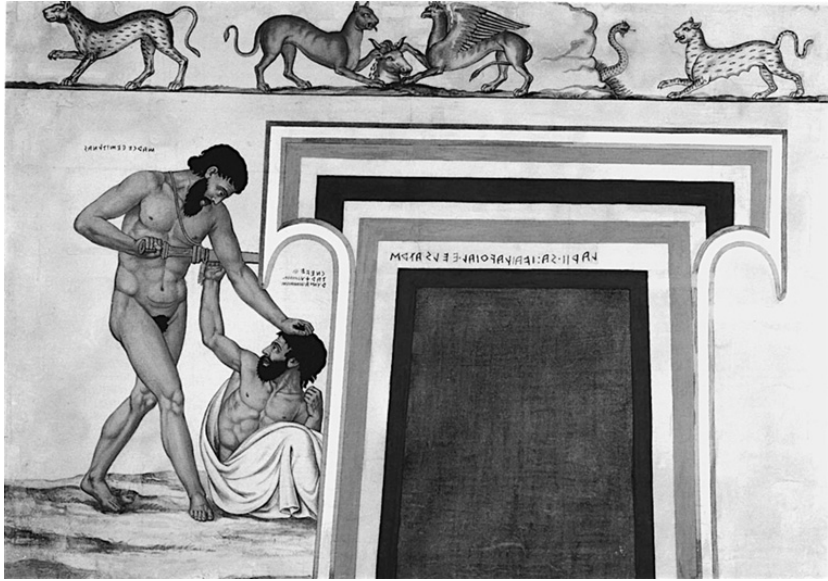


Fig. 22 Francois Tomb, Scene 4, Vulci. Image of *Marce Camitlnas* (Marcus Camillus) overpowering *Cneve Tarchunies Rumach* (Gnaeus Tarquinius of Rome). Illustration by Carlo Ruspi [1862].

inhabitants of the city but to all Roman citizens of the Late Republic, most of whom would actually never have been to Rome. It also had to accommodate the myths of Rome's Romulean and Trojan origins, which presented the city as a site of refuge and its first inhabitants as migrants. By the time Livy came to write, the meaning of Rome was increasingly expressed through physical permanence and positioning. This was an observable process. Cicero's response to a similar question several decades earlier reveals a more fluid relationship between the idea of Rome and the physical city. As we will see in the [next chapter](#), for him Rome as a place is made meaningful through practice. Its location and material existence were not self-evidently central to its being. In Livy's version, Rome was not the urban fabric, as Camillus states emphatically (5.54.3) in trying to rouse his listeners to the task of rebuilding the site: *sed in superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet?* (Is our love of country confined to buildings and rafters?). The surface structure does not determine Rome's existence as it has survived the consequences of urbicide.³⁷ Nevertheless, physical features of the site are not empty of meaning, and Livy, through Camillus,

³⁷ This controversial concept is explored by Coward 2009.

draws the readers' attention to those parts which are still standing, especially on the Capitoline Hill. The challenge for the ancient historian is to make Rome more than the sum of its parts, and in so doing argue for its fixity.

Within the speech, Rome is not presented as a site inhabited by an autochthonous or an exclusive group of people. On the contrary, by reaching into the deep past, Camillus points to the arrival of Romulus at the site of Rome (5.53.9). He makes allusions to the myth of Aeneas and the city's first inhabitants as refugees from Troy.³⁸ The earliest Romans are outsiders, and the future site of the city is a refuge for the de-placed.³⁹ As we saw in [Chapter 3](#), outsiders and city-founders are ubiquitous in the mytho-historical landscape of the Mediterranean. Autochthony is difficult to find, except among the Athenians, and Livy was aware of the exclusivity of such a position.⁴⁰ By pointing to Romulus's asylum he is restating a well-known and accepted version of Rome's origins prevalent in the Late Republic.⁴¹ But this image of Rome's early history, where outsiders – refugees and fugitives – gathered to form the first inhabitants of the city, makes it difficult to argue for Rome as rooted, or its community as exclusionary, which it was not.

Rome's original role as an asylum is itself a late construction, and even then it was never used to describe the city as a whole. The designation was applied to the Capitoline hill alone.⁴² In his first book, Livy writes: *locum . . . inter duos lucos est asylum aperit* (the place . . . which is between two groves he (Romulus) opened as an asylum) (1.8.5). The term only became associated with the Capitoline Hill in the Late Republican period. Previously, the site of the first gathering was primarily referred to by its topographic location only, as Cicero had done: *inter duos lucos* – between two groves.⁴³ Nor was the designation of the site 'between the two groves' on the Capitoline a continuous asylum. It only served as a refuge for the very first inhabitants of the city. As such it relates only to past, not enduring, immunity, and only in relation to a specific location.⁴⁴ The

³⁸ For echoes of the Troy myth and the threat of reversion to a wandering: Kraus 1994.

³⁹ Dench 2005: 18–21, 101–3 has traced the way that the image of Rome as an asylum develops and changes over time, in relation to Livy's version (1.8.6; 2.1.4) and the extent to which it differs from that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (2.15.3–4; 3.47.2). Farrell 2001: 26–7 has shown, especially in reference to Cicero's writings, how within Latin language and culture there is no native Romans nor a national myth of an autochthonous people. For a definition of asylum and de-placement see below, p. 370 and p. 394.

⁴⁰ For Livy's engagement with Athenian myths of origin: Dench 2005: 19–20. For Athenian claims of autochthony: Parker 1987; Rosivach 1987; Purcell 2004: 74–5.

⁴¹ Livy 1.8.5; Velleius Paterculus 1.8.5; Dench 2005: 15–20, chapter 2.

⁴² Livy 1.8.5; Rigsby 1996: 574–9. ⁴³ Cicero *de Divinatione* 2.40. ⁴⁴ Rigsby 1996: 576–7.

introduction of asylum to describe its function would have been a neologism. It was adapted from its usage in Greek contexts that designated a site (whether a sanctuary, or a city and its territory) as ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος – sacred and inviolable.⁴⁵

The only other location in Rome that had a similar right of asylum was the Temple of Divus Julius, which according to Cassius Dio (47.19.2–3) was the first place to be treated as such since Romulus's asylum on the Capitoline. Yet even Dio is sceptical as to whether the temple ever fulfilled that role.⁴⁶ In relation to both cases, the site of refuge was territorially limited, either to a distinguishable plot of land or a temple precinct. As Rigsby has shown, the way in which the concept of asylum and the status of 'sacred and inviolable' was understood in the Roman context differed significantly from that of the Greek.⁴⁷ By the early Imperial period, the Romans chose to interpret the Greek civic title 'sacred and inviolable' as equivalent to the right of asylum of a temple only. The flexibility in the use of the term is evident in the diverse ways that Roman authors understood its meaning and, as Dench points out, Livy's version appeals to readers' topographical memory.⁴⁸ In Livy's day, while it was possible to argue for individual precincts and temples as being sacred, there was no obvious precedent for envisioning the whole of Rome in the same way, not even through the sacred boundary of the *pomerium*. Hence, as we will see in the [next chapter](#), a *templum* provided the most familiar model for the sacrosanctity of an enclosed site.

Bounds and Limits: Pomerium and Terminus

Livy's construction of Rome does not present it as a closed or bounded community. Cicero, when defining community and citizenship, privileges the laws as binding, not any notion of territory.⁴⁹ Roman identity was flexible. It divorced citizenship from ethnicity and location, allowing for inclusivity which, some argue, was fundamental to its eventual success.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ As Rome became the final arbiter concerning any questions of status for its conquered regions from the Republican period onwards, it was responsible for confirming the continuing designation of a site as an asylum. We know of a number of communities that were successful in being granted such a status; from inscriptions found primarily in the Greek East, dating from the third to the first century AD: Rigsby 1996.

⁴⁶ Dench 2005: 17–18. ⁴⁷ Rigsby 1996: 386–7. ⁴⁸ Livy 1.8.6: Dench 2005: 19.

⁴⁹ Cicero *de Rep.* 1.39, 49; 2.61: Fantham 2005: 214–15. The way in which this is a contrast to the narrow understanding of state space: Brenner, Jessop, Jones and Macleod 2003: 7. See also [Chapter 11](#).

⁵⁰ Eckstein 2006: 311–12 notes how the Roman system of legal status-groups replaced ethnicity and geographical location as the basis of membership in the polity.

Extensions of citizenship to individuals and communities beyond Rome, and the settlement of Romans outside of the city and its territory, made Rome potentially limitless and perpetually expandable.⁵¹ Yet, boundary-making is not wholly absent from the speech of Camillus. He makes one reference to a boundary, the *pomerium* – the sacred perimeter of Rome (5.52.15).⁵² It did not encompass all that was Rome, nor did it coincide with the city walls.⁵³ Rather, it delimited the space for performing certain rites and rituals associated with political activity, and delineated the jurisdiction of civic and military authority. For example, the dead were to be buried beyond the *pomerium*,⁵⁴ while auspices needed to be taken within it. The centuriate assembly, which dealt with the business of war, could only be held outside it, and, hence, met in the Campus Martius. The *pomerium* confined the jurisdiction of the consuls, which could only be exercised within it. Physically and conceptually, it was a line that acted as a sacred, political and social divider, rather than one that circumscribed a tangible physical entity.

In the context of Camillus's speech, the *pomerium* is only mentioned in passing to point out the religious and political obligations which needed to be conducted within or outside it. It is presented relationally – as a set of customs and practices – not as a line articulating Rome as a coherent space. The point is that it would be ridiculous for the Romans to live in Veii and return to an abandoned city simply to carry out the necessary rites and meetings. This was not the first time that the boundary was questioned. In the fifth century BC, it was of little concern to the plebeians during their secession, when they attempted to set up an alternative state by withdrawing beyond the *pomerium*,

⁵¹ Ovid projects this sentiment to its inevitable conclusion, that Rome and the world are one, unlike the lands of other people whose boundaries are fixed. Meaning that they, unlike Rome, are not expanding. There is potential irony in the contradiction, in that as long as other people have lands, however fixed, Rome cannot be one with the world. Ovid *Fasti* 2.682–84: *gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo: Romanae spatium est Urbis et orbis idem* – The lands of other peoples have fixed boundaries: The extent of the City of Rome and the world is one.

⁵² Varro describes the etymology of the *pomerium*: Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.143; Varro, *RR* 2.1.9–10. Cato *Origines* F66 (= Chassignet 1.18, Peter F18; Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 5.755) describes the related Etruscan rite of city foundation: Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 113–14. For its early history, probably dating to the time of Servius Tullius in the sixth century BC, if not Romulus: Cornell 1995: 167, 203. The changes to the *pomerium*: Beard, North and Price 1998: 177–82. For problems of archaeology in trying to establish the course and date of the *pomerium*: Wiseman 2008: 16; Sisani 2014.

⁵³ Sisani 2014 outlines the development of the correlation between the *pomerium* and the furrow outlining the city walls – *sulcus primigenius*, which he argues are two separate types of boundaries, but which came to overlap in the colonial practices of the Late Republic.

⁵⁴ The Twelve Tables outlined the burial laws in *Tabula X = Roman Statutes* 40, (Vol. II, 704–11). A more detailed account of such laws survives as part of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, chapters 73–74 = *Roman Statutes* Law 25, (Vol. I, 393, esp. 403–4).

either to the Aventine hill or the Sacred Mount further up the Tiber.⁵⁵ Would they still have been Romans had they succeeded? Livy does not use the *pomerium* as an opportunity to argue for a bounded territory, and there is little reference to bordering practices overall, outside of those that concern the sacred precincts and locations of religious sites within Rome (5.50.2).

There is a debate both ancient and modern as to whether Caesar or Augustus extended the *pomerium*, with slightly firmer evidence that their predecessor Sulla had done so. Currently, there is a consensus that the Augustan extension was most likely an invention by Claudius, who wanted a precedent for his own extension.⁵⁶ In either case, the process was political not physical, as the city was not confined to that boundary to begin with. While the extension increased the jurisdiction of civic authority, by the early empire such a move could have only been an artificial, political gesture anyway.⁵⁷ In the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods, there was increased interest in the *pomerium*, and in creating links with traditional rites and celebrations that could be deployed to re-enact its original moment of creation, such as the multifaceted *parilia* festival.⁵⁸ At the centre of the festivities was the deity Pales and purification rituals involving fire and water. Ovid's lengthy description of it, including his own feats of jumping over the flames, shows the multiplicity of ways that the *parilia* could be understood and the traditions it drew on.⁵⁹ Within his narrative there is a division between the urban festival, linked to the site of Rome and its foundation, and the more prominent rural festival, centred on the purification of animals and the home, which predated the urban one. The association of the *parilia* with Romulus's outline of the original *pomerium* was one way that the elusive boundary was manifested performatively. As we will see below, the *terminalia* was another way. Both illustrate bordering as a social practice.⁶⁰

In the Republican period, direct evidence for the creation of boundaries exists in the context of private property, cadastral divisions and the laying out of sites as part of colonial practices and military encampments.⁶¹ Land

⁵⁵ Livy 3.32.3; Cornell 1995: 256–7.

⁵⁶ Barnes 1998: 138; Boatwright 1986; Syme [1978] 1983; Oliver 1932.

⁵⁷ Wiseman 2004, 174 points out that conceptually the area beyond the *pomerium* was where the wild things were, which in reality had long stopped being the case by the Late Republican period. The Campus Martius, which lay beyond it, was the newly developing area of culture, with its theatres, baths and gardens.

⁵⁸ Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. I, 174–6. ⁵⁹ Ovid *Fasti* IV.725–82.

⁶⁰ On the performative assertion of borders in the nation-state and post-nation state context: van Houtum, Kramsch and Ziefhofer 2005: 2–3.

⁶¹ Reference to the practice of measuring out camps and lines for roads is made by Ennius *Ann.* 18.439 (Nonius 63.4). Varro *RR*, 1.10; 1.14–15 reflects on the importance of private boundaries and the procedure for measuring out land plots. Varro 2.1.9–10 notes that when a city is founded,

surveying along with measurement and cataloguing appears at the forefront of people's consciousness with the expansion of Roman hegemony⁶² – so much so that it was a good topic for comedy. Plautus, in the *Poenulus*, toys with the terminology associated with the surveyors' art. The narrator of the prologue applies it to outlining the argument of the play: '... its bounds, limits (*limites*) and confines (*confines*) I shall determine. I have been selected as its surveyor.'⁶³ Plautus's use of *limites* indicates that even by his time the term was already part of the technical language of surveying, which appears much more frequently from the Late Republic onwards, and is most thoroughly studied in the Imperial context.⁶⁴ The *limen*, meaning threshold, and its derivatives – *limes/limites* – are first used in reference to a gap, path or line, along which one could pass through a field, for example. As such, it could act as a *terminatio* to the lands that were cultivated, distinguishing them from the area beyond, which was left in its natural state.⁶⁵ It was not until the Late Republican period that the use of *limes* began to coincide with that of *terminus*, and to designate a confine or boundary.⁶⁶ This later meaning of *limes* brought them more in line with the role of *fines*, which, initially, were not lines so much as zones that were crossed over, into enemy territory, for example.

Unlike the *pomerium*, which was associated with a specific settlement core, the *fines* extended further and encompassed the territory under the influence, authority or use of a particular community. The term appears most explicitly in the *Lex Agraria* in the context of land distribution in Italy and abroad with reference to the lands which were within the boundaries – *fines* – of a number of free communities such as Utica.⁶⁷ In the Republican period, they represent the concept that comes closest to that of a nation-

the position of the walls and gates is marked out by a bull and a cow. The inclusion of the *prophecy of Vegoia* (see Chapter 9, p. 356) in the corpus of the Roman land surveyors, to act as a warning against attempts to move traditional land boundaries: Harris 1971: 34, no. 2; Adams 2003: 182; Feeney 2007: 146–7. See also Chapter 11, p. 370ff. Izzet identifies an increasing importance of the visibility of surface and boundary, already from the Archaic period, through her study of socio-cultural transformations in the use of space in the Etruscan context: Izzet 2007.

⁶² Dilke 1971; Campbell 1996; Campbell 2000; Pelgrom 2008: 365–6.

⁶³ Plautus *Poenulus* 47: *eius nunc regiones, limites, confines determinabo. ei rei ego finitor factus sum*.

⁶⁴ The majority of studies that consider these terms are in relation to the frontiers of the Roman Empire: Whittaker 2004; Pohl, Wood and Reimitz 2001. For a recent summary: Moschek 2009: 15–16.

⁶⁵ One of the earliest appearances of *limes* is in Cicero's *De Re Publica* VI. 26 (24), where it is used to mean path: *limes ad caeli* – path to heaven. For the early uses of the terms and their distinction from what was meant by *terminus*: Piccaluga 1974: 101–8, 115.

⁶⁶ Vergil *Aeneid* 12.897; *Georgics* 1.126.

⁶⁷ *Lex Agraria* line 79 = *Roman Statutes* Law 2 (Vol. I, 113, 176–77).

state border today. However, with a significant difference. Beyond the allocated parcels of land that existed within them, whether private or public, the *fines* were not a fixed ever-present national or regional boundary. They were re-created through practice, such as, for example, the rites of the *fetiales*, the Roman priests responsible for initiating war and overseeing treaties.⁶⁸ The best known of the early rites of these priests was the throwing of the spear into enemy territory to signify the start of hostilities, a ritual that was substantially transformed and also re-founded with the expanding hegemony of Rome.⁶⁹ The re-invigoration of the *fetiales*' rituals occurred at the same time as the re-invention of local traditions in the Augustan period, alongside the proliferation of surveying, categorising and mapping.⁷⁰

The evidence we have of Roman mapping practices (which will be considered in detail below) shows that there was less concern in circumscribing a territory with a cordon, than an interest in the 'line', or rather, a series of lines that stretched from a given point or *terminus*. The *terminus* – much more than simply a boundary stone – had a long history and a special place in the Roman imaginary. It has been intricately traced by Piccaluga, who outlines the multiple political and religious rites associated with it.⁷¹ Although he does not consider a transformation in the way that boundary-making was conceptualised, he does point out that such signifiers of the boundary as the *terminus* are not the same thing as an actual boundary. He goes on to chart the way that man-made symbols of the boundary were invested with sacredness, along with features in the natural landscape, such as rivers, that lend themselves to that role.⁷² One imaginary of *terminus*, which is most relevant for our context, is the deity of the same name. Terminus was the god of beginnings and endings and is mentioned by Camillus in his speech along with Juventas. Both of these stubborn deities refused to be moved 'when the Capitol was being cleared with augural rites', (5.54.7). This action, Camillus reminds us, was 'to the vast joy of (our) fathers'.⁷³ Such permanence and immobility is a prominent feature of

⁶⁸ For the role of the fetial priests: Bederman 2001: 55–86, 196–9, 231–41; Watson 1993: 10–11, 78; Wiedemann 1987; Rich 1976; Santangelo 2008; Montesanti 2014.

⁶⁹ Livy 1.32.12–14: for changes in the rituals and their association with the way in which boundaries were conceptualised, especially in Livy: Montesanti 2014.

⁷⁰ Such practices exemplify approaches to the boundary as described by Heidegger – that it is where something begins its presencing, not where something stops: Heidegger 1971: 154.

⁷¹ Piccaluga 1974.

⁷² Piccaluga 1974: 115–20. For the extent to which rivers and mountains were considered boundaries: Montesanti 2014.

⁷³ For commentary: Ogilvie [1965] 1978: 210–11. Ovid *Fasti* 2.639–82 provides his own hymn to the deity in the context of discussing the *Terminalia*: Fantham 2009: 85.

terminus rituals and myths. But it also has a more dynamic aspect in the form of *propogatio*, alluding to its function as a point from which things extend and propagate, seemingly into infinity.⁷⁴

Celebrations and deities associated with boundary markers were used as a way of symbolising intersections, as well as points where things came to rest and from where they set off. They thus acted as pauses along trajectories in time and space.⁷⁵ We know from other sources that the festival of the *Terminalia* in honour of the gods, was held each year on the 23rd of February, at the point in the calendar between the old and the new year, representing both the beginning and the end.⁷⁶ Such festivals were celebrated communally, but the origins of the laws and rites surrounding boundary stones stem from a necessity to protect private property and the home.⁷⁷ Private rituals included the coming together of neighbours to share festivities around their own private *termini* that stood on the edges of their properties. Their public celebration was to acknowledge their importance in ensuring peaceful co-existence between community members. It privileged their role as points of intersection rather than containers of territory.⁷⁸ On a practical level, they marked the extent of landed property, but this is conceptually different from the right to territory on the scale of a community.⁷⁹ The *terminus* stone on the Capitoline hill does not represent either of these conceptions of territorial boundedness. In Livy's narrative, the god Terminus has the role of designating a point of centrality, and the enduring and expansive power of that place. The historian's purpose is to emphasise that both the deity and, therefore by extension, Rome are immovable. He states this explicitly in the very first book (1.55.4): 'This omen and augury was thus interpreted: the fact that the seat of Terminus

⁷⁴ Piccaluga 1974: 127–8, considers the contradictory symbolism of the *terminus*, and suggests that in some ways it is a non-sign of the boundary guaranteeing boundless extension of Roman territory. Such dynamic stability is what Ovid writes about in relation to the *terminus*: *Fasti* 2.667–84.

⁷⁵ For Varro *LL* 5.14, *locus* is where things come to a standstill. Woodward 2002 shows that the way such figures are used in mythic epic suggests the disruption and restitution of time and order. Tuan 1977 argues that place is a pause in movement, it is one relation between time and space.

⁷⁶ Livy 1.55; Ovid *Fasti* 2.639–684; Dionysius of Halicarnasus 2.74.3–5. Debates of whether his celebration was the start or the end of the year: Wiseman 2004: 64; Piccaluga 1974: 128–34.

⁷⁷ Dionysius of Halicarnasus 2.74.3–5.

⁷⁸ Varro *RR* 1.14–15, notes the importance of farm boundaries and how to enforce them to prevent quarrelling; Piccaluga 1974: 122.

⁷⁹ Garnsey 2007: 193–208 traces the development of the idea and practice of ownership of private property. He concludes that Romans did possess the concept of property rights and individual rights in general but did not elaborate its content. Buchanan 2003: 231–2 points out that property in land is conceptually distinct from the right to territory.

was not moved, and that of all the gods he alone was not called away from the place consecrated to him, meant that all would be firm and steadfast in the future empire.'

To emphasise Rome's centrality further, in the speech of Camillus (5.54.6–7), as in Book One (1.55.4–6), Livy associates the *terminus* episode with the finding of a human head – *caput oli* – on the same spot on the Capitol. It signified that on that site would be the head of empire – *caput rerum*. The finding of the head may even be an invented detail playing on the name of the hill.⁸⁰ Through the monument of the Capitol, which could be used to stand for the whole of Rome and even empire,⁸¹ Livy manages to link the past, present and future, and connect it to the physical spot on which Rome rests. The importance of Rome's spatial position goes beyond the human and divine stories associated with it. In presenting his case for the site of Rome, Livy appeals to his fellow citizens' ambitions for empire and glory. Camillus's speech presents the advantages of the location in terms of its central position in Italy and its ideal situation for protection, trade networks and expansion.⁸² This has parallels in a passage of Cicero's *de Republica* (2.5) that outlines the care with which the site was chosen by Romulus; how it is perfectly situated, despite not being on the coast, and strategically located, as proven by the Capitol's ability to withstand the Sack of the Gauls (2.11).⁸³ A century later, Lucan, commenting critically on empire, questions Rome's fixity and centrality, not only with reference to Italy or even the Mediterranean, but the universe.⁸⁴ In the context of Caesar's dictatorship, Lucan makes reference to Camillus directly. He states that while Rome was being sacked and the commander dwelt in Veii, Rome *was* in Veii.⁸⁵ Lucan subverts the logic in Livy's Camillus speech, implying that Rome does not depend on its urban fabric or location but can exist wherever good Romans are. His sentiment is echoed in Yi-Fu Tuan's work, especially his statement in *Man and Nature*: 'Myths and legends are created to give credence to the idea that a place – otherwise unremarkable – is the centre of the world.'⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Williams 2001: 157–8. For other sources where the legend appears: Borgeaud 1987.

⁸¹ Edwards 1996: chapter 2. Also, Feldherr discusses the way Livy's use of vision is related to the preservation of historical memory and the perpetuation of Roman history as an ongoing sequence of actions: Feldherr 1998: chapter 1.3, esp. 50.

⁸² Livy 5.54.4–5.

⁸³ Dench 2005: 60, 109–112 points to a new focus on the physical virtues of the 'centre' in the form of either the city of Rome or of Italy which becomes visible in the Late Republic.

⁸⁴ Lucan *Pharsalia* 1.53–58. For decentring Rome: Bexley 2009. For the question of Rome's centrality in Strabo: Clarke 1999: chapter 4.

⁸⁵ Lucan *Pharsalia* 5.27–30. Lucan's use of Camillus and questioning of the site of Rome: Masters 1992; Bexley 2009. For Lucan's use of the city and its relation to Troy: Edwards 1996: 64–6.

⁸⁶ Tuan 1971: 18.

Rome was not a circumscribed territory, but Rome was the point from which power spread, not in a blanket way across an unbroken area, but in patches of jurisdiction and influence. Nicolet, in his fundamental study of geography and space in the Early Roman Empire, came to the conclusion that in Greco-Roman antiquity the concept of territory was never enough to define entirely and exhaustively the true organisation and operation of cities or kingdoms.⁸⁷ This, he writes, was because (1) territory was not neutral but viewed as having a relationship with the cosmos and could be sacred, (2) society membership was of varied status and often had no territorial basis. Rome's theoretical framework of civic and administrative activity, until the end of the Republic, lay not in its topographical extension but the tribe. The territorial links of such a group were, at best, vague. In the tribe, they were combined with legal and voting rights that were not territorially dependent. There were multiple reasons why a citizen was assigned to a particular tribe and in so far as these units coincided with some territory they did not represent a geographical continuity. In terms of Rome's *imperium*, beyond Italy the term *provincia* only took on a territorial significance gradually and even then the relationship was not enough to draw a real map of administration and power.⁸⁸ Territory was not the principal measure of power; nor was territorial acquisition the primary aim of conquest. There were instances in the last centuries of the Republic when Rome deliberately refused opportunities for provincial annexation.⁸⁹ This was not unique; for many Hellenistic powers the maintenance of a garrison in a city or region was a comfortable alternative to conquest and direct administration.⁹⁰ Rome, rather than creating a territorial empire, preferred the conversion of different forms of allied and free states – *civitas foderata* and *civitas libera* – into subject peoples. These were integrated into what became part of the internal structure of a 'world state' centred on Rome.⁹¹

Rome Is Not a Space on a Map

The Rome of Livy's Camillus speech cannot be easily located on a conventional map. While there are rhetorical attempts at rooting the site in the soil, it cannot be made into a tangible shape that can be cut out of an Italy

⁸⁷ Nicolet 1991, with the review article of the French edition by Purcell 1990a. For the contrast with the more direct links between citizenship, territory and at times ethnicity in the context of the nation-state: Castles and Miller 2003: 41–6.

⁸⁸ Richardson 1994: 564–9, 591–3. ⁸⁹ Sherwin-White 1973: 174. ⁹⁰ Chaniotis 2002: 99.

⁹¹ Sherwin-White 1973: 174.

represented on a two-dimensional plane. Even the *pomerium* is an elusive boundary when it comes to delineating what Rome is spatially. There seems to be a lack of interest in conceptualising absolute space and articulating units of enclosed territory within it, at least beyond the sphere of private property and religion. Yet, at the same time, in Camillus's plea to keep Rome where it is there is an attempt at fixity and making the physicality of the site meaningful. This tension, which may be conceived as one lodged between co-existing relational and absolute approaches to place, is visible in the rapid development of mapping practices at the time Livy was writing his narrative. The aim of this section is to consider the nature of early cartographic creations, particularly in light of the absence of regional scale maps in the ancient world.⁹² What 'maps' we do have were drawn from the perspective of movement, the journey and experience of place, rather than representations of abstract space.

It often comes as a surprise to realise that we have little evidence for the use of maps in ancient Italy until this period, and even then we have trouble picturing what form they took. Brodersen has provocatively stated that it has taken time for scholars to resign themselves to the fact that we simply lack evidence of 'map consciousness' in the ancient world.⁹³ He has argued that even in the Roman Imperial period, for those maps that we do have (representing places beyond individual buildings or quarters), there does not seem to be an interest in drawing them to scale.⁹⁴ Whether indifference to scale mapping was as pronounced as Brodersen suggests may be questionable, based on the meagre evidence. But what we do have is representative of a mind-set that had a fluid approach to the relationship between identity, jurisdiction, territory and boundaries, as demonstrated in the [previous chapter](#).

Competing forms of envisioning space as protographic (synoptic) and countercartographic (linear or hodological) are already evident in Archaic and Classical Greek narratives.⁹⁵ The protographic portrayals look forward to all-encompassing depictions of the world on *mappae mundi*. They present a static if distorted snapshot that emphasises areas of interest and power. The countercartographic representation is more dynamic and has

⁹² On ancient geography: Talbert and Brodersen 2004; Haselberger 2002; Talbert 2000; Adams and Laurence 2001; Clarke 1999; Nicolet 1991; Dilke 1987. There is also the *Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Project*, directed by M. Levoy and J. Trimble. Contextualising ancient mapping in more recent contexts: Cosgrove 1999; Cosgrove 2008.

⁹³ Brodersen 2004:185.

⁹⁴ Brodersen 2001. For an alternative perspective see the review by Talbert 2002. The intention of geography as a balance between abstract and experienced space: Clarke 1999: 10.

⁹⁵ Purves 2010: 1–3, 65–70, 147–8.

the route or journey as its main point of focus around which the narrative is constructed. Both of these form the basis of ancient mapping practices, even once the tools were there to create maps to scale. Neither allow for clear depictions of territorial ownership or extent.

As late as the medieval period, regional scale maps were still exceptional.⁹⁶ A map was more of a literary visual construction, symbolic and poetic. Medieval thinkers took the *mappa* to be an architectural picture. These *mappae mundi* were models *for* (not *of*) the phenomenal world (Fig. 18a and b, Plate 5). As Ingold explains, their purpose ‘was not so much descriptive as prescriptive: to establish a foundational template for the ordered disposition of figurative elements – images, if you will – that marked out places along ways of thought, and that could be actualised just as well in the forms of depictions, landscape features or the components of buildings as they could in words.’⁹⁷ In the Middle Ages, the words *map* and *space* hardly circulated at all.⁹⁸ Ptolemy’s *Geographia* that brought together cartographic knowledge and included maps with coordinates did not appear until the second century AD, and was not re-discovered until the Renaissance. Its rediscovery coincided with the founding of the ‘New World’, an imperial moment that was a catalyst for, and also dependent on, the revolution in mapping techniques. Do we find a similar moment at the end of the Republic, with the extension of the Roman Empire?

As the Middle Ages gave way to the Renaissance, a new spatiality was conceived. Many works have shown the way in which Spanish colonisation went hand in hand with developments in cartography in the wake of the re-discovery of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*. Padrón charts the sixteenth-century collusion of cartography and empire in the early modern Hispanic world, and the way that America was created rather than discovered.⁹⁹ There was growing interest in geometric and mathematical – Euclidian – representation of space. Lefebvre, in particular, has shown the way that such a space privileges a particular kind of spatiality at the expense of others. With its focus on abstraction,¹⁰⁰ territorialisation becomes its primary concern, instating an authority over abstract space, while supplanting with representation that of the perceived and the lived. Once introduced, the gridded space of Renaissance maps established itself in the eyes of Europeans as the

⁹⁶ Padrón 2004: 53; Harvey 1987: 466–84.

⁹⁷ Ingold 2011: 199–200. For an example of the Hereford Mappa Mundi (c. 1300 AD): Westrem 2001.

⁹⁸ Padrón 2004: 41.

⁹⁹ Padrón 2004: 18–21, particularly in reference to the work of: O’Gorman 1986.

¹⁰⁰ Lefebvre [1974] 1991.

true and accurate way of representing territory. Padrón's investigations chronicle how the authority of such maps was used to strip native territorial imaginations and contributed to de-territorialisation of the First Nations Peoples of America. Cartographic practices were employed to ground authority and the identity of nations and empires in the newly created maps of their territories, which represented their territorial ambitions.¹⁰¹

The Renaissance revolution in cartography, and the transformation of spatial visualisation during the period of 'Old World' expansion, was not sudden, quick or universal. Such maps required immense skill, expertise and effort.¹⁰² Ptolemy had based his mapping practices on Euclidian mathematics developed in the Hellenistic period. But while mathematically the global space was recognised, it did not translate to a global geography. In other words, the abstract was not deployed for cartographic representation despite the fact that the tools were available. From the Late Republic, and particularly at the time of Augustus, we see a developing interest in innovative approaches to organising space. One of its products, as we will see, may have been the so-called Map of Agrippa of the Roman Empire. If so, it, more than any other endeavour at the time, would have come closest to what Lefebvre calls the modern privileging of representational space.¹⁰³ But even if there were moves towards modern mapping, they were not developed; it seems the interest was lacking. Even with Ptolemy's *Geographia* it would be centuries before his work became embedded in practical map-making.

Early Mapping and Varro

The kind of Imperial moment articulated by Padrón and others, which saw a rapid increase and development in mapping practice, may be recognised in the period after the Second Punic War and most acutely in the latter half of the first century BC. The earliest Roman cartographic representations of regions arise out of conquest and act as symbolic monuments to personal victory.¹⁰⁴ A picture of Sardinia drawn on a tablet to commemorate the victories of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was dedicated at the temple of Mater Matuta in 174 BC.¹⁰⁵ Several decades later, in 146 BC, a plan of Carthage was displayed in the Roman forum by L. Hostilius Mancinus to

¹⁰¹ Padrón 2004. Taking such mapping constructions into the digital age: Brotton 2012.

¹⁰² Kagan with Marías 2000: 55–63. ¹⁰³ Lefebvre [1974] 1991.

¹⁰⁴ Wiseman 1986; Williams 2001: 36–7.

¹⁰⁵ Livy 41.28.8–10 – *Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque in eas simulacra pugnarum picta*.

illustrate the story of his victories, much to the disgust of his contemporaries.¹⁰⁶

These depictions are quite different from the more detailed records of land division and distribution on *formae* (plans/maps) and *tabulae* (land registers), although the circumstances that necessitated their creation are in themselves an exercise in power. One of the earliest maps which documented such detail may have dated to 165 BC. It recorded public land reclaimed from illegal landowners in Campania and was supposedly seen by Sulla, who altered it.¹⁰⁷ But how much earlier we can push such map-making is questionable, especially in light of Pelgrom's recent argument that, prior to the Hannibalic War, there is no evidence for land being assigned in uniform plots, nor for geometrically ordered territories.¹⁰⁸ If that is the case, then in the aftermath of this War Rome's hegemony invigorated new ways of organising and articulating its expanding resources. Most notably, these appear in the context of the Roman land surveyors, explicitly in the *lex Agraria* of 111 BC, which makes several references to the recording of land divisions by the officials, the *IIIviri* and *IIviri*, on *formas publicas*.¹⁰⁹ The science of land division became an interest in itself, perhaps alluding to its novelty or increased practical application. Polybius goes into great detail when describing how Romans laid out their camps on campaign.¹¹⁰ Plautus too, as we saw earlier, could expect his audience to be amused by using the language of surveying, indicating that there was familiarity with its methods in the early second century BC. Cato liked to express power and productivity through lists and measurements, no doubt a consequence of Roman administrative expansion through colonisation and centuriation of the land.¹¹¹ He conveyed the extent of a group's authority either by identifying sites that were under its control, or as a measurement of surface. He notes, for example, that the

¹⁰⁶ Pliny NH 35.23 – *L. Hostilius Mancinus, qui primus Carthaginem inruperat, situm eius oppugnationesque depictas proponendo in foro et ipse adsistens populo spectanti singula enarrando.*

¹⁰⁷ Granius Licinianus 9–10.36–7 (Crinti); Williams 2001: 37. ¹⁰⁸ Pelgrom 2008: 365–66.

¹⁰⁹ *Lex Agraria* lines 6–8, 78–80 = *Roman Statutes Law 2*, (Vol. I, 113, 158); Dilke 1971: chapter 8.

¹¹⁰ Polybius *Histories* 6.27–42.

¹¹¹ Cato *Origines* F62 (= Chassignet 2.8, Peter F38; Servius *ad Verg. Georg.* 2.159), on the size of lake Larius near the Alps measuring 60 (or 40) miles; *Origines* F57 (= Chassignet 2.10, Peter F40; Pliny NH 3.124), on the foundation of Vercellae and the disappearance of tribes and creation of new sites; *Origines* F59 (= Chassignet 2.11, Peter F41; Pliny NH 3.133), listing thirty-four fortified sites on the Italian side of the Alps; *Origines* F56 (= Chassignet 2.13, Peter F44; Pliny NH 3.116), on the disappearance of 112 tribes of the Boii; *Origines* F46 (= Chassignet 2.8, Peter F43), on the distribution of the Ager Gallicus and its productivity of wine. Cato's interest in statistics is particularly visible in his description of north Italy: Williams 2001: 52–3.

Trojans got from Latinus some 2700 *iugera* of land,¹¹² and the territorial extent of the Sabines is presented in stades, measured in reference to the sea.¹¹³ Such power could be represented more vaguely without prioritising any territorial extent: at one time all of Italy was under Etruscan law.¹¹⁴ By Varro's time lists, catalogues, measurements and the art of surveying were a science to indulge in.¹¹⁵ Yet, to move from these practices, and the creation of *formas* of single settlements, to the mapping of whole regions needed a step-change, both in the techniques required and in the interest to invest in their development.

Livy would not have witnessed the final shift to large-scale maps, which would take at least another millennium. But the transformations going on around him were no less profound. Just how much of a turning point the Late Republic was for the image and experience of the city, both for the insiders and the outsiders, is vividly presented in Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, which builds on Nicolet's findings.¹¹⁶ He focuses on Varro, the writer and encyclopaedist of the first century BC, who produced a topographical collection of rites and traditions, creating through his multiple works what may be best termed an oral map of Rome.¹¹⁷ Following him on his stroll – *ambulatio* – we imagine that he wanders through the urban landscape and draws the reader's attention to sites and monuments (*monimenta*) to evoke and create memories.¹¹⁸ We trail him along paths that weave in and out spatially and chronologically, pausing where the two intersect. Using similar techniques, Livy directs the reader's gaze to sites in the destroyed city of Rome to evoke memory and pathos in his speech of Camillus. What Varro provides, however, is not the kind of map which can be plotted on a two dimensional surface with a bird's-eye

¹¹² Cato *Origines* F5 (= Chassignet 1.8, Peter F8; Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 11.316), with Cornell 2013: Vol. 3, 68.

¹¹³ Cato *Origines* F50 (= Chassignet 2.21, Peter F50; Dion Hal. *AR* 2.49.2).

¹¹⁴ Cato *Origines* F72 (= Chassignet 1.13, Peter F62; Servius *ad Verg. Aen.* 11.567).

¹¹⁵ Plautus *Poenulus* 47; Varro *RR* 1.10.

¹¹⁶ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: chapter 6. It also builds on numerous other studies on this theme including: Habinek and Schiesaro 1997; Nicolet 1991.

¹¹⁷ Varro's *Antiquities* (*Antiquitates rerum humanarum* and *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*), which would have contained many of the stories, is now lost and exists only in fragments, but we can still get a sense of the kind of Rome they built through his remaining *Lingua Latina*.

¹¹⁸ Varro *LL* 6.49 for a definition of *monimenta* and its connection to memory. For an example of such an oral *ambulatio* around the Subura region and the Caelian hill: Varro *LL* 5.41–56: with discussion by Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 260–4; Frascchetti 2002: 132–203; Frascchetti 1996; Vout 2012: 70–2. For the way that Varro presents movement as intertwined with memory and identity: Spencer 2011: 57–80. *Ambulatio* as a narrative and philosophical tool: O'Sullivan 2011; O'Sullivan 2006; O'Sullivan 2007; Padrón 2004: 154. The *ambulatio* as another way of creating space: Rendell 2002.

view. Created through journeys and stories, it was more hodological or countercartographic, sharing elements with the later *itinerarium* and *periplus*. As far as we know, however, Varro's detailed textual map of the city had no parallel in visual form in the Republican period.

What makes Varro a particularly important witness is that alongside his relational construction of place through stories, he provides the earliest extant description of what may have been an actual map of Italy, or at least an image of the peninsula that had cartographic qualities. His reference to it in *Rerum Rusticarum* (1.2.1) shows clear evidence for map-awareness and a growing interest in the field of cartography. Varro's so-called map of Italy – *pictam Italiam* – forms the setting for the dialogue in his first book, around which the action takes place. We watch Varro, as if through a camera lens, heading towards the temple of Tellus, where he comes across his friends, and his father-in-law, examining an image of Italy painted on the temple wall – *spectantes in pariete pictam Italiam*.¹¹⁹ As they sit down waiting for the temple to open, their conversation begins with Agrasius asking them whether in all their travels they have seen a land more cultivated than Italy (1.2.3). In response, a rich image takes shape, filled with farms, fields, woods and vineyards. It is presented against the backdrop of the *pictam Italiam*, which although is not identified explicitly, remains in the reader's consciousness. As the discussion moves on, he alludes to other mappings and visual formations of the earth. We pan out to locate the peninsula as part of the healthier northern hemisphere of Eratosthenes' division of the world into north and south (1.2.4). From this perspective, hovering high above Eratosthenes' world – *oikumene* – we zoom in, as comparisons are made between Asia and Europe, before we adjust the lens for a closer look at the different parts of Italy, as the discussion moves to debate the agricultural qualities of each. Then, division and allotment of land become the key focus of conversation, with reflections on the various units of measurement and their history.¹²⁰ To us these may appear as gridded patterns overlying the landscape, but there is no evidence that such a perspective would have been natural to Varro. He may have imagined it at eye-level, as lines extending from a singular point in space, such as a *terminus*. Throughout the conversation our eye is inadvertently drawn to the *pictam Italiam* on the wall. But how we picture it, with our experience of modern maps, may not at all be what was seen by the Roman friends waiting outside the temple gates in Late Republican Rome.

¹¹⁹ Varro *RR* 1.2.1. ¹²⁰ Varro *RR* 1.10.



Fig. 23 Nile Mosaic, located at Palestrina, Praeneste. A Nilotic landscape circa second to first century BC. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

A commonly held view is that Varro must be making an allusion to an existing map that is otherwise unattested.¹²¹ It may have even been a map created at the time that the original temple of Tellus was dedicated in 268 BC by P. Sempronius Sophus to celebrate his victory over the Picentes.¹²² A more extreme perspective was proposed by Kubitschek, who suggested that perhaps it was no more than an image of *Italia* personified.¹²³ However, the context of the passage in Varro's text, which also mentions Eratosthenes' cartographic work, makes that unlikely. Perhaps, what we are supposed to imagine is something in between: a composition more like the Nile mosaic at Praeneste¹²⁴ (Fig. 23, Plate 6). This second to first-century BC creation of colourfully detailed scenes of the Nilotic landscape that wind along the path of the river has affinities with ancient cartography.¹²⁵ The vignettes along the river bank viewed from the vantage point of Alexandria are like Varro's depictions of Italy as experienced from Rome. Such a perspective, Roth has argued, which is embedded in the discussion of the Italian agricultural geography of Varro's work 'reflects an odological approach to space: a map

¹²¹ Dilke 1987: 39. ¹²² Florus 1.19.2: Williams 2001: 37. ¹²³ Kubitschek 1919: col. 2042.

¹²⁴ O'Sullivan 2006: 139, n. 24.

¹²⁵ Ferrari 1999; Moffitt 1997. For the way maps differ from other images, as for example landscape painting: Padrón 2004: 101.

structured by the principal roads of Italy, all of which begin in Rome'.¹²⁶ These visually and textually rich narratives, however, have proved cartographically disappointing for the twenty-first-century observer who is used to viewing the earth in a satellite image.¹²⁷ They are not maps along which to navigate or to identify one's spatial position; nor do they help in creating a plan of what was actually there and how the different features, whether natural or manmade, related to each other spatially. As Wallace-Hadrill concedes, 'this scholar (Varro), who loved careful division and distinctions, and a philosophical rationality, finds the presentation of the city a challenge'.¹²⁸ A challenge for us perhaps, but less so for the mind that was used to mapping places by the contents of their trajectories and intersections, one that was more comfortable with thinking of space and experiencing it as relational rather than as Euclidian.

Through Varro's perception of the world around him we find allusions to a changing environment that by the Late Republic saw the development of new methods to organise and fix things spatially and temporally. The key moment comes during Caesar's dictatorship in an attempt to review the population in 49 BC.¹²⁹ Already by the second century BC the traditional census system had collapsed, which, as far as we know, was conducted by the censors registering citizens in the Campus Martius according to their tribe. Nicolet outlines how Rome's administrative structures struggled to cope with the rapid expansion of its empire and the citizen body.¹³⁰ Caesar had to find a new system which Suetonius, in his *Divus Iulius* (41.3), tells us succeeded in reducing the 320,000 recipients of grain at public cost to 150,000. The review (*recensus*) was conducted district (*vicus*) by district and house by house, which was a new way of knowing the citizen body and the cityscape.¹³¹ It was no longer dependent on the gathering of the people at one site to declare themselves and their property; it mapped and fixed them spatially. This microscopic knowledge anticipated the division and ordering of the city according to the 265 *vici* and 14 districts by Augustus.¹³² Similar administrative mapping encompassed the whole of Italy through the creation of eleven regions.¹³³ It may be that initially these

¹²⁶ Roth 2007: 289–90.

¹²⁷ There are a few examples of bird's eye views of cities in the Late Republic that are known from coins of Eryx *RRC* 424 and Tusculum *RRC* 515.1. For later examples: Brodersen 2004: 187.

¹²⁸ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 261. ¹²⁹ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 290–3.

¹³⁰ Nicolet 1991: 123–47 discusses the changes to the census structure.

¹³¹ Nicolet 1991: 123–47; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 290–3.

¹³² Pliny *Natural History* 3.66; Dio Cassius 55.8.6–7; Suetonius *Divus Augustus* 30.1; Lott 2004; Fraschetti 2002; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 275–301.

¹³³ Laffi 2007; Nicolet 1991: 171–87.

were designated by number and the names were added in the Imperial period.¹³⁴ We know from Pliny the Elder, writing at the time of Vespasian, that by AD 73/74 census data was ordered by region and then by the town of Italy, and that this format may date back to Augustus.¹³⁵ The purpose and impact of the division of Italy into eleven regions is still not fully clear. Crawford suggested that it may have arisen out of the turbulent decades around the Social War in connection with military recruitment, and that Augustus's role was not as creator but developer of the system.¹³⁶ Whatever their original purpose, Pliny found them a useful tool to organise his narrative of the peninsula in Book 3 of his *Natural History*, which provided an artificial overlay of an Italy experienced through individual sites and landscapes.¹³⁷ Even in this systematic account, however, it is difficult to fix any precise boundaries and territories.¹³⁸ Once again, as with Varro, we are frustrated by the imprecision of the spatial layout presented in the narrative.

Pliny the Elder uses another record from the Augustan Age to shape his narrative: the representation of the Empire and its provinces started by Agrippa and completed by Augustus between 7 and 2 BC.¹³⁹ This document, at times called the Map of Agrippa, was located in the Porticus Vipsania.¹⁴⁰ Its nature and even existence has been a matter of intense scholarly debate, with some, such as Brodersen, even doubting whether it was anything more than a text.¹⁴¹ The uncertainty as to what kind of a document this was suggests that it is less likely to have been a recognisable map. If it was, we would expect it to have been reworked or developed between the time of

¹³⁴ Laffi 2007: Regio I – Latium et Campania; Regio II – Apulia et Calabria; Regio III – Lucania et Brutium; Regio IV – Samnium; Regio V – Picenum; Regio VI – Umbria et Ager Gallicus; Regio VII – Etruria; Regio VIII – Aemilia; Regio IX – Liguria; Regio X – Venetia et Histria; Regio XI – Transpadana.

¹³⁵ Bradley 2007: 317. ¹³⁶ Crawford 2002: 1131–3.

¹³⁷ Pliny *NH* 3.46ff. Pliny's contemporary Silius does not use the Augustan regions as a way to organise his catalogue of Italians who fought alongside Rome at Cannae (Silius 8.356 – 616).

¹³⁸ Nicolet 1991: 175.

¹³⁹ Pliny *NH* 3.2.17, critically commenting on Agrippa's measurement for Baetica, states: 'Who can believe that Agrippa, a man of such extraordinary diligence, and one who bestowed so much care on his subject, *when he proposed to place before the eyes of the world a survey of that world*, could be guilty of such a mistake as this, and that too when seconded by the late emperor the divine Augustus? For it was that emperor who completed the Portico which had been begun by his sister, and in which the survey was to be kept, in conformity with the plan and descriptions of M. Agrippa.'

Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum orbi spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat et cum eo Divum Augustum? is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit.

¹⁴⁰ Nicolet 1991: 100.

¹⁴¹ Brodersen 1995: 268–90. This view has been challenged: Clarke 1999: 9 (and n. 15). For previous debates: Nicolet 1991: 98–108, esp. note 9, 115–16.

Augustus and Vespasian. However, Pliny's constant references to it, often critically pointing out inconsistencies and inaccuracies, suggest that no updated version existed. Whether Agrippa was working on a regional map or just a list – in its representation of conquest of peoples and cities, extending over large, seemingly limitless space – it had much in common with Augustus's narrative of his achievements in the *Res Gestae*. The least we can say about the efforts to create the 'map' is that Agrippa had an interest in both measuring and mapping, and that these efforts were both political and symbolic, if not necessarily cartographic.¹⁴² There is no question that geographic and administrative undertakings proliferated in the Augustan period, including increases in the number of censuses, and publication of cadastral books, maps and road itineraries.¹⁴³ Taken together, the wide range of sources that attest to these territorializing practices provide the evidence for a substantial shift in the way that space was perceived, ordered and recorded, which Wallace-Hadrill frames as a radical break from the past.¹⁴⁴ As a result, scholarship on ancient spatial perception has much more to say about what happened during and after this shift than what may have preceded it, but due to a lack of evidence, we do not know what these maps looked like.¹⁴⁵ To gain a more first-hand understanding of spatial perception and its visualisation in the earlier period (beyond the few examples already considered), we rely on retrospective projections from later cartographic endeavours and on findings from anthropology.

Dynamic Mapping: Itineraries and the Periplus

From anthropology we know of alternative modes of space perception. There is substantial evidence that the 'linear', or hodological, mode was prevalent in 'new world' contexts, as it was in the ancient tradition. The Aztec sixteenth-century Codex Xolotl recognised place-moments as

¹⁴² Pliny Natural History 3.16–17: This is also evident in a number of works that are attributed to his name. Nicolet 1991: 98–108, 115–16.

¹⁴³ That this period was perceived as the watershed by later emperors is evident in such monuments as the dedication set up near Capua celebrating Vespasian's restoration of lands consecrated to Diana Tifatina by Cornelius Sulla in accordance with the *forma* of Augustus: ILS 251 = MW 444 (McCrum and Woodhead 1961); Campbell 1996: 98.

¹⁴⁴ Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 264–5.

¹⁴⁵ Nicolet 1991: chapter 5, 95–122 analyses specific examples of these trends. Clarke 1999 bridges the two periods by focusing on the geographical aspects of Polybius's and Strabo's narratives. She contrasts Polybius's more spatial geography that uses several viewpoints from which to evoke space with Strabo's, whose main concern is a linear narrative of travelling across space from place to place, using a single viewpoint. Clarke shows the way the places of Strabo's world are linked not so much to each other as to Rome, hence creating a circular model of Rome as the centre surrounded by a periphery.

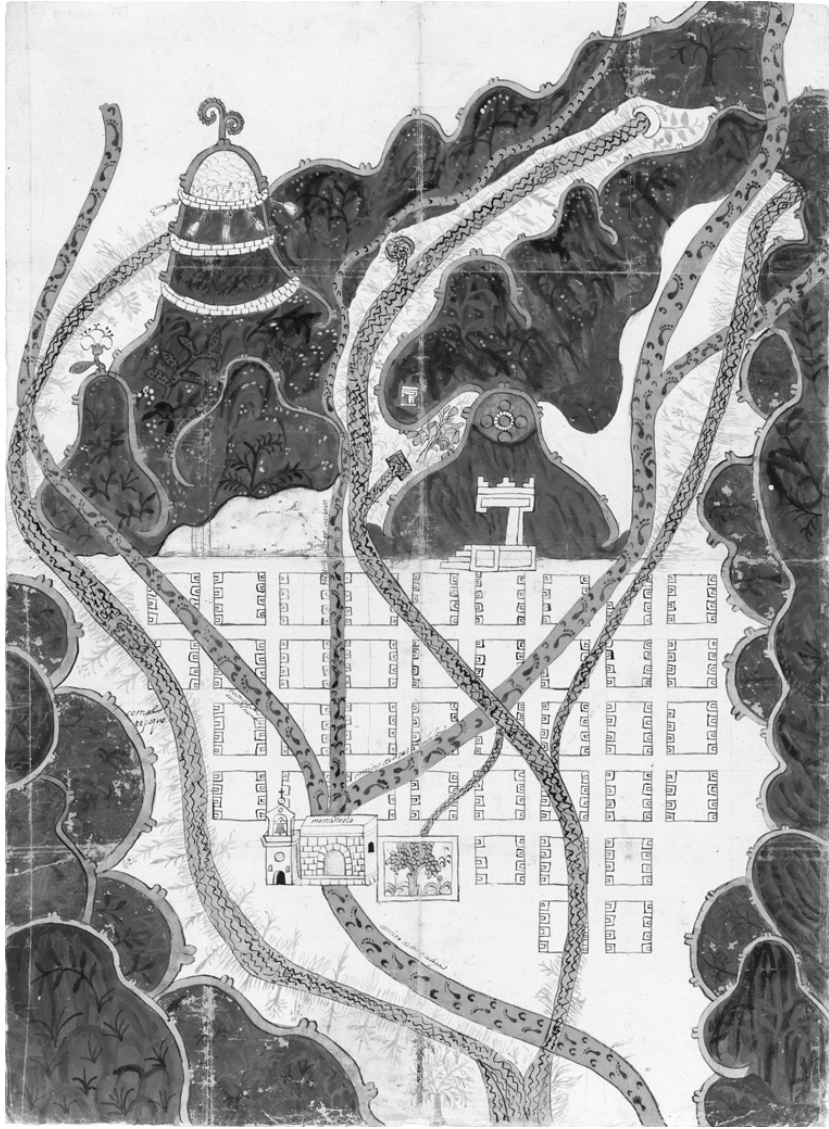


Fig. 24 Map of Texúpa (1579). Modern Santiago, Oaxaca, Mexico. Native mobile route-ways with footsteps overlie the Spanish Conquest Grid. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

intertwined sites and events, by combining itineraries and stories whose motion could be captured via the plotting of footsteps¹⁴⁶ (Fig. 24, Plate 7).

¹⁴⁶ A combination of these two traditions may be found on the map of Texúpa (1579) Santiago (Oaxaca, Mexico), which has both: the spatial structuring of a Spanish conquest grid of the Western maps, overlaid with the traditional itineraries and paths with footsteps: Kagan with Marias 2000: 34–5, fig. 2.8; for Codex Xolotl pp. 52–3, fig. 3.6.

Western maps today are depictions of space, but these early maps were representations of time and space together, as were medieval European *mappae mundi*.¹⁴⁷ Right across the Middle Ages, the tendency was to depict regions by means of such itinerary maps. These clearly represent an alternative spatiality, one that is very different from the planar extension of the gridded map.¹⁴⁸ One of the earliest surviving examples from the Western world of this kind of map is preserved in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* a map of the networks and places of the Roman Empire dating to the fourth century AD, which is known to us through twelfth-century copies¹⁴⁹ (Fig. 3, Plate 9). It rationalises territory as a series of nodes joined by vectors that represent the preferred routes of travel. What matters is not the in-between space, but the distances between sites written along the lines connecting them; it is the trajectories that take primacy. On this *Tabula*, Rome, which Talbert argues would have been placed at the centre, looks closer to Carthage than Naples does to Pompeii.¹⁵⁰ Unlike the gridded maps, where empty spaces provide a spatial framework into which one can plot new locations, early maps do not allow for plotting of locations as they negate the Euclidian isotropic space in favour of the distance to be travelled between towns.¹⁵¹

These ancient mapping traditions may be recognised in the *periplus* – a narrative that links places on the journey – and also in the *itinerarium*, which provides a route diagram with places and distances between them.¹⁵² In the Hellenistic period, as Thalmann demonstrated through his analysis of the *Argonautika*, Apollonius uses the form of the *periplus* to describe the process of the cultural production of space, rather than giving an abstract outline of it.¹⁵³ At the end of the Republic, Caesar's description of Gaul traced an itinerary through the region, reducing it to a sequence of destinations and individual nations within it, 'as if beads on a string'.¹⁵⁴ In these examples, the itinerary is not seen from above, but is experienced at eye-level, from the perspective of a journey that takes one along pathways from one place to another.¹⁵⁵

Pietro Janni argued that the habit of constructing space as linear, uni-dimensional and dynamic is something that the Middle Ages inherited from

¹⁴⁷ Massey 2005: 7, chapter 11, esp. 106–7; Padrón 2004: 32–5. ¹⁴⁸ Padrón 2004: 54.

¹⁴⁹ Talbert 2010. ¹⁵⁰ Talbert 2010: chapter 3, 86–122; Padrón 2004: 54.

¹⁵¹ Padrón 2004: 54–5.

¹⁵² On the periplus tradition: Clarke 1999: 37–9, 197–202; Janni 1984; Kowalski 2012; Shipley 2011. For Menippus's (of Pergamum) *Periplus maris interni* (Circumnavigation of the Inner Sea) (late first century BC): Salway 2004: 53–8. For *itineraria*: Adams and Laurence 2001; Salway 2001; Salway 2004; Laurence 2001; Brodersen 2001; Brodersen 2004, 185.

¹⁵³ Thalmann 2011: 13. ¹⁵⁴ Caesar *de Bello Gallico*; Feldherr 1999: 91–2.

¹⁵⁵ Jacob 1999: 40 argues that in Ptolemy's *Geographia* it is the point and not the line which is the basic element.

Greco-Roman Antiquity.¹⁵⁶ His observations, although originally seen as a minority view, have made an important contribution to our understanding of spatiality in the ancient world.¹⁵⁷ To shift from the unidimensional spatiality of the itinerary to the two-dimensional spatiality of the map Janni believed required a cognitive leap on the part of the navigator, allowing him to imagine his course not as a route, but a line traced across a surface. For De Certeau, such a phenomenon is most noticeable in the change from medieval maps that marked out itineraries and pilgrimage routes, where distances were calculated in hours or days, to Early Modern maps that erased the itineraries and colonised space. Within the new mapping there is no spatiality that is not organized by the determination of frontiers.¹⁵⁸ Space becomes static rather than dynamic. We have little evidence for the representation of such static space in any surviving examples of ancient mapping. While we may imagine Varro's and Agrippa's creations as more synoptic than linear, they are still a long way from any representation of Euclidian isotropic space. They represent a mind-set for which it would be unnatural to isolate or attach meaning to any entity articulated in territorial terms beyond that which is tangible, such as a home, private plot of land, temple or shrine. It is for this reason that Livy's attempt to give meaning to the physical site of Rome becomes a challenge, as his contemporaries would not have visualised it as an articulated space on a map, and in that sense it was intangible. The nature of early mapping suggests a privileging of a relational approach to space and place, perhaps of the kind sought after by cultural geographers such as Massey, Amin and Harvey, as an alternative to seeing space as bounded and exclusionary.¹⁵⁹ What such a relational approach entails is what we go on to consider next.

How We Relate to Real and Imagined Landscapes: The Relational Approach

The analysis of the Camillus episode in Livy's book 5 is in part a product of the wider context of recent scholarship on post-nation-state alternatives,

¹⁵⁶ Janni 1984. ¹⁵⁷ For an overview of the scholarship: Padrón 2004: 61, 68–9, 245–6, n. 23.

¹⁵⁸ De Certeau 1984: 120–1, 123.

¹⁵⁹ Massey 2005: 141. The discourse about relational perspectives was presented in the 2004 volume of *Geografiska Annaler*, Series B: Human Geography, 86.1. This included the main argument for a more relational mode of thinking by Massey 2004; Amin 2004 articulated the way regions are made through spatiality of flow, with no automatic guarantee of territory. For an alternative perspective stressing that mobility and fluidity need not stand in opposition to territories: Jones and MacLeod 2004.

in which this study finds its inspiration. Some of these have already been sketched: those concerning mobility in [Chapter 2](#); globalisation in [Chapter 7](#); and perceptions of place in [Chapter 9](#). Mostly, these have been considered within the broader theme of human mobility across ancient Italy, which, it has been argued, was persistently high, and anticipated by socio-political structures. It is against the backdrop of ongoing mobility that we can appreciate the imaginative processes of place-construction. The *relational* approach, most strongly advocated by the geographer Massey,¹⁶⁰ allows for a new means of understanding how individuals and communities through history use and relate to their real and imagined landscapes. It asserts that since boundaries are socially constructed, and place is internally multiple, it is best to think of it as a point of meeting, the location of intersections and interrelations of influences and movements. The relational conception of space, which has arisen out of a criticism of the Newtonian approach that privileges territorially fixed ‘absolute space’, has inspired a rich geographical discourse.¹⁶¹ Some have felt that it has gone too far and that such an approach is overzealous in dissociating place from fixed location.¹⁶² But perhaps these are the worries of what has been coined the ‘supermodern’ existence, as captured by the anthropologist Augé, with its fear of solitude due to flexible identities and the fluidity of place.¹⁶³

Drawing on the writings of anthropologists, geographers and philosophers, and particularly the works of Lefebvre, there has been an attempt to codify and grasp the multiplicity of the meaning of place.¹⁶⁴ Some investigations, most influentially by Giddens, have used the idea of a more locally based past to articulate the uniqueness of place in our present condition in an increasingly trans-national world. In his work *The Consequences of Modernity*, he assumes a more sedentary and face-to-face pre-modern society in contrast to one where relations are now between ‘absent’ others.¹⁶⁵ Robins and Morley’s work, on the way that culture and identity develop in the age of global media, also contrasts a

¹⁶⁰ Massey and Jess 1995; Massey 2004; Massey 2005; Massey 2007.

¹⁶¹ Along with the works cited by Massey above, other studies that have been inspirational and essential for thinking about experiencing the world relationally include: Lefebvre [1974] 1991; Tuan 1977; De Certeau 1984; Foucault 1986; Anderson 1991; Augé 1995; Harvey 2009.

¹⁶² Dirlik 2001; with Harvey 2009: 189. ¹⁶³ Augé 1995.

¹⁶⁴ For a definition of the distinct concepts of space as absolute, relative and relational (or relational space-time): Harvey 2006; Harvey 2009: 133; Cresswell 2004.

¹⁶⁵ Giddens 1990: 18: ‘In pre-modern societies, space and place largely coincide, since the spatial dimensions of social life are, for most of the population, and in most respects, dominated by “presence” – by localised activities. The advent of modernity increasingly tears space away from place by fostering relations between “absent” others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction.’

sedentary past with a mobile present in which globalization has created a sense of placed and placeless identity.¹⁶⁶ We may challenge their perception of the past.¹⁶⁷ Yet, their description of the 'new' state of being can be equally applied to Late Republican Italy and the moment which is captured in Livy's Camillus speech: a change in the relationship between identity and locality. What they describe is not just a modern condition.

Such perceptions of pre-modern societies are misleading. They assume a generic coherence among ancient communities, and project onto the past a connectedness to land that is not necessarily there. Giddens in particular does this in an almost nostalgic way. His approach is not dissimilar to the underpinning motive behind Nora's studies of *Lieux de Memoire*, which attempt to record a disappearing world, an ideal that existed primarily in the imagination.¹⁶⁸ A similar discourse of connectedness to land, and nostalgia for a simpler sedentary past, can be detected in ancient sources, where it too was presented as an ideal but not as a reality. Cato expressed a particular view that saw the agriculturalists as the best of citizens, while traders were the worst.¹⁶⁹ The perspective may be attributed to the class he represented – a land-owning elite. But this was an elite that was highly mobile, who probably saw little of the land from which they drew their earnings, managed by a *vilicus*, who was often a freedman and likely born abroad. Cato and his friends could easily fit the description of the 'spatially mobile cultures' that Massey sees as part of the condition of the modern world. She argues that this does not mean such cultures have no sense of place, but rather that this sense is not so intimately related to settledness, enclosure or home.¹⁷⁰ Such mobility and apparent lack of attachment is disturbing to authorities and those to whom settledness is important. Yet, in the lived experience, to echo Massey's point, we find that a sense of place is not natural but cultural and therefore open to reinterpretation and transformation.

Harvey, in his work on cosmopolitanism and liberalism, articulates the danger of the exclusionary communitarian arguments that assume a

¹⁶⁶ Morley and Robins 1995: 121: 'The global local nexus is associated with new relations between space and place, fixity and mobility, centre and periphery, "real" and "virtual" space, "inside" and "outside", frontier and territory. This inevitably, has implications for both individual and collective identities and for the meaning and coherence of community.'

¹⁶⁷ Purcell 2004: 74. In reference to Athens and Greece Purcell sites reasons why moderns assume ancient fixity, including autochthony, the common hearth, tombs of the ancestors and local knowledge.

¹⁶⁸ Nora [1984–92] 1997; with Legg 2004; Legg 2005.

¹⁶⁹ Cato *De Agri Cultura*, introduction 1–5, with Chapter 6, pp. 225–26. ¹⁷⁰ Massey 1995: 51.

geographical world divided into a mosaic of cultures or communities in closed territorial entities, whether now or in the past.

They fail to note how places and localized ways of life are relationally constructed by a variety of intersecting socio-ecological processes occurring at quite different spatio-temporal scales. No attention is paid to . . . the actual historical-geographical processes of place and community construction. To ignore these processes and build a particularist theory of local justice with respect to places and cultures as embodied *things* located in a fixed, absolute space is to advocate a fetishistic politics that would try (fortunately, against all odds) to permanently freeze existing geographical structures of places and their social norms of justice.¹⁷¹

His emphatic statement highlights the competitive nature of the different modes of space perception. In the Late Republican context of ancient Italy we witness such a competition in which interest in absolute space gained momentum and undermined a more relational perspective. It may be observed in the developments of mapping practices, sketched above, and in the discourse on identity and belonging we find in Cicero's and Livy's works, among others, that will be considered in the [next chapter](#). The aim here is not to create an opposition between place and space but rather to see their interrelationship. Thalmann's study, based in the Hellenistic context, considers the way in which the two concepts are complementary and interdependent by focusing on Apollonius's narrative of the voyage of the Argonauts. He argues that the *Argonautika* represents the production of space as a process, which he does not define in absolute terms, but rather as relative and relational, following the view of the dynamic notion of space as articulated by Massey, Lefebvre and Soja.¹⁷² He shows how, in the *Argonautika*, space is a system of interrelations between places: 'thus the Argonauts produce a space (much of the *oikoumenê*) by bringing places into alignment as stops on their itinerary.'¹⁷³ In so doing, their voyage becomes an illustration of Tuan's formulation that 'if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place'.¹⁷⁴ Ingold develops this further; arguing that places are where life-pathways, conducted through time and space, converge and get knotted, forming meshworks.¹⁷⁵ They too are pauses, but they take the journey or pathway as the starting point, where space is not empty territory

¹⁷¹ Harvey 2009: 112, author's italics. ¹⁷² Thalmann 2011: 15.

¹⁷³ Thalmann 2011: 20 n. 64. For the way in which place and space are linked by emplotment and narrative, and the way that place can form a pause in movement: Clarke 1999: 36–40, in relation to Strabo and Polybius; Fowler 1991; Merrifield 1993.

¹⁷⁴ Tuan 1977: 6.

¹⁷⁵ Ingold 2011, drawing on the work of Tilley and Massey. See also Chapter 1, p. 17, note 58.

but a dynamic site of mobility.¹⁷⁶ It is this which the *periplus* and itinerary maps, the linear or hodological cartographies express best. The recognition of place as both a geographical location and an issue of culture, identity and belonging challenges the permanence of singular models and encourages alternative imaginaries of how individuals and communities relate to place.

Livy presents us with one such imaginary of place in the last decades of the first century BC. It confronts the expectation of an authentic attachment to any particular site and the emotions that may be invested in it. In Livy's speech of Camillus, he develops what may be defined as self-deplacement¹⁷⁷ – the dissolution of the imagined community centred on Rome.¹⁷⁸ This is what he feared not displacement; otherwise any colonial process would have been problematic. De-placement disallows place to exist through the suspension of an emotional bond with the site. In so doing, it inhibits the continuity of memory into the future. By building a definition of Rome through a contemplation of its absence, Livy explores the multiple meanings of community and its relationship with the natural and human landscape.¹⁷⁹ In so doing, he epitomizes the process by which Rome is recognised as more than simply a 'site' – a physical location and its urban fabric – but as 'the place'. The possibility of moving 'Rome', which Livy projects into the fourth century BC, may not have seemed as far-fetched to his contemporaries in the first century, as we might imagine. There were rumours at the time that Mark Antony was going to move Rome to Alexandria or Ilium.¹⁸⁰ One could even claim that some three centuries later Rome did move, when Constantinople became the seat of power and the Imperial centre.¹⁸¹ It made real Herodian's statement almost a century earlier that 'Rome is where the emperor is.'¹⁸²

¹⁷⁶ Massey 2005: 71.

¹⁷⁷ De-placement is used to express the idea that, in particular situations, individuals and communities can be made placeless. This could be the result of a transformation of the physical site, causing a disjuncture between the memory-place and the material fabric that embodies the memory. Destruction of the urban fabric can cause such an over-writing of place. Alternatively, de-placement could result from the transfer of people to in-between sites, for example the 'permanent' refugee camps in Palestine. These ideas were explored in the collaborative interdisciplinary project *De-placing Future Memory* (2008), funded by the AHRC *Beyond Text* scheme, and follow-on projects, also in part funded by the AHRC: (<http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/deplacingfuturememory/>; <http://collections.ex.ac.uk/repository/handle/10472/5258>).

¹⁷⁸ 'Imagined community' in the sense used by Anderson 1991.

¹⁷⁹ In some ways it constitutes what Kwon 2002 has described as a shift from site to community.

¹⁸⁰ Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 79.3; Dio Cassius 50.3–4. For other possible moves that were rumoured at the time: Kraus 1994: 280; Edwards 1996: 47–8; Stevenson 2000.

¹⁸¹ The move of the centre of empire is summarised by Edwards 1996: 66–8.

¹⁸² Herodian *Historia* 1.6.5: ἐκεῖ ἡ Ῥώμη, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς ᾗ.

The city of Rome may have become the capital of empire and its civic centre, but this did not automatically make it a place of belonging and the locus of patriotism. An emotional, sentimental attachment to Rome cannot be assumed at the end of the Republic.¹ Romans were a large, heterogeneous, mobile community that stretched across Italy and beyond. But how to instil patriotism and make Rome into their *patria* – homeland? Livy’s speech of Camillus at the end of Book 5 of his *Ab Urbe Condita*, set just after the Gallic Sack, provides one response.² His arguments to prevent the Romans from abandoning their city and moving to Veii draw on social structures which ‘naturally’ evoke emotional attachment to a material site. These include the condition of exile, the idea of home – both *patria* and *domus* – and the formation of religious sites and practices.³ The same elements are visible in Cicero’s more sustained efforts to deal with similar themes, but with subtle yet important differences in their outcomes.⁴ This [final chapter](#) will explore the methods used in constructing Rome and making it meaningful to a mobile, cosmopolitan community.

Exilium – Exile

Livy begins the speech of Camillus from the perspective of exile (5.51). Some of his readers would have experienced the condition first-hand. Those that had not became familiar with its pains through an increasingly popular literary trope. We can trace its development in the writings of

¹ Bonjour, in her work on *patria*, argues that it was positively lacking: Bonjour 1975a: 48.

² See introduction to the text in Chapter 10, p. 361ff. and full text with translation in [Appendix D](#).

³ Bonjour’s 1975a work considers similar categories, especially *patria*, *domus* and *sedes*. But while for Bonjour the Late Republic acts as a starting point for investigation, in this chapter it is considered an end point of a process that preceded it and a transformation into something new.

⁴ Livy’s speech of Camillus echoes Cicero’s writings on his own return from exile, and it is very likely that Livy used them as a model. Ogilvie [1965] 1978: 743 points to the following examples in Cicero’s writings: *Tusculan Disputations* 5.107ff; *ad Familiares* 4.4.4. Gaertner 2008: 43–5 notes additional texts by Cicero that have similarities: *Post Reditum ad Quirites*. 4; *De Republica* 2.5; 2.10; 2.11.

Cicero and Ovid.⁵ Camillus's speech begins with a recollection of his time as an exile in Ardea. This may have surprised those expecting jubilation as he is received back into the Roman community he helped to save. But the joy of return only comes later. Instead, the audience finds a reluctant homecoming from this heroic exile.

So painful to me, Quirites, are controversies with the tribunes of the plebs, that my most bitter exile knew no other solace but this, all the time that I lived at Ardea, that I was far away from these contentions. And they are likewise the cause that though you had a thousand times recalled me by resolution of the senate and the people's vote, I intended never to return.⁶

Through the condition of exile, the imagined community is given form and made tangible. By a separation from those on the inside, an outsider has a privileged perspective on the community as a whole.⁷ Livy's choice to start the speech from the perspective of exile allows this view from 'the other side'. It contains a threat of the ultimate punishment of excommunication, a fate which Cicero called hardly better than death itself.⁸

The reality of exile did not necessarily fit the cultural trope of exile. When Livy's Camillus addresses his exilic hosts, the Ardeates, in an earlier passage of the book he refers to them as his old friends and fellow citizens (5.44.1).⁹ If our sources are to be believed, a similar outlook is implicit during the patrician–plebeian struggles in Rome, when towns provided refuge and invited the Roman populace to live among them.¹⁰ Cicero's reflection that a man was not in exile as long as he was among good men¹¹ suggests a similar sentiment, although it is braced against his lamentations about isolation from the centre of action in Rome.¹² In the Roman Republic, *exilium* was not forced on the individual by the state, unlike in later centuries when banishment became a penalty imposed by the ruling power.¹³ Before the Imperial period it was a voluntary act by which a

⁵ For the concept and practice of exile in the Roman world: Kelly 2006; Stini 2011. The development of exile as a literary theme: Claassen 1999; Claassen 2008; Gaertner 2007a.

⁶ Livy 5.51: For translation see Appendix D.

⁷ Gaertner 2007a: 10 summarises the way that intellectual concepts of exile conceive of it as a condition that provokes a profound change of perspective, offering knowledge and greater insight. I am grateful for discussions about such a perspective with Yair Mitzker at Princeton, and his work on the trial of Jew Suss in eighteenth-century Germany.

⁸ Cicero, *ad Atticum* 3.7.2. The Cynics presented a different perspective of exile and began to employ it positively, fusing it with the notion of Cosmopolitanism: Gaertner 2007a: 11–12.

⁹ Livy 5.44.1: *veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei*.

¹⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 7.18.3. On luring in new residents: Chapter 2, p. 35 and note 89.

¹¹ Cicero *de Finibus* 5.54. A similar sentiment is also expressed by Lucan *Pharsalia* 5.27–30, with Chapter 10, p. 376.

¹² Cicero *ad Atticum* 3.7; 3.8; *ad Quintus* 1.3. ¹³ Stini 2011: 31–5.

citizen could avoid legal penalty by leaving the community. This was different to exile in Greek states that ex-communicated their members by force, as we saw by the large number seeking refuge in Polybius's *Histories*. The distinctiveness of Roman exile was significant enough to be of interest to an outsider like Polybius, who described it in detail.¹⁴

The Roman institution of exile is relatively well documented, although a number of questions remain about some of its basic characteristics.¹⁵ We know that individuals had to settle in an area outside Roman jurisdiction, but that does not mean that they had to give up their citizenship (although it would have meant little at that point). The status could not be taken away unwillingly. Our sources imply that the only way it could be lost was through a voluntary acceptance of the franchise in a new domicile.¹⁶ Cicero explains this in his defence of Caesar's chief engineer, the Spanish-born Cornelius Balbus from Gades, whose enemies tried to have his Roman citizenship revoked.¹⁷ In his defence, Cicero praises the liberty which allowed one to retain, or alternatively to renounce, the right of citizenship. He commends the wisdom of the forefathers who did not allow one to be a citizen of more than one state, since it would entail being under the jurisdiction of multiple legal systems.¹⁸ The inability to hold dual citizenship, therefore, was not connected to any conflict of allegiance.¹⁹ It was not a matter of patriotism. In light of this explanation, as presented by Cicero, there was nothing to stop an exile from taking citizenship in another autonomous community.

Once the decision to go into exile was taken, the next step was to decide where to go. The destination was not dependent on its physical distance from Rome in terms of absolute space. However, at times exceptional

¹⁴ Polybius 6.14.7. For exile and expulsion: Chapters 7, p. 243ff and 8, p. 275ff.

¹⁵ For the mechanics of the institution and its legal history: Kelly 2006: chapter 2; Stini 2011: 29–54.

¹⁶ Cicero, *De Domo Sua* 78; *Pro Caecina* 100; *Pro Balbo*. See also: Kelly: 33–4, 45–7.

¹⁷ For citizenship issues in the *Pro Balbo*, especially in relation to the Greek priestess of Ceres: Isayev 2011b.

¹⁸ Cicero *Pro Balbo* 27–31. For *postliminium* – the right of subsequent return: Barber 2004; Cursi 1996. For a comparison with the different attitudes held by the Greeks: Ando 1999: 19–22. Sherwin-White 1973: 35 suggests that Camillus's return to Rome, as described by Livy 5.46.10, is probably a case of *postliminium*.

¹⁹ This differs from the modern conception of citizenship in the multicultural model, especially in the USA, where migrant settlement is expected to be first and foremost accompanied by a transfer of allegiance from one nation to another. The contemporary transnational model, however, states that this is no longer applicable as growing groups of migrants form transnational communities and maintain strong cross-border affiliations. These social and cultural identities which transcend national boundaries lead to multiple and differentiated forms of belonging: Castles and Miller 2003: 45.

clauses could be added, as in the case of Cicero's exile.²⁰ The official wording of the *lex Clodia* of 58 BC stated that M. Tullius was interdicted from water and fire.²¹ The stipulations of this law transformed what was technically a voluntary exile into an expulsion, and authorised the execution of Cicero and anyone who sheltered him, if the condition was broken.²² After leaving Rome he received further instructions in 58 BC that he could legally remain beyond 500 (or 400) miles.²³ Importantly, the new place of abode, at whatever distance, was meant to be in a *civitas libera* – an independent state outside Roman jurisdiction.²⁴ As Roman *imperium* spread across the Mediterranean, the places where one could be exiled were located further from the centre, and eventually exceptions had to be made as Roman rule enveloped much of the known world. In the fourth century BC, Camillus spent his exile in Ardea, a mere 35 kilometres south of Rome. Some centuries later, and after the extension of enfranchisement to the whole of the peninsula in 89 BC, Cicero had to travel well beyond the limits of Italy to Thessalonike in Greece during his exile in 58–57 BC. Where individuals chose to go would in part depend on their preferences and also presumably where they may have connections and friends, Roman or not. Many, including Cicero, chose communities in the Greek world; some found their way to North Africa; others preferred the Western regions such as Gaul or, in Porcius Cato's case, Tarraco in Spain.²⁵

²⁰ The limitation added to Cicero's terms of exile that forbade him to come within 400–500 miles of Italy (not Rome but Italy) seem to be an unusual addition: Cicero, *ad Atticum* 3.4; 3.7.1; Plutarch, *Cicero* 32.1; Dio Cassius 38.17.7. As Kelly 2006: 233–6 indicates, in the extant sources forbidden territory is designated by distinct areas (as Rome or Italy) but not by distances, there are some precedents of other forms of expulsion with such limitations. Kelly argues against the suggestion that the limit placed on Cicero may have been a favourable outcome that reduced the amount of forbidden territory from the whole *imperium Romanum*. He argues instead that the reason for this interdiction was perhaps to ensure that Cicero did not seek refuge with his clients in Sicily.

²¹ Cicero *de Dom.* 47, 50 cites part of the *lex*.

²² *Lex Clodia* = *Roman Statutes* 56, (Vol. II, 773–4): ... *M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit* ... For the law: Moreau 1987; Tatum 1999: 156–66. For Cicero's exile and restoration: Kelly 2006: 110–24, 190–2.

²³ Cicero *ad Att.* 3.4 *miseriae nostrae potius velim quam inconstantiae tribuas quod a Vibone quo te arcessebam subito discessimus. adlata est enim nobis rogatio de pernicie mea; in qua quod correctum esse audieramus erat eius modi ut mihi ultra quingenta milia liceret esse, illuc pervenire non liceret.* (I hope you will attribute my sudden departure from Vibo, whither I had asked you come, to my unhappiness rather than to fickleness. A copy of the bill for my ruin was brought to me, in which the correction of which I had been told was to the effect that I might legally remain anywhere beyond 500 miles.) For the discrepancy of 400–500 miles: Moreau 1987: 475.

²⁴ Kelly 2006: 54–65, and chapter 3.

²⁵ Cato's exile in Tarraco, Spain: Cicero *Pro Balbo*, 28. On the choices people made of where to settle once exiled: Kelly 2006: chapter 3, 81–2. For a summary of known places of exile: Balsdon

Whatever may have been the realities of excommunication, Livy's choice for Camillus to begin his address from an exile's perspective provided an emotional charge. By exploring what was left behind he made it tangible. The extent of this increased from the time of Cicero to the time of Livy. Cicero's jubilation at seeing his *patria* after exile comes close to what Livy puts in the mouth of Camillus, yet it was not the same.²⁶ In the speech which Cicero delivered to the citizens on his return in 57 BC, *Post Reditum ad Quirites* (4), Cicero exclaimed:

It can hardly be expressed, oh immortal gods, what love (*caritas*) the *patria* inspires, what pleasure it affords, how beautiful Italy is, how famous its cities (*oppida*), how lovely its landscapes (*forma regionum*), fields, and crops; how beautiful the city (*urbs*), how cultured its citizens, how excellent its state (*res publica*) is, how dignified you are!²⁷

Livy's Camillus expresses a similar love for the landscape for which he had longed in exile (5.54.3):

... as often, during my absence, as I thought of my *patria*, all these objects came into my mind: the hills and the fields and the Tiber and the landscape (*regio*) familiar to my eyes, and this sky beneath which I had been born and reared. And I wish these things may rather move you with affection (*caritas*), Quirites ...

Leaving aside Camillus's suggestion of the immovable sky, which too can be bounded, as we will see below, his invocation of nature is limited to the hills and river of Rome, while Cicero's expression of love – *caritas* – is not reserved for the city alone but for the landscape of the whole of Italy, which is as much his *patria* in this context as Rome.²⁸ In his longing, Cicero includes the intangible *patria*, the citizens and the *res publica*. But it is not these that draw Camillus's emotional attachment to the site of Rome.

Camillus's position as an exile in Ardea is unlike that Cicero develops for himself on his return. In his post-exilic writings, Cicero rhetorically presents himself as having never been in exile, since he had taken the state – *res publica* – with him. This, he argues, is because the *res publica* no longer existed legitimately while Clodius, his enemy and the one responsible for his banishment, held power.²⁹ It was therefore Clodius who was in exile.

1979: 113–15, appendix: 'Known places of exile'. In reference to exiles and formation of anti-Roman factions abroad: Chapter 2, pp. 57–58 and Wilson 1966: 29–30, 44–7, 54, 66, 129, 162–3.

²⁶ Gaertner 2008: 42–4 points out the similarity between the two texts but equates them as both referring to Rome.

²⁷ Translation adapted from Gaertner 2008: 43.

²⁸ For *pietas*, *caritas* and *amor* as part of the patriotic vocabulary: Bonjour 1975a: 59–65.

²⁹ Cicero *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 27–31; Cicero *Post reditum ad populum*. With Cohen 2007.

Cicero made the case that a good citizen can carry the *res publica* with him wherever he may be. He questioned the location of the *res publica*, and its relationship to the *patria*, in his letter to the exiled Trebatius. Quoting Ennius's tragedy *Medea Exul* (266–8) he wrote that 'many there are who have performed well their own and their republic's tasks far from the *patria*; and many there are who because they passed their days at home were for this held in no honour'.³⁰ Such a metaphorical use of exile, founded on Greek and especially stoic philosophy, was based on a more abstract concept of *patria* and *exilium*.³¹ Later, during Caesar's dictatorship, Cicero presents himself as if still in exile, although physically in the city, implying that the *res publica* or Rome had been banished.³² Such a position may be similar to the 'innere Émigré', the controversial concept coined by Frank Thiess to describe the condition of the authors who stayed in Germany in 1933 but who dissociated themselves from the Nazi regime.³³

Livy could be sure that the exile motif would inspire longing and nostalgia,³⁴ drawing out the reader's sympathy and in the process shaping the longed-for thing in the imagining of its absence. The essence of Rome is personified by the evocation of exile, and simultaneously threatened with it. The idea of the exiled city is what Camillus feared when he was in Ardea: 'the issue was whether my *patria* was to remain in her *sedes* (seat), not whether I was to be in my *patria* at any cost', (5.51.2). The term *sedes* – the seat of foundation or resting place – implies permanence and can be used in opposition to wandering barbarians.³⁵ This term, as Bonjour has demonstrated, along with *domus*, is commonly linked with the expression of love for *patria*.³⁶ Exile creates as its antithesis the *patria*, which we consider next.

³⁰ Cicero ad Fam. VII.6.1: *Multi suam rem bene gessere et publicam patria procul, multi qui domi aetatem ageret propterea sunt improbi.*

³¹ Cohen has traced how understandings of exile may change when something is wrong with the *patria*: Cohen 2007.

³² Cicero *De Domo Sua* 146.

³³ For contemporary debates about 'innere Émigré': Thiess, von Molo and Mann 1945; Klieneberger 1965; Donahue and Kirchner 2003. In relation to ancient literature: Gaertner 2007a: 15–16.

³⁴ Gaertner 2008: 42 has argued that these particular nostalgic and more personal elements of the speech are a Livian invention which owes a great debt to the writings of Cicero. For nostalgia in connection with Roman religion and literature: Feeney 1998: 133–6. Legg 2004; 2005 argues that although periods of nostalgia are linked to the socio-cultural and political-economic environment, the home that is yearned for need not be so real. For the interrelationship of place, memory and nostalgia: Stewart and Strathern 2003; Boym 2001; Whitehead 2009.

³⁵ Bonjour 1975a: 56–9. ³⁶ Bonjour 1975a: 40.

Patria and Urbs

Camillus's use of *patria* exposes the difficulty of trying to map the concept onto anything resembling a territorial nation-state.³⁷ Literally, the term is fatherland, which carries with it notions of allegiance and belonging, but little in the way of physical boundaries. Rarely is the English word fatherland used in translations of *patria*. Instead, translators use a variety of terms interchangeably. These include large entities, such as country, homeland and native land, and more discrete units, such as native city, city and home. In today's world, *patria* is mostly reserved for the nation-state and is unlikely to be used in reference to a city. But in ancient writings its use was much less consistent even within individual texts. In exploring the distinction in Latin literature between sentiment towards a local *patria* (for example a birth place with 'natural' attachment), and the civic or political *patria*, Bonjour found that even expressions of attachment to birthplace are inconsistent.³⁸ She showed that as Rome expanded, there was a reciprocal relationship between local and civic patriotism.

Cicero and Livy evoke different forms of the *patria* in reference to the city. For Cicero, the *res publica* can be presented as the *patria*, which is intangible and exists through practice.³⁹ The site of Rome is important to him for what it facilitates. But, unlike his birthplace in Arpinum, it is not imbued with emotional attachment. Cicero's conception of the city of Rome and *patria* displays a more relational approach than we find in Livy's speech of Camillus, which, in its argument for fixity, moves closer to a conception of absolute space. Cicero's well-known passage in *De Legibus* – *On the Laws* (2.1–6) – written just over a decade before Livy began his work, philosophically delights in the fluid meaning of *patria*. It is an attempt to tease out what Rome *is* in relation to other places in Italy and the Empire. In this second book of *De Legibus*, Cicero creates a fictional dialogue exploring the links between place, citizenship and belonging as part of a wider discussion of natural law.⁴⁰

³⁷ The fundamental work on Roman *patria* is: Bonjour 1975a. For a summary of the scholarship on *patria*: Farrell 2001: 18. A more recent collection of studies on *patria* and political and ethnic unity: Urso 2008. For the development of the concept in later periods: Eichenberger 1991; Gasser 1999.

³⁸ Bonjour 1975a.

³⁹ For definitions of the *res publica*, especially in reference to Cicero *De Re Publica* 1.39.1: Schofield 1995; Hillard 2005; Ando 1999: 14.

⁴⁰ *De Legibus* is a philosophical treatise written alongside his other work *De Re Publica* and uses paradigms from Plato. The dialogue, which opens the second book of the *De Legibus*, is part of a wider discussion on the constitution, religion and its connection to politics as well as the

The conversation is set in Cicero's birthplace of Arpinum some 100 km south-west of Rome. It takes place between himself and his good friend Atticus who, although Roman-born, lived primarily in Athens. As the two walk to the island on the river Fibrenus, past the home and landscape of Cicero's childhood, Atticus asks him whether he has one *patria* or two, in Arpinum and Rome. The answer is not clear cut, as Cicero is loath to choose between places dear to him. He concludes by referring to Rome as his adoptive *patria*, that holds Arpinum the other *patria* within it. He specifies that the former is *patria* by law (*iuris*) and the latter by location (*loci*), presumably of birth.⁴¹ We may read the same sentiment in his reference to the poet Ennius, who was from Rudiae in Messapia, and is said to have had three hearts, which Gellius interpreted as meaning he spoke Greek, Oscan and Latin.⁴² Cicero states that 'we who were once Rudians are now Romans'.⁴³ Referring to those who were from outside of Rome, Cicero says that it is as if they hold two citizenships but think of them as one. His dialogue identifies the versatile and multiple ways in which *patria* could be conceived, and one's relationship with it. Bonjour presents this relationship as interior and exterior: the early life connection to a birthplace which is tangible versus the abstract, intangible nature of Rome as *patria*.⁴⁴ *Patria* is not used to mean simply or exclusively the place where one is born; nor is there a direct relationship to the citizenship that one holds. It can simultaneously refer to a physical site such as Arpinum, or to a wider concept implied by Rome. Such fluidity is what allows Cicero to call Romulus his ancestor in the *Pro Balbo* (31). It can also be used to encompass as broad an entity as Italy, which was rapidly assuming a unified shape at this time.⁴⁵

As Atticus and Cicero continue their walk, the conversation moves to Athens, Atticus's current abode. This rapid shift from the small Italic town

conception of law and nature. For Cicero's aims in the *De Legibus*: Dyck 2004: 238–63. For the meaning of *patria* in this part of the dialogue: Salmon 1992; Farrell 2001: 18–27. For the rhetorical aspects of this work: Steel 2001; Connolly 2007.

⁴¹ Cicero *De Legibus* 2.5: *habuit alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris*.

⁴² Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 18.17.1: *Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret* – Quintus Ennius used to say that he had three hearts that he knew how to speak in Greek, Oscan and Latin.

⁴³ Cicero *De Oratore* 3.42.168: *nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini*. Ennius was given Roman citizenship in 184 BC.

⁴⁴ Bonjour 1975a: 110. I am grateful to Jo Strong for letting me see her unpublished paper showing that for Cicero and Catullus their original home was a different kind of *patria* to that of Rome: Strong 2009. For Catullus's *patria*: Fitzgerald 1995: 188–201.

⁴⁵ Cicero *Post Reditum ad Quirites* 4; *In Catilinam* 1.11.27; *In Catilinam* 4.11.24. For the term *Italia*: Chapter 9, 324–25.

of Arpinum to the Greek metropolis heightens the importance of the former through association, and also provides an image of expanse in space and time. In part, it foreshadows the larger theme of the discourse to come in the *De Legibus*, the dichotomy between nature and culture. Atticus explicitly states that what attracts him to Athens is not its great buildings, nor its ancient art works, but the memories of the great men who passed through them, and the public memories that cluster there.⁴⁶ His connection with Athens is predicated on cultural knowledge. This now also drives his attachment to Arpinum, which for him is not natural as it is for Cicero.⁴⁷ It is Cicero's stories, the private monuments that elicit an emotional response from Atticus, that are meaningful to him at Arpinum, because 'we are affected in some mysterious way by places about which cluster memories of those whom we love and admire'.⁴⁸ These are not known public memories, but need to be revealed.

When Cicero's dialogue with Atticus turns to consider Rome as *patria*, the discourse is framed differently to that of Arpinum. There is no appeal made to Roman sites of memory comparable to those of his *domus* in Arpinum, or Atticus's Athens. Rome is primarily discussed in relation to the institution of citizenship; it is presented in the abstract and appears intangible. The meaning of Rome as the *patria communis*, for which he is willing to die, is not derived from its structures or location.⁴⁹ Rome's physicality serves as the meeting point for action and institutions to facilitate the existence of the *res publica*. But, as he argues in his post-exilic writings, even that could be moved elsewhere if not in the right hands. The communal memories which Cicero presents tend to be centred on the institutions or interactions; the fabric of the city is rarely invoked, except when specific sites can be put to oratorical use.⁵⁰ When Cicero is away from Rome and Italy, either in exile or as proconsul in 51 BC, it is hard to find any references to physical Rome in all his expressions of yearning.⁵¹ What he longs for is the bustle of culture and politics, and his friends and

⁴⁶ This theme is taken up again in Cicero's *De Finibus* 5.1–2, as Cicero, Piso and their friends make their way through Athens pointing out places that move them, evoking stories, both real and mythical.

⁴⁷ In presenting this dichotomy between natural and cultural attachment, Farrell 2001: 18–27 notes that it takes Cicero to point out to Atticus that, since he is Roman-born, he has no sense of a natural *patria* as distinct from an adoptive one.

⁴⁸ Cicero *De Legibus* 2.4. ⁴⁹ Cicero *De Legibus* 2.5.

⁵⁰ For the way that Cicero assigns meanings to the material world (for example in the *Verrines*), and produces the city in different forms, whether as the centre of all vice or culture, depending on his need (as in the *pro Roscio* or the *pro Caelio*): Vasaly 1993: chapters 3 and 5.

⁵¹ Cicero's letters *ad Familiares* 2.11.1; 2.12.2; 2.13.3. One of the few references to physical spaces appears in a letter to Atticus, which combines his yearning for the city, the forum and the house,

family. Such an approach to place is consistent with De Certeau's idea that spatiality is articulated as a 'practiced place'.⁵² It is not defined in terms of geometry, but in relation to the cultural and spatial practices that produce it. For Cicero, Rome is a contemporary place, and it is 'practiced' through his own activities and life there. By his own acknowledgement, it takes Varro's revelation of the stories about Rome for it to be made into a site of communal memory: "You are right, Varro", I replied. "For in our own city we were like foreigners wandering and drifting but your books brought us home, so that we might recognize who and where we were ..."⁵³

The eternal interest in Rome as a memoryscape has produced a wealth of scholarship, creatively fusing multiple forms of evidence and theoretical discourse spanning disciplines and time periods.⁵⁴ In appealing to the memoryscape, ancient authors exemplify the same process that Tilley had already noticed in the prehistoric monumental landscape. He observed that

If stories are linked with regularly repeated spatial practices they become mutually supportive, and when a story becomes sedimented into the landscape, the story and the place dialectically help to construct and reproduce each other. Places help to recall stories that are associated with them, and places only exist (as named locales) by virtue of their emplotment in a narrative.⁵⁵

There is no place without narrative and hence no place without memory.⁵⁶ We may add that there is also no place without the potential of future memory.⁵⁷ Livy's books continue the construction of Rome, on the foundations laid by Varro, making the city and its sites *monimenta* and the *urbs* the symbol of *patria*.⁵⁸ Within their writings these authors acknowledge and explore the power of the material world not simply to contain memory but to affect it, and in so doing construct place, by making it meaningful

with a yearning for the light, the inclusion of which undermines any materiality in the rest of the list: *ad Atticum* 5.13.1: *lucem, forum, urbem, domum, vos desidero*.

⁵² De Certeau 1984. ⁵³ Cicero *Academica Posteriora* 9 (1.3): with Chapter 10, pp. 382–84.

⁵⁴ The following studies provide an overview of the discourse: Vasaly 1993; Jaeger 1997; Farrell 1997–98; Feldherr 1998; Wiseman 2004; Gowing 2005; Dench 2005; Flower 2006; Orlin 2007. A small selection from the many inspiring studies beyond the Italian landscape: Lefebvre [1974] 1991; Tilley 1994; Boym 1994; Fara and Patterson 1998; Boym 2001; Alcock 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Legg 2005; Whitehead 2009.

⁵⁵ Tilley 1994: 33.

⁵⁶ Rowlands 1993: 144 articulates the way material culture, through asserting its own memory, links past, present and future.

⁵⁷ For projects exploring the idea of *Future Memory*: Chapter 10, p. 394, note 177.

⁵⁸ Varro *de Lingua Latina* 6.49. For the idea of history as monument and the interrelationship between the works of Varro, Cicero and Livy: Jaeger 1997: chapter 1. For Livy's use of *monimenta* as a form of narrative: Feldherr 1998.

through the revelation of the stories that cluster there.⁵⁹ In the same way, Arpinum became meaningful for Atticus.

Livy's Camillus makes the *patria* more material by demanding to know what the point was of winning Rome from the enemy if, having her back, she would be deserted. He points to the citadel and the Capitol, where self-sacrificing citizens remained during the Gallic occupation, noting the absurdity of having held on to these sites, only to give them up once the enemy was gone. He links the abandonment of the site of Rome with defeat, and makes the physical city and its sites into a metaphor for victory and glory. The metaphor can also be applied to a home. Cicero does this in his argument to have his destroyed house in Rome rebuilt after his return from exile.⁶⁰ As Hales shows, Cicero needed his house restored to overwrite the memory of exile and defeat – a victory for his enemy Clodius – to a monument advertising his own glory as a saviour of Rome.⁶¹ The theme of victory and glory is addressed directly in Camillus's speech (5.53). He reminds his fellow citizens of the earlier dispute over a move to Veii which preceded the attack by the Gauls. He states that (although he disagreed) it may once have been right to consider moving, but it is definitely not so now. 'For then our victory would have been a reason for migrating to a captured city – a reason glorious to ourselves and our posterity; but now such a removal is for us a wretched and humiliating course, and a glory to the Gauls' (5.53.4). Yet, in his earlier argument for not moving to Veii there is inconsistency. Following the Roman conquest of Veii he stated that it would have been an offence 'for the Roman people to dwell on conquered soil, exchanging their victorious *patria* for a vanquished one' (5.30.3).⁶² Still, there is the same association of Rome with victory and with *patria*. Restoration of the *urbs* of Rome, as the restoration of the *domus* of Cicero, are both essential to transform a memory of defeat into one of victory.

Livy appears to use *patria* and *urbs* almost interchangeably, but how to locate Rome between them is not self-evident. Towards the end of the speech, for example, Camillus toys in a hypothetical scenario with the idea that those who live in Rome are Romans; if they moved to Veii they would be Veientes.⁶³ If that was the case then the phrase *urbs Romana* – the city

⁵⁹ For Varro's mapping of the city through his works: Chapter 10, pp. 382–84, and Vasaly 1993; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: chapter 6; Jaeger 1997: chapter 1.

⁶⁰ Cicero *De domo sua*. ⁶¹ Hales 2000; Hales 2003. Also see Wiseman 1994b: 98.

⁶² Livy 5.30.3: *in captivo solo habitare populum Romanum et victrix patria victam mutari*.

⁶³ Livy 5.53.6–7: *Si non Galli hoc sed ueteres hostes uestri, Aequi Volsciue, faciant ut commigrent Romam, uelitisne illos Romanos, uos Veientes esse?* – What if not the Gauls but your ancient foes the Volsci and Aequi should migrate to Rome? Would you wish them to be Romans and you Veientes?

of the Romans – loses meaning.⁶⁴ It implies that the Romans are separate from the city – a moot point for the Roman citizens of Italy in the Late Republic. In Camillus's speech, the term that appears most often is not *patria* or Rome, but *urbs*.⁶⁵ This is primarily used to express the location and the physical form, the superficial structure, of the site. It is the destination that people arrive at and travel from: the stage where action happens. It exists either as a whole or in parts,⁶⁶ and denotes an absolute space. Yet the *urbs* is more than that. It is favoured or abandoned by the gods, has a founder (even a second founder in Camillus) and all this is associated with the name of Rome. Most importantly, the *urbs* that is *Roma*, as Livy's life work makes evident over 142 volumes, is part of history and myth.⁶⁷ We may note that his work is not called the *History of Rome*, but *From the Founding of the City – Ab Urbe Condita*.⁶⁸ The title suggests that while the city has a prominent role, it is secondary to the history of which it is a part: it is not so much the protagonist but the setting in space and time. Kraus, in her exploration of how Livy constructs the city, observes that in his work space does not exist independently of time; nor should the literary space be considered separately from motion through that space which also takes place in time.⁶⁹ Livy's construction of Rome exposes the incoherent essence of places, which are, in Massey's words, not to be seen 'as points or areas on maps, but as integrations of space and time; as spatio-temporal events'.⁷⁰ Livy's task is to make that spatio-temporal setting meaningful and unique, to make the *urbs* the *patria*, which is tangible and can be imagined as fully-fledged. At the time that Livy writes his annals of the city, the personification of Rome is not yet complete, although we begin to see it emerge in the text.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Livy 5.52.12. ⁶⁵ *Patria* – 11 times; Rome – 4 times; *urbs* – 31 times.

⁶⁶ Jaeger 1993 notes how Livy writes Rome into existence hill by hill.

⁶⁷ Kraus 1994: 268 observes that Livy draws attention to the 'overlap of the content of his city (the *Urbs* he is writing about) and its form (the *Urbs* he is writing)'.

⁶⁸ Kraus 1994: 269 n. 12 notes the repetition of the title at strategic points in the narrative.

⁶⁹ Kraus 1994: 267–71. In thinking about how ancient writers respond to their city's past, using space to explore the relationship between the past and the present, Edwards tests Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope and Freud's discussion of Rome, and the idea of place as time made visible: Edwards 1996: chapter 1, esp. 28; Bakhtin 1981; Freud 1985.

⁷⁰ Massey 2005: 130. A critical overview of conceptualising relational spacetime: Harvey 2009: 133–40, 190.

⁷¹ The first extant personification of Rome in literature appears in Cicero's *In Catilinam* 4.18, with an image of Rome supplicating the Senate. A more vivid *Roma* appears in Cicero's *In Pisonem* 52, in the description of his return from exile: 'Indeed it seemed to me that Rome herself, risen up from her foundations, had come out to embrace her protector'. For the literary development of the personified Rome: Edwards 1996: 114–16.

The head of *Roma* is attested on Roman coinage for the first time around 300 BC, when it is modelled on the head of Athena: Burnett 1986. For imagery of *Italia*, depicted as shaking hands

The first direct link between *urbs* and *patria* appears in Livy's preamble to the speech, which introduces the return of the dictator Camillus who, 'having recovered his *patria* from her enemies, returned in triumph to the *urbs*; and between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers, was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country (*parens patriae*) and a second founder of the *urbs*' (5.49.7).⁷² The term *patria* appears eleven times in the speech itself. Three of these are in the opening lines: 'For the issue was whether my *patria* was to remain in her seat (*sedes*), not whether I was to be in my *patria* at any cost ... were not this too the battle for my *patria*' (5.51.2). The *patria*, like the *urbs*, could be restored by the gods (5.51.10), abandoned by its people (5.53.5) and longed for when in exile (5.54.3). The *patria* was simultaneously moveable and embedded in the city. Towards the end of the speech its fixity is unquestionable. In one of his final pleas to the audience, Camillus literally roots the *patria* to the physical site of the city: 'Has the soil (*solum*) of our *patria* and this land (*terra*), which we call our mother (*mater*) so slight a hold on us? Is our love of *patria* confined to buildings and rafters?' (5.54.2).⁷³ The combination of the contradictory metaphor of fatherland which is the mother seems of little concern to Livy. This emotively charged statement sets up the importance of this one *patria* and through its association directly with the land, emphasizes its role as life giver – *mater*.⁷⁴ This would have appealed differently to Livy's fictional audience listening to the speech, which consisted in large part of inhabitants born in the city, rather than to the external audience of the readers, who were a motlier crowd. Livy was from Padua; like many of his fellow Romans he was not born in Rome.⁷⁵ Yet, the expectation was that they could relate to, or share in, the emotive

with *Roma*, on a coin issue from a Roman mint of c. 70 BC: Crawford 1974: 403; Sydenham 1952: 797; Dench 2005: 188. For *Italia*: Chapter 9.

The image of the personified *Roma* gained prominence in the Augustan period and in association with him: for example, the relief of her as a seated figure on a wall flanking the entrance to the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (9 BC), and the early imperial *Gemma Augustea*, on which she is sitting next to Augustus. For the personification of virtues: Feeney 1998: 87–92.

⁷² For *parens patriae* and other potential 'second' founders of Rome: Ogilvie [1965] 1978; Gaertner 2008: 456.

⁷³ For the development and constructed nature of 'rooting' metaphors in relation to identity and belonging connected to the land: Malkki 1992. As an alternative to the tree and root, metaphors that are used to plot points and fix a hierarchical order, Guattari and Deleuze proposed the *rhizome* – an endless interconnected root system, that privileges the network, rather than any single point, and breaks down centre-periphery hierarchies: Deleuze and Guattari [1980] 2004: 6–7.

⁷⁴ Bonjour 1975b.

⁷⁵ Seneca, *Consolatio ad Helviam* 6.2–3, writing from exile, describes Rome as a city full of people with foreign origins. For the cosmopolitanism of Rome: Edwards and Woolf 2006.

tie to the *patria* whose single unified symbol was the city of Rome.⁷⁶ This could not be assumed decades earlier, when Cicero pondered the relationship.

It is more difficult for us to grasp a mind-set that could simultaneously negotiate the bounded and unbounded spaces of different entities – whether city, state or *res publica* – and to comprehend the role of territory within such imagined communities. As we saw in the [previous chapter](#), in reference to current ideas of cosmopolitanism and proposals for its reinvention, Harvey has called for the construction of a new geography around relational principles of belonging.⁷⁷ Some of the possibilities are embodied in the fluidity of place in the ancient discourse. Livy's and Cicero's writings provide a glimpse of a society in the process of reconfiguring that imagined community and the meaning of individual places within it. A growing interest in territoriality may even underpin such slight variations as Cicero's reference to the Romans as rulers of peoples – *gentium* – and Livy's reference to them as rulers of lands – *terrarum*.⁷⁸ The challenge was how to articulate the relationship between that which was embodied in the emotive concept of *patria* and the physical landscape, whether natural or manmade.

It is difficult to find evidence of sentimental attachment to the city of Rome as a whole. Instead, as Bonjour points out, there are nostalgic depictions of some of its elements and individual features.⁷⁹ For Cicero, who even his executioner Augustus acknowledged was a true patriot,⁸⁰ Rome was indeed primary. But not because of where it was, nor its physical existence, but rather for what it allowed to take place and exist within it, such as the *res publica*. He loved Rome as a capital. The *res publica*, as described by Cicero, provided a multiplicity of definitions of the citizen body. Smith observed that: 'it is characteristic of the Roman citizen-state to couple complex definitions of the duties, and the privileges, of the citizen body with a flexible definition of what that citizen body was.'⁸¹ Such flexibility, however, would prove problematic for Livy's Camillus in defining Rome. For him it was essential to make the very site of Rome solid, its

⁷⁶ Bonjour has suggested that through his work Livy attempts to transfer the affection of one's native place into an affection for the city of Rome: Bonjour 1975a; Bonjour 1975b. For Livy's love of place and the uniqueness of Rome: Edwards 1996: 16–20 and chapter 2.

⁷⁷ Harvey 2009: 50–1.

⁷⁸ Rome was, according to Cicero *De Domo* 90: lord over kings, victor and ruler over all nations – *dominus regum, victor atque imperator omnium gentium*. Livy *Preface* 3: ... to have taken thought for the memory of (commemorate) the deeds of the foremost people (lords) of the earth (lands) – *rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi ... consuluisse*.

⁷⁹ Bonjour 1975a: 122, 124–5. ⁸⁰ Plutarch *Cicero* 49.3. ⁸¹ Smith 2011: 225–6.

soil meaningful,⁸² and to link them more directly with *patria*: an overlap between soil, *patria* and *urbs* was to be inalienable.

Domus and Memory

A more robust framework, which tied emotion directly to a specific site, was available to Livy from the private sphere. It allowed him to draw on the expected attachment to the *domus* – the family home – and especially its hearth and domestic cults, to provide a model for the city as a whole.⁸³ *Patria*, home and the altars are linked in the earliest Latin literature, often in opposition to statelessness and exile. Ennius's *Andromache* in expressing her stateless existence lists precisely these elements '*arce et urbe orba sum. quo accedam? quo applicem? cui nec arae, patriae domi stant, fractae et disiectae iacent ... O pater, o patria, o Priami domus!*' ('Citadel and city gone. Where shall I take myself? Where shall I appeal? No longer do my ancestral/native altars stand at home but lie broken and scattered O father, O fatherland, O house of Priam ...')⁸⁴ Jocelyn and Feeney observe that Ennius's *Andromache*, while drawing on Greek narratives, uses the language of Roman law and social practice – the broken altars are a central focus for the pain of loss.⁸⁵ Whereas Homer's *Andromache* and the Trojan women of Euripides' tragedies show little care for the altars, in their wretched state of dispossession they have other concerns. In the Roman context, the emotive power of these elements became proverbial. As Caesar's army neared Rome in 49 BC, and Pompey announced his intention to leave, Cicero imagines the following exchange in a letter to Atticus: "Are you leaving the city? Would you have done the same if the Gauls were coming?" He answers, "The state (*res publica*) is not in the house-walls." "No, but it is in the altars and hearthstones."⁸⁶ It is these private monuments that engendered the strongest link to a point in space. Each was fixed in its own home and would not make sense elsewhere.

⁸² Miles 1995: 90 notes how Livy in book two (2.1.5) identifies the raising of families and the dearness of the soil itself, as the two conditions essential for creating a community among Rome's first settlers.

⁸³ The application of a private or family sentiment to the community is what Feldherr locates in another of Livy's passages, describing the actions of Brutus (one of the first consuls of the early Republic), who also calls the earth *mother*. This was Livy's way of signalling the move from monarchy to republic and with it a shift of loyalties that were now part of the new civic identity: Livy 1.56. Feldherr 1997.

⁸⁴ Ennius *Andromache*, 83–4, 87. ⁸⁵ Jocelyn 1969: 244–5, 250–2; Feeney 2016, 75.

⁸⁶ Cicero ad Atticum 7.11.3: "*urbem tu relinquis? ergo idem, si Galli venirent?*" "*non est*", inquit, "*in parietibus res publica.*" "*at in aris et focis*". For Cicero's attachment to his own home: Treggiari 1999; Hales 2000.

Returning to the dialogue between Cicero and Atticus *en route* to the Fibrenus (which takes them via Cicero's ancestral home), we witness a subtle interplay between memory, monument, landscape and nostalgia that is used to construct place.⁸⁷ There is a discourse concerning the primacy of monuments and locations in the landscape and, conversely, a perception of the physical sites as secondary to the memories of individuals who passed through them. Cicero's presentation of his birthplace of Arpinum is physical and tangible. The reader is made aware of the natural landscape with its river and hills, and also the manmade, as Cicero points to his father's house, the family memorials and cult sites. Cicero's image of Arpinum focuses on what is not moveable, on those features which are territorially and physically grounded – the house, the cult sites, the landscape, 'this very spot'. These are what inspire emotion in Cicero (*de Legibus* 2.3). The same features are equally longed for in Ennius's *Andromache*, against a background of destruction.⁸⁸ The memories that cluster 'in this very spot' are tied to the site, which they transform into a place. Here it may seem in a Heideggerian way we cannot get away from locationality and the attachment to dwelling and place as the first of all things.⁸⁹ But, as Harvey points out, Heidegger does not write of actual places, and Ingold's work argues for a substitution of dwelling for pathways as central to our experience of being in the world.⁹⁰ Ingold's approach to the lived experience does not negate the need to tie memories to physical sites, or to recognise the power of material monuments to evoke remembrance and emotion. Livy's effort to project the emotional ties of a family home – *domus* – onto a city must take into account the nature of the place-memory bond that each evokes.⁹¹ It means to move from individual to communal memory clusters and requires a similar depth of knowledge, engagement and evocation of such memories as the *domus*, in the physical fabric of the city and its landscape. It is what Livy's Camillus speech tries to achieve, drawing on Varro's work and incorporating sentiments which appear in Cicero's writings, particularly the *de Legibus* (2.1–6) and letters from abroad.⁹² The attributions that are assigned by Livy to Rome are those that Cicero associates with his family home.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the various allusions within the text and parallels with Plato's Symposium: Dyck 2004: 247–63. For nostalgia see note p. 400, note 34 above.

⁸⁸ Ennius, *Andromache*, 83–95. ⁸⁹ Heidegger 1971.

⁹⁰ Harvey 2009: 116; Ingold 2011, and Chapter 10, pp. 392–93.

⁹¹ Roman perception of the domestic space as a repository of memory: Flower 1996; Treggiari 1999.

⁹² The similarities between these authors have been pointed out by Ogilvie, and also by Gaertner, who stresses Livy's admiration for Cicero's works: Ogilvie [1965] 1978: 628–30; Gaertner 2008: 39–48.

Recent studies have shown how the Roman house could be perceived as a miniature version of the city itself where public and private intersected. Conversely, the city became an extension of the house – an opportunity to display familial history, not least that of Augustus.⁹³ Livy wrote of a period of destruction, with the fourth-century city ravaged and little remaining intact. Applying the motif of the city-as-home therefore required a fine balance. Hence, he uses mytho-historical examples, and references to household symbols and practices, as a way to begin the reconstruction and make Rome into a new *domus*.⁹⁴ One of the most sacred and seemingly immovable sites in the city is the circular shrine of Vesta in the forum. It housed the sacred fire – the hearth of Rome – tended by the Vestal Virgins, and overseen by the *pontifex maximus*, the head priest of the *pontifices*.⁹⁵ In this building were sacred objects which in the Late Republic were associated with Aeneas's flight from Troy. Aside from its sancrosanct qualities, to which we will return below, it has an inevitable connection with the hearths of private homes, and thus transforms Rome from a city into a *domus*. It is to this shrine that Livy keeps directing the reader's gaze, and it forms one of the final images of the speech.⁹⁶

The immobile characteristic of the family hearth, however, is not primordial. It too is a construct and culturally specific. Hartog shows why the virgin goddess of the hearth, Hestia, was, perhaps surprisingly, revered by the nomadic Scythians, among whom the King's hearth was the common hearth, and hence represented the centre not of a geographical, but of a social space.⁹⁷ Much later the Ottomans, who had a vast mobile empire, would register households and group members around *ocaks* – hearths – that underpinned the military units within which tribal members fought.⁹⁸ But we need not go so far into past or future to find mobile hearths. Even in Republican Rome their supposed fixity needed to be reconciled with the ancestor myths of the Trojan refugees who brought their household gods with them to their new home in Italy. Numerous literary and visual images portray Aeneas fleeing Troy with Anchises on his shoulder, who clutches the *lares* and *penates*. The Vestal shrine is the caretaker of this Trojan hearth's

⁹³ The way in which the house and the city interact are explored by: Hales 2003; Laurence and Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 1994. For Roman domestic cult: Orr 1978. The building programme of the Augustan period, especially the Forum of Augustus, linked the city's history and its daily practices with that of the princeps and his family lineage, and in so doing presented Rome as an extension of Augustus's own *domus*. Augustus's reshaping of Rome: Zanker 1988; Galinsky 1996; Severy-Hoven 2007a; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.

⁹⁴ For the association of *domus* and *patria*: Bonjour 1975a: 50–6.

⁹⁵ Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. I, 51–4. ⁹⁶ Livy 5.52.16; 5.52.13–14; 5.54.7

⁹⁷ Hartog 1988: 119–25. ⁹⁸ Kasaba 2009: 74.

latest resting place, and yet elements of it were transported for safe keeping to Caere during the Gallic Sack.⁹⁹ This sacred fire guarded by the Vestal Virgins has affinities with the Scythian mobile common hearth of the king in that it served as the symbol of the communal hearth, or *domus*, of all who were Romans, whether the city was their birthplace or not.

The only reference to an actual house in the speech crafted by Livy is during Camillus's reproach of the Romans for their urge to move and suffer infamy simply because of the trouble of rebuilding. He contrasts their indolence with the efforts of the early settlers (5.53.7), pointing to the rustic hut of the founder Romulus. It was the home that could draw the widest communal appeal (5.53.8), and one (or rather several) still stood in Rome as a relic in Livy's day.¹⁰⁰ The external structures may be temporary but the household gods, sacred sites and practices had their appointed places. Dedication to these sacrosanct points in the landscape is exemplified in the poignant episode of sacrifice by the young C. Fabius (5.52.4). Camillus recounts how this youth, part of the infamous Fabii clan,¹⁰¹ risked death by leaving the protection of the citadel during the Gallic Sack. He made his way through the enemy lines to the Quirinal hill, to perform his family's annual sacred rites at the appointed place and time. Livy links the citizens' duties in respect of the private home with their obligations to Rome. He asks whether each would refuse to do for the public/common good what each would have done had his own house been burnt down (5.53.9). Drawing on the resonance of the *domus* allows Livy to present Rome's physical position as inviolable in a number of ways. Rome is depicted as if it was a *domus*, and should be treated as such by the city's inhabitants. A *domus* has sacrosanct qualities, embodied in its hearth and altars of the house gods, *lares* and *penates*, which, through the rituals associated with them, root them to their site of practice. They are fixed in time and space as is, by extension, Rome itself.

Religio

So far we have considered the subtle frameworks that Livy draws on to articulate the physical nature of place. These are woven into the dominant

⁹⁹ Livy 5.40.7; 5.50.3, with discussion about moving the *sacra* to Veii in Chapter 10, p. 364.

¹⁰⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.79. For the multiple huts of Romulus that may have existed in Livy's Rome: Balland 1984; Coarelli 1995; Pensabene 1990–1991; Edwards 1996: 31–43; Siwicki 2012.

¹⁰¹ For the myths of the near destruction of the *Fabii* clan, and what they tell us about the possibility of clan or *gens* structures: Smith 2007. The way in which the 'myth' of the *Fabii* draws on the literary traditions of the Persian Sack of Athens: Richardson 2012: chapter 3.

argument in his speech, which is to present Rome as a religious site. Camillus's key message is that Rome's success depends on the good relationship between gods and men. To abandon the city would be sacrilege since its sites are inaugurated under the auspices of the gods, which have associated ceremonies and rituals that cannot be relocated.¹⁰² Even if Rome did not have her religious institutions established from its very foundation, there had been divine purpose in the affairs of the city. Religion provided another framework through which the importance of the actual site of Rome, and the land on which it rested, could be asserted. On it were the seemingly immovable sacred sites representing divine interest in the city. The religious aspects of this speech, which are prevalent throughout Book 5, have formed one of the primary areas of interest for scholars seeking to understand how the religious emphasis should be read.¹⁰³ Livy's religious theme in the Camillus story is not unique, and is prominent in versions by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch.¹⁰⁴ Yet, according to Levene, Livy amplifies the connection with religion, moulding the book's narrative to reveal the piety of the Romans and to link their success and failure with divine favour.¹⁰⁵ The proposal for a move to Veii is portrayed as a breach of religious duty. However, a different reading of the fifth book is proposed by Miles. For him, the central theme is the corruption of wealth, a reflection of Livy's own age.¹⁰⁶ For both interpretations, despite their differences, *religio* is central.

The speech has also been used to draw attention to the way Romans connected place, religion and identity in the Late Republic.¹⁰⁷ Beard, North and Price stress that Camillus's argument about the indissoluble ties between Rome and its cults encapsulates the imperial age preoccupation with place. This, they argue, although not an innovation of the Augustan Age, was emphasized in the writing of the period, 'the new political order was conceived and imagined by the Romans within the physical and symbolic setting of *the city of Rome*'.¹⁰⁸ Two of the most sacred sites for

¹⁰² Especially noted by Livy 5.51.4.

¹⁰³ For the way in which Livy portrays religion and its history: Levene 1993; Davies 2004; Liebeschuetz 1979. See also the summary of current scholarship in the *Addendum* to the essay by Liebeschuetz 2009: 377–9.

¹⁰⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus 13; Plutarch *Camillus*. ¹⁰⁵ Levene 1993: 175, 188–9.

¹⁰⁶ Miles 1986; Miles 1995.

¹⁰⁷ Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. I, 167–210 chart the growing preoccupation with place in the religious context from the principate onwards. MacCormack [1990] 2003 explores the way that later Christian writers both rejected and appropriated this sense of religion of place. She also points out that there were diverse views in pagan Rome of how a site was made sacred. For the 'sacred landscape' of Rome: Edwards 1996: chapter 2; Cancik 1985–6; Orlin 2007.

¹⁰⁸ Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. I, 167–8.

Camillus, which he refers to a number of times in the speech, are the shrine of Vesta in the Forum and the proverbial Capitoline hill, on which stood the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus along with the immoveable *terminus*.¹⁰⁹ But, *sacra* (sacred objects) could be moved, as those of Vesta were taken to Caere during the Gallic Sack.¹¹⁰ In earlier versions of the Sack, the safe keeping of the *sacra* and the continuation of the rites of Vesta in Caere are what allowed Rome to be reborn.¹¹¹ From her sacred site in the Forum, Vesta was also to find her way into Augustus' residence on the Palatine. On becoming *pontifex maximus* in 12 BC, he dedicated an image and a shrine to her in his house.¹¹² By the Imperial period, as Ando's work demonstrates, the traditional approach, which placed deities firmly at a particular site, needed to be adjusted following Roman expansion.¹¹³ The gods could be persuaded to extend their influence further afield, as when the Capitoline triad became a feature of the Roman citizen body in the newly founded colonies, although when this happened is debatable.¹¹⁴ Mobility of the gods is a feature of the history of Rome even before Empire. For example, Vergil, describing the Capitol in the *Aeneid* (8.347–54), suggests that there was initially no story or event that was attached to the site to make it sacred, but that the sacred tales of Jupiter were brought to it by the Arcadians.¹¹⁵ Rome gathered deities from others and brought them to Rome, as with Juno of Veii, who was transported following the capture of her city.¹¹⁶ Whether or not Livy's readers noted these juxtapositions,¹¹⁷ they did not undermine the belief that divine favour was invested in the city of Rome, and the congregating of the gods would only have strengthened this view. Romans maintained the

¹⁰⁹ Livy, Book 5: the Capitol is mentioned either as a refuge (*arx* – citadel) or in relation to the sacred sites on it: 51.3; 51.9; 52.6; 52.12; 53.5; 53.9; 54.6; the shrine of Vesta: 52.6; 52.13–14; 54.7. These are the same monuments that Cicero appeals to in his speeches. Vasaly 1993: 33–6 notes that Cicero is particularly good at writing a narrative through monuments by new associations. For *Terminus*: Chapter 10, p. 370ff.

¹¹⁰ Livy 5.40.7; 5.50.3. Ando points out the contradiction in the speech between mobile and immobile sacred elements: Ando 2008: 148.

¹¹¹ Williams 2001: 150–7, with Chapter 10

¹¹² For the enhanced links between Augustus and Vesta: Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. I, 189–92.

¹¹³ Ando 2008: 95–119.

¹¹⁴ For a rejection of the idea that Republican colonies were set up as 'little Romes', and hence unlikely to have had Capitolia prior to the first century BC: Chapter 5, p. 179.

¹¹⁵ MacCormack [1990] 2003.

¹¹⁶ Cooley 2006: 246. For the *evocatio* of Juno also see Levene 1993; Davies 2004: 183.

¹¹⁷ Davies's 2004 work has shown that Livy's treatment of religion is an exposition of how it functioned in Roman history, which naturally included juxtapositions and misunderstandings but that its essential validity was not impaired.

tradition of an open city, integrating individuals, groups and gods.¹¹⁸ Rome was not a city obsessed with ethnic purity, human or divine.

Livy is not only concerned with the locations but also with the practices carried out at appointed times. Public rites and festivals pepper the narrative. Their importance is symbolised by C. Fabius's sacrifice on the Quirinal as part of his family's annual duty to the gods (5.52.4). His action demonstrates that every spot in Rome is sacred, or sacred to someone. It is reflected in Camillus's statement that 'for our annual sacrifices, their places are no less fixed than are their dates'.¹¹⁹ His phrasing implies that locational fixity was an equal priority in the minds of his listeners to temporal fixity – the points in the calendrical cycle when the rituals were to be carried out. Varro's definition of the term *templum* in his *de Lingua Latina* 7 exemplifies the process of defining a sacred space, in his record of the *formulae* used by the priests.¹²⁰

On the earth, *templum* is a word used for a place marked out by particular formulae for the purposes of augury or taking the auspices. The same formulae are not used everywhere. On the *Arx* they run as follows: Let the boundaries of my temples (*templa*) and wild lands (*tesca*) be as I shall declare them with my words. That tree of whatever kind it is which I deem myself to have named, let it be the boundary of my temple and wild land to the right. That tree, of whatever kind it is, insofar as I deem myself to have named it, let it be the boundary of my temple and wild land to the left. Between these points < sc. I have established the temples and wild lands > by means of directing, viewing, reflecting as far as I have been most rightly aware of it within this limit.

From Varro's work at least three interrelated ways can be ascertained in which the term *templum* was used. They may be summarised as follows: (1) in reference to an area of the sky within which signs from the gods were observed (this may help to explain Camillus's unmoveable sky over Rome); (2) in reference to a piece of 'inaugurated' space on earth from which to take auspices; (3) in reference to a place perceived to have a special relationship with the gods.¹²¹ The *templum* was part of a sacred landscape that Cancik has shown was composed by natural, artificial and religious signs according to rules. These direct sight, perception and movement.¹²² A *templum* is defined in absolute space that is made meaningful through

¹¹⁸ Scheid 1995: 17. For the importance of elements of foreignness within Roman religious practice: Isayev 2011b.

¹¹⁹ Livy 5.52.2: *sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis statim quam loca sunt in quibus fiunt*.

¹²⁰ Varro *de Lingua Latina*, 7.8–9 (translation adapted from Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. II, 86).

¹²¹ Beard, North and Price 1998: Vol. II, 86–7. ¹²² Cancik 1985–6: 260.

practice of its connection with the intangible or divine.¹²³ All of Rome, in Livy's argument, could be such a space. It is not by chance that Livy's setting for the speech begins with the return of the citizens from the restoration of the shrines and their boundaries. In the Late Republic, the Roman religious framework along with the *domus* offered the most powerful model for attachment to specific sites and monuments. They were the most concrete form of bounded absolute space, outside private land possession. Such works as Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* laid out the argument for the bond between Rome and its site, materialising it and making it part of the Roman collective imagination. He anticipated Augustan efforts to ensure that the centre was fixed geographically, politically and spiritually in Rome.¹²⁴

Conclusion

Not long before Livy came to write his history, Cicero in his fictional dialogue with Atticus in the *de Legibus* (2.1–5) deliberated how his birth-place, Arpinum, remained a *patria*. Its relationship to the shared and less tangible *patria*, whether Rome, Italy or the *res publica*, continued to elude linear definition. It is for this reason that Mark Antony could contemplate moving Rome – the *caput imperii* – elsewhere, to Alexandria,¹²⁵ in much the same way that the Romans in Camillus's speech contemplated moving to Veii. Was there also an earlier debate that considered Corfinium as a possibility? Camillus's aim was to ensure that the *patria* did not move from its *sedes*, this very spot. For him, this required fixing the importance of the actual site and its position in absolute space. That Rome was an intersection of practices and memories is unquestionable; it was a meshwork of pathways and the central node from which Empire spread. But was it immoveable in the same way as a *domus*, or a *templum*, the two key models that Livy employs to articulate the importance of a physical site? It was a *place* not because of where it was located, but because it housed the stories and the *monimenta* associated with them, which such works as the *Ab Urbe Condita* helped to create, entrench and maintain in living memory.

At the moment of Empire, which Livy's work reflects, we witness a shift from a more relational to a more absolute perception of space. The discourses outlined in the last three chapters trace the increasing need to

¹²³ On asylum and *templum*: Chapter 10, pp. 369–70.

¹²⁴ Nicolet 1991: chapter 5, 189–95, on examples of these trends.

¹²⁵ Suetonius *Divus Iulius* 79.3; Dio Cassius 50.3–4. With Chapter 10, p. 394.



Fig. 25 Johannes Vermeer, *Officer and Laughing Girl*: Frick Collection, New York. Date: c. 1657. For the colour version, please refer to the plate section.

understand better and give meaning to physical points in the landscape. The placedness of power was no longer in a multiplicity of city-states, and was becoming less attached to mobile rulers. Progressively, it concentrated in a single site, whether Rome or another *patria*, and necessitated a rethinking of one's relationship to it, often at some physical distance. Advances in cartographic technique show an interest in mapping of both land and people to display the growing resources and products of success. Plans on the scale of single sites that were used for the layout of colonies and for the division of land into allotments already existed. They were perfected through the surveyors' art, which flourished from the second century BC. But these mapping techniques were not employed to depict whole regions and they never developed into the isotropic Euclidian maps

of the Renaissance. In this later moment of Empire, the practice of mapping the New World fuelled the science of cartography, which was celebrated by authors and artists who incorporated its achievements into their creations. An image of a map was in itself a statement of power, as the one in Vermeer's seemingly domestic painting of *Soldier and Laughing Girl*¹²⁶ (Fig. 25, Plate 8). In ancient Rome, similar visualisations of the expanse of hegemony and influence could be achieved through lists and narratives such as the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, and some would argue even the 'map' of Agrippa. They did not need to be in cartographic form that presented power in measures of territory. Any space that appears on the few maps we have from the ancient world was not empty but dynamic. It showcased places and the links between them through journeys or stories. Where places existed in relation to each other was more important than the space they occupied. That is what, in the end, Livy's construction of Rome best exemplifies. Despite Camillus's best efforts to root Rome physically to its site (its seat – *sede*), the *patria* eluded capture in such a small space and stretched beyond it. Where Camillus does succeed is in exposing the way that the place of Rome is made central to the imagined community that saw itself as Roman. Thus its transformation into the *caput rerum* – the capital or head of all – was complete.¹²⁷ Yet, Livy chooses to end Book 5 with the observation that to him the City looks more like a site occupied by settlers.¹²⁸ The dialectic between mobility and fixity continued.

¹²⁶ Johannes Vermeer's *Soldier and Laughing Girl* has a map in the background, and the soldier sporting an exquisite hat, both products of Empire. With a colourful discussion by Brook 2008.

¹²⁷ Livy 5.54.6. ¹²⁸ Livy 5.55.5.

... *ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes.*
iam mens praetrepidans auct uaga ri,
iam laeti studio pedes uigescunt ...

... let us fly to the glorious cities of Asia.
 Now my mind trembling in anticipation longs to roam,
 now happy in their zeal my feet grow strong ...¹

Catullus, *Carmina* 46

When Catullus or Plautus write of travels, journeys, relocation or migration it is not to present the extraordinary in contrast to an otherwise sedentary existence. What they relate is the everyday nature of mobility, whether it brings jubilation (as captured by the youthful Catullus) or anxiety at the prospect of expulsion, slavery, threats of violence or economic need. The same modality may be recognised in the ways authorities try to control, attract or direct those on the move. Moving oneself is a choice; moving others an imperative; suffering movement often is tragedy. The historical narratives of authors such as Polybius and Livy, in line with the archaeological remains revealing interconnectivity, testify to the extent of movement in its multiple forms and the impact of enterprises both large and small. This study has argued that there was a high rate of mobility in and through ancient Italy, and that the *en masse* movements recorded in our sources only represent a portion of the whole. Individual or private mobility that is often cyclical and meandering may be unquantifiable, but its substantial extent is detectable in multiple ways: in the quotidian nature of its presentation in our sources; in the rare glimpse of its possible magnitude, through such events as the massacre of thousands of *Rhōmaioi* in Asia Minor; and in the systems of knowledge, resource and power distribution or accumulation that depended on mobile subjects. In testament to these flows of people new sites appear in the Italian

¹ Catullus, *Carmina* 46.

landscape, followed by their expansion, contraction and final disappearance, as others rise elsewhere. In this way, by aligning all these diverse sources, one can observe the intricate relationships between migration, mobility and place.

One of the questions that has not been confronted directly in this study is whether there was more or less mobility in this period, or this region, than in any other. The lack of reliable statistical data and the absence of territorial state borders with migration check points, not to mention identity papers, are only two of the reasons why this question is difficult to answer. In any case, the changing nature of the way in which mobility is articulated from one periodic and one geographic context to the next daunts comparison. What we would be measuring, even if we could, would not be the same across time and space: is it people entering or leaving a city, and if so staying for how long? Or is it the number of new citizens? Or those captured and sold as slaves? It is even difficult to ascertain whether the last two centuries of the first millennium BC (precisely when authors turn their interest to Rome) saw a significantly increased rate of mobility in comparison to the previous era. Furthermore, it is only once Rome and Italy gain a more dominant position in the Mediterranean that those of Italic background become recognisable as such abroad in the material record. Yet, despite the erratic evidence from earlier periods, there is enough material to unsettle the impression of a peninsula whose population is largely static, or only internally mobile. That impression derives from the Greek tradition of writing about Italy, which saw it as *Hesperia* – an emerging, adolescent Western-land – and not from study or observation.

How can we capture the unpredictable and unquantifiable extent of the human flows that traversed the Italian peninsula? Modern maps drawn to scale, which are best suited for depicting cross-border migrations between geographically coherent nation states, are a blunt instrument when applied to the ancient world, especially where power is de-centralised, such as that of Alexander the Great or the Hellenistic dynasts. Such maps can usefully track distinct journeys, specific mobile events or site locations. But beyond that they require the kind of data we simply do not have. Depictions such as the *Peutinger Map*, or network diagrams, provide more flexibility and multiple dimensions through which to express the correlation between mobility and constructions of place. They are best placed to depict meshworks. As power becomes lodged at a specific site, such as Rome or Corfinium, it comes into focus as its influence expands. Then, once authority moves elsewhere, it recedes and becomes obscured by others.

The changing role of Capua, Tarquinii, Veii, Taras, the sanctuary at Pietrabbondante and such off-shore sites as Delos can all be rendered in a similar way: emerging at different times, then fading into the background as Rome suppressed their influence. Each of these is also a knot of intersecting trajectories that pull together sites and regions which may be physically distant, or which transform separate entities into integral units, such as Italy itself – only emerging in the final era of the Roman Republic. Viewed from within the peninsula in the early centuries of the first millennium, routeways bound Etrurian centres to Corinth; then Carthage and Southern Gaul appeared more prominently and moved closer, while Corinth drifted away – its ties to the West grown weak. Soon Rome's rise created a magnetism that realigned trajectories of which it was now the centre. No longer were they directed to Carthage, while those to Spain and the West were firmly secured, and all the time new ones proliferated and brought Eastern lands closer, so that Asia Minor felt as near as Sicily. Although Polybius may have seen Rome, if not all Italy, as part of the Western Mediterranean, it is not to Spain or Gaul that Plautus sends his characters, nor is it where Catullus and his friends expect to fly with such zeal. Yet plenty of others do head west. The Roman and Italian presence was large enough in these regions for the ambitious, such as Sertorius, to form factions ready to challenge Roman authority. Some found themselves there through networks going back centuries; others arrived as veteran settlers or to take advantage of new economic prospects.

Movement either by force or through the choices of numerous individuals shaped and reshaped this inhabited landscape. Textual sources provide details of specific mobile episodes, including expulsions, enslavements and military deployments, as well as mercantile, colonial and economic relocations. Yet when trying to understand the forces which led to either the expansion or contraction of a site, it is often difficult to identify the nature of mobility and whether there was a coercive element in the process. There is no doubt that a substantial cause of human displacement in the ancient world was war and its by-product slavery, but these are only some of the causes of shifting population dynamics. Conflict and colonisation are used too often as generalised explanations of the transformation in settlement patterns. But they do not account sufficiently for the substantial increase in settlement density across many regions of the peninsula in the fourth century BC, for example. Additional explanatory models are needed, including environmental factors and deliberate attempts by those in power to deploy human resources through incentivisation and threat. Efforts to restrict citizen mobility, coupled with examples of

community depletion and attempts at reinvigoration, indicate that part of the problem for the authorities was keeping their own populace fixed for a long enough period to be counted, taxed and recruited to the army. Equally, state strategies comprised expulsions of problematic elements and the displacement of groups *en masse*. These were attempts to create stability through redistribution.

For free agents, both men and women, movement was not always an option of last resort. Nor did it necessarily have a defined purpose or goal. There may be no expectation of return, especially for such groups as the mercenaries and their families, while state troops may have been provided with veteran settlements elsewhere. The distinction between temporary relocation and permanent resettlement was not as clear cut as we might expect. It was not only merchants and craftsmen, such as Demaratus and his crew, or the Castricii, who were likely to operate between multiple bases. The prosperous farmers who appear in Cato's writings, and for whom the agricultural manuals of Carthaginian Mago were translated, would have owned and moved between a number of properties, at times beyond the shores of Italy. Even less well-to-do peasants, such as those we encounter in Plautine comedies, could choose to give up their farms for better ones elsewhere, or in pursuit of other ventures. Transience of settlement is evident in the archaeological record, and in particular through survey evidence, which shows it to be especially rapid in certain chrono-geographic contexts. The south of Italy in the third and second centuries BC is a case in point. Mobility, for both state and private sectors was anticipated and embedded. Such everyday realities did not prevent the characterisation of some groups as perpetually mobile and therefore as 'other'. The illustration of the Gallic Aegosagae by Polybius in his *Histories* is an exemplary depiction of a semi-nomadic wandering tribe. Terms such as nomadism and sedentism, at the ends of a broad spectrum, are constructions used to distinguish the 'other' from oneself. They reveal more of the psychology of the perceiver than they do of real historical trends. A specific ethnicity need not have been the defining factor for a group to be presented as negatively mobile. Purportedly barbarian groups shared patterns of movement with mercenary contingents whose stereotypical fickleness was attributed in part to their mongrel origins. Such an image was meant to provide a contrast to the equally notional homogeneity of citizen communities, located in city-states. Each mercenary was in fact himself a member of some community somewhere, even perhaps Athens.

Writers who promulgated a sedentist and ethnically based approach to community formation were at odds with the highly mobile and cosmopolitan environment within which they operated. Using their own time as a historical destination, narrators such as Cato, Polybius, Livy and Strabo depicted Italy's early history as a succession of advancing groups that like molten lava eventually solidified into their present form. This progression and the ethnic group provided a way to compartmentalise history, helping to explain conflict and socio-cultural transformation. Similar methods of mythologising and identity construction are prevalent today, although the nation-state has now superseded, and in some cases amalgamated with, the ethnic group. Yet ancient authors writing about Italy were not oblivious to the constructed nature of such homogeneous and primordial categories. Alternative models operated concurrently. Polybius most strongly challenged pure kinship narratives and illustrated their use as tools of inter-state politics. Romans either eagerly employed or rejected such tools when it suited them. Their own origin stories fused the mixed with the linear. They were equally comfortable being the offspring of vagabonds and refugees who were given asylum by Romulus as being the descendants of Trojan Aeneas. Livy, when writing about the spread of Gallo-Celtic influence in the North of Italy, coincident with the fading power of Etruscan states, offers a number of possible scenarios, including episodes of quick and violent takeover as well as a much slower diffusion. While material remains allow for both, they provide particularly strong evidence for the presence of incomers and the intermixing of communities over an extended period of time more so than any single conquest. In reconstructing the history of Italy before Empire it is easy to fall into the trap, both ancient and modern, of explanatory models that rely on ethnic cohesion or divergence as the driving force for action. Taking account of long-term trends means prioritising more complex links between individuals and communities, including evolving economic relationships, shared ambitions, guest-friendships and other forms of socio-cultural exchange.

A reconsideration of the Social War and its outcome offers one possibility for how such an alternative history might be written. It takes as its starting point the premise that allegiance and belonging were not necessarily rooted to place nor based in ethnic concerns. Rather, it is through knowledge of the way networks operated across Italy through different sites that we gain better understanding of how the balance of power was disrupted and reconfigured. The conflict was not only about where a seat of power should be, but the nature of its operations and the question of how the mobile human resource might be connected to its power. Rome did not

simply win its authority. To a certain extent, it was chosen to be the authoritative centre and defining place for all communities across Italy that were now unified through the extension of the Roman citizenship. In its new role as a capital, not only of Italy but also increasingly the Empire, it had to reconcile a diverse and expanding community of citizens, among whom being Roman did not immediately mean a direct connection with the city. The difficulty of making Rome meaningful as a place that could inspire a sense of belonging is what Livy addresses in his arguments for why Rome should not be abandoned. This he articulates through the speech of Camillus delivered in the wake of the Gallic Sack of Rome. Using this episode from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* and Cicero's dialogue on *patria*, the final part of this book plays out the multiple and changing meanings of place against the backdrop of continuous mobility and shifting allegiance. It proposes that at any one time society has both relational and absolute approaches to spatiality, and that the balance between these perceptions shifts over time. The dominance of a relational paradigm, which it is argued was the case in Italy until the first century BC, allows for a greater flexibility in the understanding of individual sites and their relationship to the community using them. The importance of a site did not necessarily mean that its territoriality defined the community itself. Theoretically, Rome could still be Rome, even if it was moved to Veii. A shift towards a more absolute approach to place emphasises the increasing importance of a site's spatiality and makes the land itself meaningful in construction of an identity. It is such a shift that we observe towards the end of the first century BC, as Rome the site, in its physical presence, is made integral to being Roman.

Simultaneously, we witness the development of cartographic techniques that proliferate by the Augustan period, and are increasingly used to express imperial aspirations and victories. They speak of authority. Despite the existence of scientific techniques to produce maps to scale, which the *agrimensores* employed for demarcating private land allotments and laying out sites, the ancient cartographers did not use them to depict accurate regional spaces. Nor did they superimpose state-borders on them. The boundaries which separated outsiders from community members were those of status, and these could be policed much more stringently by enforcing cultural norms than by patrolling city-ports or gateways. By the first century BC, the most sought-after status was Roman citizenship. But one did not need to be born in Rome, nor even ever lived there, to possess it. For many, Rome may have become the official *patria*, but the real home was elsewhere, maybe in Arpinum,

Asia Minor, Boeotia, Spain or North Africa; or perhaps on a ship traveling between these places on the seas. What people did expressed no essential relationship between their identities and territory, body and soil, although at times it is perceived as such by them and us. It is then that migration becomes abhorrent and the migrant an outsider. Meanwhile, the world bustles by in continuous flow.

...

Appendix A | Key Mobility Strands in the Comedy Plots

(Particularly cyclical ones indicated by C)

<i>Amphitruo</i>		Amphitruo the commander in chief of Theban army returns home from campaign
<i>Asinaria</i>		A trader from abroad whose lack of knowledge allows him to be duped
<i>Bacchides</i>	C	Son sent away by father on a two-year business trip from Athens via Ephesus and Samos
	C	- Father has spent a life on the seas – <i>vita maritima</i> (343) - Bacchis of Samos visits her sister – a courtesan in Athens
<i>Captivi</i>		A father's search for his lost sons, one stolen by a slave the other taken as prisoner of war by Eleans
<i>Casina</i>		A father sends a son abroad in order that he may have the girl he loves for himself
<i>Cistellaria</i>	C	A Lemnian merchant at festivities in Sicyon wrongs a girl there, then leaves back to Lemnos; after the death of his wife he returns to Sicyon to be with the girl
<i>Curculio</i>	C	- Travels by Curculio on business from Epidaurus to Caria, and later by a parasite also to Caria to secure a loan - The sister of the captain was stolen from the Dionysia, enslaved and sold by a pimp
<i>Epidicus</i>		- A woman from Epidaurus, who has been wronged, arrives in Athens in search of her daughter - Soldiers returning from campaign in Thebes, characters from Rhodes and Euboea
<i>Menaechmi</i>	C	- A brother from Syracuse travels around Mediterranean for six years searching for his twin, lost by his merchant father when he took him along on a trip to Tarentum. - The twin is found in Epidamnus. (A list of places visited including exotic Italy 233)
<i>Mercator</i>	C	- A son returns to Athens from a trading trip in Rhodes, on which he was sent by his father - The grandfather was originally a farmer, made his son stay on the farm but once the old man died his son sold up the farm and became a merchant

(Cont.)

<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>	C	• An ambitious soldier who travels looking for campaigns that could lead to claim victories • A woman captured in Athens and brought to Ephesus as a courtesan • An Athenian who loves her goes to Ephesus to try and get her back, staying with a <i>hospes</i> • His slave is also captured and given as a gift to the soldier
<i>Mostellaria</i>	C	• A father goes away on a trading trip for three years to Egypt; while away his son runs through the family fortune
<i>Persa</i>	C	• While the master is away on a business trip, the slave uses his freedom to buy and manumit a girl • Since the pimp had only moved to Athens 6 months ago and is unfamiliar with locals they get someone to pretend to be a foreigner and dress up as a Persian
<i>Poenulus</i>	C	• Hanno's journey around the Mediterranean in search of his stolen daughters. Leaving from and Returning to Carthage
	C	• Loss of nephew, daughters and nurse who were kidnapped and sold abroad, ending up in Calydon. • At the end return to Carthage • Pimp Lycus moves from Anactorium to Calydon (85) • Collybiscus pretending to be a soldier, who served under Attalus in Sparta then fled to Calydon (660)
<i>Pseudolus</i>	C	• A soldier made a downpayment on a girl, and went away, intending to provide the rest of the money at a later date and have the girl brought to him, but in the meantime he is tricked
<i>Rudens</i>	C	• A pimp had stolen a girl which he promised to an Athenian in Cyrene, but convinced by his friend visiting from Agrigentum onto Sicily, the pimp packed up his household, the girl and set sail but he was shipwrecked • On the shore where they end up, near Cyrene, lives an old exile Daemones; the girl Palaestra is revealed to be his daughter
<i>Stichus</i>	C	• Husbands return home from a three-year trip abroad
<i>Trinummus</i>	C	• While father is away the son runs through his father's fortune • A friend of the father's tries to find a foreigner to pretend that the son's dowry is from his father from abroad
<i>Truculentus</i>	C	• A woman has three suitors, one a travelling soldier, one from the town and another from the country; wanting to get the most from the soldier who is away she pretends to have a child by him

Appendix B | Homecoming and Hospitality Greeting Scenes

(Those that also include recognition of status and origin are marked with O)

<i>Amphitruo</i>		161–2	Slave homecoming scene from abroad
		705–30	What is expected of a wife in a homecoming welcome for a husband
		800	The welcome of Jupiter in the guise of a husband coming back from campaign
<i>Bacchides</i>		94–108	A dinner and party by the Athenian Bacchis to welcome her sister from Samos
		170–87	Arrival of the slave Chrysalus anticipating the hospitality from his master's friend
		245	Slave reprimanding his young master's father for not greeting him properly
		530–40	Mensilochus greeting his friend Pistoclerus just arrived and offering hospitality
<i>Curculio</i>		252, 315	Anticipation of food at homecoming by Parasite, and final homecoming scene
<i>Epidicus</i>	O	630–65	Recognition and welcome-home scene
		1–10	The play opens with a homecoming welcome scene between servants
		66ff	A nonchalant play on a homecoming welcome
	O	533	A woman arriving from Epidaurus in need of hospitality
<i>Menaechmi</i>	O	1068–95	Recognition of the twin brothers who have been lost to each other
<i>Mercator</i>		97	In Rhodes a <i>hospes</i> recognised Charinus, the youth, and invited him for dinner and provided hospitality
<i>Mostellaria</i>		440–5, 1003	Father on arrival expects a welcome home greeting, which he gets from a slave
<i>Persa</i>	O	595–648	A mock questioning of identity scene trying to pass off the daughter of a parasite as an enslaved courtesan who was freeborn and stolen from her home

(Cont.)

<i>Poenulus</i>	O	1040–85	Greeting of Hanno by Agorastocles, Hanno's questioning of the boys origins and production of the <i>tessera hospitalis</i> Revelation of the Carthaginian and freeborn origins of Agorastocles and the sisters also at 895–916
		1150	Agorastocles invites Hanno for a welcome dinner
<i>Rudens</i>	O	1130–53	Questioning and recognition scene by father of his daughter, using the toys in the casket as proof of parentage
<i>Stichus</i>		480–90	Attempts by parasite to get invited to a welcome dinner by pretending to be the host but actual hosts say that cannot since have brought important statesmen home for dinner
		649	Welcome home dinner arrangements for brothers and slaves
<i>Truculentus</i>		127	Expectation of a welcome dinner party on return from abroad

Appendix C | Mobility without Personal Agency – Key Examples

<i>Bacchides</i>	43	One of the Bacchides sisters, the courtesan in Athens, bought by soldier for a year and has to follow him abroad
	170	The slave on his return from Ephesus states <i>Erilis Patria</i> – greeting masters <i>patria</i>
<i>Captivi</i>		The stolen and enslaved son as well as the imprisoned son who get sold abroad.
<i>Curculio</i>	605, 644	The sister of the captain was stolen from the Dionysia, enslaved and sold by a pimp
<i>Mercator</i>	97	A courtesan bought by Charinus in Rhodes and brought with him home to Athens
<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>	80	A woman captured in Athens and brought to Ephesus as a courtesan
		The slave of an Athenian youth captured and given as a gift to a soldier who takes him to Ephesus
<i>Poenulus</i>	85, 896	Sisters, their nurse kidnapped from Megara, Carthage and sold by Sicilian pirates to Lycus, a pimp in Anactorium who then moved with them to Calydon
<i>Pseudolus</i>	50	Macedonian soldier buys a courtesan to take with him abroad to Sicily
<i>Rudens</i>	920	A slave having found a chest which he thinks is full of treasure dreams of what he will do with it – become a merchant, sail around, build great city, found empire and immortalise his name
<i>Stichus</i>	649	Slaves are glad to be back in <i>Erilis Patria</i> – land of the masters

Appendix D | Livy's Camillus Speech and Translation

Livy *Ab Urbe Condita*

Book 5.50 – 55

Camillus' Speech on the move to Veii

[49]

Line 7

Dictator recuperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis ladibus appellabatur.

8

Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit cum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae senatu obsecrante ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu.

[50]

Lines 1–3

Omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad deos immortales pertinebant rettulit et senatus consultum facit: fana omnia, quoad ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur terminarentur

From the Founding of the City

Translation and text based on various sources, including J. Bayet and G. Baillet 1954, *Belles Lettres*, and B.O. Foster 1924, *Loeb* editions.

IXL.

The dictator, having recovered his country from her enemies, returned in triumph to the city; and between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers, was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City.

His country, which he had saved in war, he then indubitably saved a second time, now that peace was won, by preventing the migration to Veii: though the tribunes were more zealous for the plan than ever, now that the City lay in ashes, and the plebs were of themselves more inclined to favour it. This was the reason of his not resigning the dictatorship after his triumph, for the senate besought him not to desert the state in its hour of uncertainty.

L.

His first act in line with his scrupulous attention to religious obligations, was to lay before the senate those matters relating to the immortal gods, and to obtain the passage of a decree that all shrines, in so far as they had been in

(Cont.)

expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaeretur; cum Caeretibus hospitium publice fieret quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent beneficioque eius populi non intermissus honos deum immortalium esset;	possession of the enemy, were to be restored, their boundaries established and the rites of purification celebrated and the duumvirs should search the (Sybelline) Books for the proper rites; that a covenant of hospitality would be entered into by the state with the people of Caere, because they had received the sacred things of the Roman People and its priests and thanks to their good deeds, worship of the immortal gods had not been interrupted;
4–5 Ludi Capitolini fierent quod Iuppiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque arcem populi Romani in re trepida tutatus esset; collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis qui in Capitolio atque arce habitarent. Expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset mentio inlata, iussumque templum in Nova via Aio Locutio fieri.	That Capitoline Games should be held, because Jupiter Optimus Maximus had protected his home/place/abode and the Citadel of the Roman People in its time of danger; and that Marcus Furius the dictator should to that end constitute a college of men from amongst those who were living on the Capitol and in the Citadel. A proposal was also made for propitiating the voice which was heard in the night to foretell disaster before the Gallic War, and was disregarded, and orders were given for a temple to be built in the Nova Via to Aius Locutius.
6 Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Iouis cellam conlatum cum in quae referri oporteret confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne iudicatum et sub Iouis sella poni iussum.	The gold which had been carried away from the Gauls and that which during the alarm had been collected from the other temples, and carried into the shrine of Jupiter, since there was no clear recollection where it ought to be returned, the whole was adjudged to be sacred, and ordered to be deposited under the throne of Jupiter.
7 Iam ante in eo religio ciuitatis apparuerat quod cum in publico deesset aurum ex quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis conlatum acceperant ut sacro auro abstineretur.	Even before this the religious feeling of the citizens had already been apparent in the fact that when there was not sufficient gold in the public coffers to make up to the Gauls the stipulated

(Cont.)

matronis gratiae actae honosque additus
ut earum sicut uirorum post mortem
sollemnis laudatio esset.

sum, they had accepted what the
matrons got together, to avoid touching
the sacred gold. For this a vote of thanks
was given to the matrons, and they were
granted the honour of having eulogies
pronounced at their funerals, as in the
case of the men.

8

His peractis quae ad deos pertinebant
quaeque per senatum agi poterant, tum
demum agitantibus tribunis plebem
adsiduis contionibus ut relictis ruinis in
urbem paratam Veios transmigrarent,
in contionem uniuerso senatu
prosequente escendit atque ita uerba
fecit.

It was not until after those measures which
concerned the gods, and lay within the
competence of the senate, had been
enacted that, heeding the importunity of
the tribunes, who were urging the plebs
unceasingly to quit the ruins and
emigrate to a city ready to their hand at
Veii, Camillus went up into the
assembly, attended by the entire senate
and discoursed as follows:

[51] Lines 1–2

Adeo mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites,
contentiones cum tribunis plebis, ut nec
tristissimi exsilii solacium aliud
habuerim, quoad Ardeae uixi, quam
quod procul ab his certaminibus eram,
et ob eadem haec non si miliens senatus
consulto populi iussu reuocaretis,
rediturus unquam fuerim. Nec nunc me
ut redirem mea uoluntas mutata sed
uestra fortuna perpulit; quippe ut in sua
sede maneret patria, id agebatur, non ut
ego utique in patria essem. Et nunc
quiescerem ac tacerem libenter nisi haec
quoque pro patria dimicatio esset; cui
deesse, quoad uita suppetat, aliis turpe,
Camillo etiam nefas est.

II.

So painful to me, Quirites, are
controversies with the tribunes of the
plebs, that my most bitter exile knew no
other solace but this, all the time that
I lived at Ardea, that I was far away from
these contentions. And they are likewise
the cause that though you had
a thousand times recalled me by
resolution of the senate and the people's
vote, I intended never to return. Nor
have I now been induced to do so by any
change in my desires but by the
alteration in your fortunes. For the issue
was whether my country was to remain
in her seat, not whether I was to be in
my country at any cost. Even now
I would gladly remain quiet and hold
my peace, were not this too the battle for
my country; whom to fail while life
endures is in other men disgraceful, but
in Camillus impious.

3–5

Quid enim repetiimus, quid obsessam ex
hostium manibus eripuimus, si

For why did we seek to win her back, why
rescue her, when besieged, from the

(Cont.)

reciperatam ipsi deserimus? Et cum uictoribus Gallis capta tota urbe Capitolium tamen atque arcem dique et homines Romani tenuerint, uictoribus Romanis reciperata urbe arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur et plus uastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet quam aduersa fecit? Equidem si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam euidentis numen hac tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis ut omnem neglegentiam diuini cultus exemptam hominibus putem. Intuemini enim horum deinceps annorum uel secundas res uel aduersas; inuenietis omnia prospera euenisse sequentibus deos, aduersa spernentibus.

hands of the enemy, if now that she is recovered, we desert her? And although, while the Gauls were victorious and in possession of the entire City, the Capitol nevertheless, and the Citadel were held by the gods and men of Rome, and now that the Romans are victorious and the City recovered, are the Citadel and Capitol to be deserted? Shall our prosperity make Rome more desolate than our adversity has done? Indeed, if we had no religious rites established with the founding of the City and by tradition handed down, yet so manifest has at this time the divine purpose been in the affairs of the Romans, that I for one should suppose it no longer possible for men to neglect the worship of the gods. For consider these past few years in order, with their successes and reverses; you will find that all things turned out well when we obeyed the gods, and ill when we spurned them.

6-7

Iam omnium primum, Veiens bellum—per quot annos, quanto labore gestum. —non ante cepit finem, quam monitu deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est. Quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades noua? Num ante exorta est quam spreta uox caelo emissa de aduentu Gallorum, quam gentium ius ab legatis nostris uiolatum, quam a nobis cum uindicari deberet eadem neglegentia deorum praetermissum?

First of all the war with Veii. How many years we fought, and with what painful exertion! And the end came not, until, admonished by the gods, we drew the water off from the Alban Lake. What I beseech you, of this unparalleled disaster that lately overwhelmed our City? Did it come before we disregarded the voice from heaven announcing the approach of the Gauls? before the law of nations was violated by our envoys? before we, that ought to have punished their fault, had passed it by, with the same indifference towards the gods?

8-9

Igitur uicti captique ac redempti tantum poenarum dis hominibusque dedimus ut terrarum orbi documento essemus. Aduersae deinde res admonuerunt

And so it was that, defeated, captured, ransomed, we received such punishment at the hands of gods and men that we were a warning to the

(Cont.)

religionum. Confugimus in
Capitolium ad deos, ad sedem Iouis
optimi maximi; sacra in ruina rerum
nostrarum alia terra celauimus, alia
auecta in finitimas urbes amouimus ab
hostium oculis; deorum cultum deserti
ab dis hominibusque tamen non
intermisimus.

10

Reddidere igitur patriam et uictoriam et
antiquum belli decus amissum, et in
hostes qui caeci auaritia in pondere auri
foedus ac fidem fefellerunt, uerterunt
terrorem fugamque et caedem.

[52] Lines 1–2

Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta
monumenta in rebus humanis
cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites,
quantum uixdum e naufragiis prioris
culpa cladisque emergentes paremus
nefas? Urbem auspicato inauguratoque
conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea
non religionum deorumque est plenus;
sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis
stati quam loca sunt in quibus fiant.

3–4

Hos omnes deos publicos priuatosque,
Quirites, deserturi estis? Quam par
uestrum factum [ei] est quod in
obsidione nuper in egregio adulescente,
C. Fabio, non minore hostium
admiratione quam uestra conspectum
est, cum inter Gallica tela degressus ex
arce sollemne Fabiae gentis in colle
Quirinali obiit? An gentilia sacra ne in
bello quidem intermitteri, publica sacra et

whole world. Adversity then turned our
thoughts upon religion. We fled for
refuge to the Capitol and its gods, to the
seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; of our
holy things, some, in the ruin of our
fortunes, we concealed in the earth,
others we removed to neighbouring
cities out of sight of our enemies; in the
worship of the gods, albeit forsaken of
gods and men, yet were we unceasing.

Therefore they have restored to us our
country again, and victory, and our
ancient renown in war that we had
forfeited; and against our enemies, who,
blinded with greed, broke treaty and
troth in the weighing of the gold, have
they turned dismay and rout and
slaughter.

LII.

As you consider these momentous effects
upon the affairs of men, of serving or
neglecting the gods, do you begin
Quirites, to perceive how though yet
scarce clear of the wreckage of our
former guilt and calamity, we are
headed towards a grievous sin? We have
a City founded with due observance of
auspice and augury; no site in it is not
permeated by religion and the gods; for
our annual sacrifices, their places are no
less fixed than are their days.

Are you, Quirites, going to desert all these
gods both of state and family? How far
does your action come up to that of the
noble youth C. Fabius in the recent
siege, which the enemy beheld with no
less astonishment and admiration than
yourselves, when he descended from the
Citadel through the missiles of the Gauls
and offered the annual sacrifice of the
Fabian clan on the Quirinal Hill? What?

(Cont.)

Romanos deos etiam in pace deseri
placet, et pontifices flaminesque
neglegentiores publicarum religionum
esse quam priuatus in sollemni gentis
fuerit?

Would you suffer no interruption, even
in war, of family rites, but desert the
public rites and the gods of Rome in
time of peace? Would you have the
pontiffs and the flamens less careful of
the ceremonies of the state religion than
a private citizen has been of the
anniversary of his clan?

5-7

Forsitan aliquis dicat aut Veiis ea nos
facturos aut huc inde missuros
sacerdotes nostros qui faciant; quorum
neutrum fieri saluis caerimoniis potest.
Et ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque
percenseam deos, in Iouis epulo num
alibi quam in Capitolio puluinar suscipi
potest? Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus
signoque quod imperii pignus custodia
eius templi tenetur loquar? Quid de
ancilibus uestris, Mars Gradiue tuque,
Quirine pater? Haec omnia in profano
deseri placet sacra, aequalia urbi,
quaedam uetustiora origine urbis?

Perhaps someone may say that we shall
either do these things at Veii, or thence
dispatch our priests to Rome to do
them; but of these courses neither can be
followed without violation of the sacred
rites. For not to enumerate all the kinds
of rites and all the gods, is it possible at
the feast of Jupiter that the couch should
be spread elsewhere than in the Capitol?
Why need I speak of Vesta's eternal
fires, and the image which is preserved
as a pledge of empire in her temple? or
of your sacred shields, O Mars Gradivus
and Quirinus our Father? All these
would you leave behind on
unconsecrated ground – things coeval
with the City, and some more ancient
than the City's origin?

8-10

Et uidete quid inter nos ac maiores intersit.
Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano
Lauiniique nobis facienda tradiderunt.
An ex hostium urbibus Romam ad nos
transferri sacra religiosum fuit, hinc sine
piaculo in hostium urbem Veios
transferemus? Recordamini, agite dum,
quotiens sacra instaurentur, quia
aliquid ex patrio ritu neglegentia casuue
praetermissum est. Modo quae res post
prodigium Albani lacus nisi instauratio
sacrorum auspiciorumque renouatio
adfectae Veienti bello rei publicae
remedio fuit? At etiam, tamquam
ueterum religionum memores, et

See, too, how great the difference between
us and our ancestors. They handed to us
certain rites to be solemnized on the
Alban Mount and in Lavinium. But if
we scrupled to transfer sacred rites from
hostile cities to ourselves in Rome, can
we shift them without sin from Rome to
Veii, city of our enemies? Call to mind,
I pray you, how often sacrifices are
renewed because some point of antique
ritual has been, through carelessness or
accident, omitted. What was it, a while
ago, after the portent of the Alban Lake,
that brought relief to the
commonwealth – then in the throes of

(Cont.)

peregrinos deos transtulimus Romam et instituimus nouos. Iuno regina transueta a Veii nuper in Auentino quam insigni ob excellens matronarum studium celebrique dedicata est die”.	war with Veii – if not, a renewal of the sacred rites and auspices? But, more than that, like men mindful of their old religious fervour, we have both brought in foreign deities to Rome and established new ones. Queen Juno was lately conveyed from Veii and enshrined on the Aventine, and how notable was that day, for the zeal of the matrons and the throng!
11–12 Aio Locutio templum propter caelestem uocem exauditam in Noua uia iussimus fieri; Capitolinos ludos sollemnibus aliis addidimus collegiumque ad id nouum auctore senatu condidimus; quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si una cum Gallis urbem Romanam relicturi fuimus, si non uoluntate mansimus in Capitolio per tot menses obsidionis, sed ab hostibus metu retenti sumus?	We ordered a temple to be built for Aius Locutius because of the voice from heaven clearly heard in the Nova Via. We have added to our annual festivals the Capitoline Games, and on the authority of the senate we have established a new college for this purpose. Was there any of these things we needed to have undertaken, if we meant to retire from the city of Rome along with the Gauls; if we remained not voluntarily in the Capitol, through so many months of siege, but constrained by fear of the enemy.
13–14 De sacris loquimur et de templis; quid tandem de sacerdotibus? Nonne in mentem uenit quantum piaculi committatur? Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes est, ex qua eas nihil unquam praeterquam urbs capta mouit; flamine Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est. hos Veientes pro Romanis facturi estis sacerdotes, et Vestales tuae te deserent, Vesta, et flamen peregre habitando in singulas noctes tantum sibi reique publicae piaculi contrahet?	We talk of sacred rites and temples pray, what about the priests? Do you not realise what sacrilege will be committed? The Vestals surely have but that one abode, from which nothing ever caused them to remove but the capture of the city. The Flamen Dialis may not lie for a single night outside the city without sin. Will you make these priests Veientine instead of Roman? Shall thy Virgins forsake thee, Vesta, and the Flamen, as he dwells abroad, bring night after night, such guilt upon himself and the republic?
15–17 Quid alia quae auspicio agimus omnia fere intra pomerium, cui obliuioni aut neglegentiae damus? Comititia curiata, quae rem militarem continent, comitia	What about the other matters nearly all of which we transact, after taking auspices, within the pomerium? To what oblivion and neglect do we consign them?

(Cont.)

centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militares creatis, ubi auspicato, nisi ubi adsolent, fieri possunt? Veiosne haec transferemus? An comitiorum causa populus tanto incommodo in desertam hanc ab dis hominibusque urbem conueniet?

[53] Lines 1–2

At enim apparet quidem pollui omnia nec ullis piaculis expiari posse; sed res ipsa cogit uastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra omnia Veios migrare nec hic aedificando inopem plebem uexare. Hanc autem iactari magis causam quam ueram esse, ut ego non dicam, apparere uobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis ante Gallorum aduentum, saluis tectis publicis priuatisque, stante incolumi urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse ut Veios transmigraremus.

3–4

Et uidete quantum inter meam sententiam uestramque intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis: ego contra—nec id mirati sitis, priusquam quale sit audieritis—etiamsi tum migrandum fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas non censerem. Quippe tum causa nobis in urbem captam migrandi uictoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris; nunc haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis, Gallis gloriosa est.

The curiate comitia which deals with the business of war, the centuriate comitia, where you elect the consuls and military tribunes—where can these be held, with due observance of the auspices, save in the customary places? Shall we transfer them to Veii? Or shall the people, for the sake of the comitia assemble with enormous inconvenience in their City, forsaken of god and man?

LIII.

But you will say ‘while it is obvious that everything will be polluted beyond all possibility of purification, yet the situation itself compels us to leave a City devastated by fire, and all in ruins, and migrate to Veii where everything is untouched, nor vex the poverty-stricken plebs with building here.’ But that this is rather a pretext than a true reason is, I think apparent to you, Quirites, without my saying so; for you remember how, before the coming of the Gauls, when our roofed (buildings) public and private were unharmed and our City stood uninjured that this same proposal was urged of migrating to Veii.

And consider, tribunes, how wide is the difference between my view and yours. You believe that even if the move was inadvisable then, it is inescapable now; I, on the contrary—and do not be surprised till you understand my meaning—am convinced that even if it was right to consider going while Rome still stood, to abandon her ruins now would be grievously wrong. For then our victory would have been a reason for migrating to a captured city— a reason glorious to ourselves and our posterity; but now such a removal is for us a wretched and humiliating course, and a glory to the Gauls.

(Cont.)

5

Non enim reliquisse uictores, sed amisisse uicti patriam uidebimur: hoc ad Alliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitas imposuisse ut desereremus penates nostros exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco conscisceremus quem tueri non possemus. Et Galli euertere potuerunt Romam quam Romani restituere non uidebuntur potuisse?

For we shall be thought not to have left our country as victors, but to have lost it as men vanquished. It will be thought that the rout on the Allia, the capture of the City, the blockade of the Capitol, have compelled us to forsake our family gods, and sentence ourselves to banishment and exile from that place which we were powerless to defend. Have Gauls then been able to destroy Rome; and must Romans appear unable to restore her?

6-7

Quid restat nisi ut, si iam nouis copiis ueniant—constat enim uix credibilem multitudinem esse—et habitare in capta ab se, deserta a uobis hac urbe uelint, sinatis? Quid? Si non Galli hoc sed ueteres hostes uestri, Aequi Volsciue, faciant ut commigrent Romam, uelitisne illos Romanos, uos Veientes esse? An malitis hanc solitudinem uestram quam urbem hostium esse? Non equidem uideo quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelera, quia piget aedificare, haec dedecora pati parati estis?

What more remains except for them to come again with fresh forces—we all know that their numbers surpass belief—and should wish to dwell in this City which they have captured and you have abandoned, but that you should suffer them? What if not the Gauls but your ancient foes the Volsci and Aequi should migrate to Rome? Would you wish them to be Romans and you Veientes? Or would you rather that this were a desert of your own than the city of your enemies? For my part I do not see what could be more abominable. Are you ready to stomach these outrages, these infamies, because it irks you to build?

8

Si tota urbe nullum melius ampliusue tectum fieri possit quam casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis ritu pastorum agrestiumque habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque nostros quam exsulatum publice ire?

If in all the City no house could be put up better or bigger than is the famous hut of our Founder would it not be better to live in huts, as shepherds and rustics do, amongst our sacred monuments and our household gods, than go forth as one into exile?

9

Maiores nostri, conuenae pastoresque, cum in his locis nihil praeter siluas paludesque esset, nouam urbem tam breui aedificarunt: nos Capitolio, arce

Our ancestors, refugees and herdsmen, at a time when there was nothing in this place/region but forests and marshes, built quickly a new City; and are we

(Cont.)

incolumi, stantibus templis deorum,
aedificare incensa piget? Et, quod
singuli facturi fuimus si aedes nostrae
deflagrassent, hoc in publico incendio
uniuersi recusamus facere?

[54] Lines 1–2

Quid tandem? Si fraude, si casu Veiis
incendium ortum sit, uentoque ut fieri
potest diffusa flamma magnam partem
urbis absumat, Fidenas inde aut Gabios
aliame quam urbem quaesituri sumus
quo transmigemus? Adeo nihil tenet
solum patriae nec haec terra quam
matrem appellamus, sed in superficie
tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet?

3

Equidem—fatebor uobis, etsi minus
iniuriæ uestrae [quam meae
calamitatis] meminisse iuuat—cum
abessem, quotienscumque patria in
mentem ueniret, haec omnia
occurrabant, colles campique et Tiberis
et adueta oculis regio et hoc caelum sub
quo natus educatusque essem; quae uos,
Quirites, nunc moueant potius caritate
sua ut maneatis in sede uestra quam
postea, cum reliqueritis eam, macerent
desiderio.

4

Non sine causa di hominesque hunc urbi
condendae locum elegerunt,
saluberrimos colles, flumen
opportunist, quo ex mediterraneis locis
fruges deuehantur, quo maritimi
commeatus accipiantur, mari
uicinum ad commoditates nec
expositum nimia propinquitate ad

loath, though Capitol and Citadel are
untouched and the temples of the gods
are standing, to rebuild what has been
destroyed by fire? And what each would
have done for himself if his house had
been burned, shall we refuse to do
together after this common
conflagration?

LIV.

Well now, suppose that either through
crime or chance a fire should break out
in Veii, and that the wind should spread
the flames, as may easily happen, until
they consume a great part of the city; are
we to quit it, and seek out Fidenae or
Gabii, or any other city you please, and
migrate there? Has the soil of our patria
and this land which we call our mother
so slight a hold on us? Is our love of
patria confined to buildings and rafters?

And in truth I will confess to you— though
I like not to recall the wrong you did
me—that as often, during my absence, as
I thought of my country, all these
objects came into my mind: the hills and
the fields and the Tiber and the region/
landscape familiar to my eyes, and this
sky beneath which I had been born and
reared. And I wish these things may
rather move you with affection,
Quirites, to make you abide in your own
seat, than afterwards, when you have left
it, torment you with vain regrets.

Not without cause did gods and men select
this place for establishing our City— with
its healthful hills; its convenient river, by
which crops may be floated down from
the midland regions and foreign
commodities brought up; its sea, near
enough for use, yet not exposing us, by
too great propinquity, to peril from

(Cont.)

pericula classium externarum, regionum Italiae medium, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum.	foreign fleets, a situation at the center of Italy– a spot/position, in short of a nature uniquely adapted for the expansion of a city.
5	
Argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam nouae urbis. Trecentensimus sexagensimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot ueterrimos populos tam diu bella geritis, cum interea, ne singulas loquar urbes, non coniuncti cum Aequis Volsi, tot tam ualida oppida, non uniuersa Etruria, tantum terra marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens Italiae, bello uobis par est.	This is proved by the very greatness of so new a city. It is now Quirites in its 365 th year. Amongst all these ancient nations you have for so long a time been waging wars; and all this while– to say nothing of single cities–neither the Volsci joined with the Aequi, and all their powerful towns, nor all Etruria, with its enormous strength on land and water, and its hold/ occupancy of the entire breadth of Italy from sea to sea, has been a match for you in war.
6–7	
Quod cum ita sit quae, malum, ratio est [haec] expertis alia experiri, cum iam ut uirtus uestra transire alio possit, fortuna certe loci huius transferri non possit? Hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano inuento responsum est eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore; hic cum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuuentas Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum uestrorum moueri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus uobis di.”	Since this is so, what a plague is the reason why you that have experienced these things should experiment with others? Granting that your valour may go elsewhere, yet surely the fortune of this place could not be taken along! Here is the Capitol, where men were told, when of old they discovered there a human head, that in that place should be the head/capital of the world and supreme power/imperium; here, when the Capitol was being cleared with augural rites, Juventas and Terminus, to the vast joy of your fathers, refused to be removed; here are Vesta’s fires, here the shields that were sent down from heaven, here are all the gods propitious, if you remain.”
[55] Line 1	LV.
Mouisse eos Camillus cum alia oratione, tum ea quae ad religiones pertinebat maxime dicitur; sed rem dubiam decreuit uox opportune emissa, quod cum senatus post paulo de his rebus in curia Hostilia haberetur cohortesque ex	The speech of Camillus is said to have moved them, particularly where he touched upon religion; but the doubtful issue was resolved by a word that was let fall in the nick of time. It was while the senate, a little later,

(Cont.)

praesidiis reuertentes forte agmine forum transirent, centurio in comitio exclamaui: “signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime”.	was deliberating about these matters in the Curia Hostilia; some cohorts returning from guard-duty were marching through the Forum, and as they came to the Comitium a centurion cried out, “Standard- bearers, fix your standard; it will be best for us to remain here.”
2–4 Qua uoce audita, et senatus accipere se omen ex curia egressus conclamaui et plebs circumfusa adprobauit. Antiquata deinde lege, promisce urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publice praebita est; saxi materiaeque caedendae unde quisque uellet ius factum, praedibus acceptis eo anno aedificia perfecturos.	Hearing this sentence the senators came out from the Curia and shouted their acceptance of the omen, and the commons gathering round them signified approval. The bill was then rejected, and people began in random fashion to rebuild the City. The state supplied tiles, and granted everybody the right to quarry stone and to hew timber where he liked, after giving security for the completion of the structures within that year.
5 Festinatio curam exemit uicos dirigendi, dum omisso sui alienique discrimine in uacuo aedificant. Ea est causa ut ueteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc priuata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam diuisae similis.	In their haste, men were careless about making straight the streets, and paying no attention to their own and others’ rights, built on the vacant spaces. This is the reason that the ancient sewers, which were at first conducted through the public ways, at present frequently run under private dwellings, and the plan/appearance of the City resembles one that has been occupied (by settlers) rather than planned.

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